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Hakluytus Posthumus
or
Purchas His Pilgrimes

In Twenty Volumes

Volume XV

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Hakluytus Posthumus

or

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning a History of the World
in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells
by Englishmen and others

By

SAMUEL PURCHAS, B.D

VOLUME XV

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THE FIFTEENTH VOLUME

OF

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning Observations touching the Naturall Historie of the West Indies; Extracts of Oviedo his generall Historie of the Indies; with Relations of Mexico and the Historie of the Mexican Nation described in pictures by the Mexican Authour

Chap. II. [III. v. 918.]

Observations gathered out of the First, Second, Third, and Fourth bookes of Josephus Acosta a learned Jesuite, touching the naturall historie of the Heavens, Ayre, Water, and Earth at the west Indies. Also of their Beasts, Fishes, Fowles, Plants, and other remarkable rarities of Nature.

§. I.

Of the fashion and forme of Heaven, at the new-found World, and of the Ayre and Windes.

MAny in Europe demand, of what forme and fashion Heaven is in the Southerne parts, for that there is no certaintie found in ancient Books, who although they grant there is a Heaven on this other part of the World, yet come they not to any knowledge of the forme thereof, although in truth they make mention of a goodly great Starre seene in those parts, which they call Canopus. Those which of late dayes have sayled into these parts, have accustomed to write strange things of this Heaven; that it is very bright, having many goodly Starres: and in effect, things which come farre, are commonly described with encrease. But it seemes contrarie unto me, holding it for certaine, that in our Region of the North, there is a greater number and bigger starres; finding no starres

Lib. 1. *cap.* 5

Plin. lib. 6. *c.* 22.

in these parts, which exceede the Fisher or the Chariot in bignesse. It is true, that the Crosse in these parts is very faire and pleasing to behold: we call the Crosse, foure notable and apparant starres, which make the forme of a crosse, set equally and with proportion. The ignorant suppose this crosse to be the Southerne Pole, for that they see the Navigators take their heigth thereby, as wee are accustomed to doe by the North starre. But they are deceived, and the reason, why Saylers doe it in this sort, is for that in the South parts there is no fixed starre that markes the Pole, as the North starre doth to our Pole. And therefore they take their heigth by the starre at the foote of the Crosse, distant from the true and fixed Pole Antarticke thirtie degrees, as the North starre is distant from the Pole Articke three degrees or little more. And so it is more difficult to take the heigth in those parts, for that the said starre at the foote of the Crosse must be right, the which chanceth but in one houre of the night; which is in divers seasons of the yeere in divers houres, and oftentimes it appeareth not in the whole night, so as it is very difficult to take the height. And therefore the most expert Pilots regard not the Crosse, taking the height of the Sunne by the Astrolabe, by which they know in what height they are: wherein commonly the Portugals are more expert, as a Nation that hath more discourse in the Arte of Navigation then any other. There are also other starres in these Southerne parts, which in some sort resemble those of the North. That which they call the Milken way, is larger and more resplendent in the South parts, appearing therein those admirable blacke spots, whereof we have made mention.

See Magellans Voyage.

Height taken by the Sunne.

Via lactea. Shewing the reason why the Sunne without the Tropicks, causeth greatest quantity of waters when it is farthest off; and contrariwise, within them it breedeth most, when it is neerest, l. 2. chap. 7.

Considering with my selfe oftentimes, what should cause the Equinoctiall to bee so moist, as I have said; to refute the opinion of the Ancients, I finde no other reason, but the great force of the Sunne in those parts, whereby it drawes unto it a great abundance of vapours from out of the Ocean, which in those parts is very great and spacious: and having drawne unto it this great

abundance of vapours, doth suddenly dissolve them into raine, and it is approved by many tried experiences, that the raine and great stormes from Heaven proceed from the violent heate of the Sunne: first (as we have said before) it raines in those Countries, when as the Sunne casts his beames directly upon the earth, at which time he hath most force: but when the Sunne retires, the heate is moderate, and then there falls no raine: whereby wee may conclude, that the force and heate of the Sunne is the cause of raine in those Countries. Moreover we observe, both in Peru, new Spaine, and in all the burning Zone, that the raine doth usually fal in the afternoone, when as the Sunne beames are in their greatest force, being strange to see it raine in the morning. And therefore Travellers foreseeing it, begin their journeys early, that they may end and rest before noone, for they hold that commonly it raines after noone. Such as have frequented and travelled those Countries, can sufficiently speake thereof. And there are, that (having made some abode there) say, that the greatest abundance of raine is, when the Moone is at the full; but to say the truth, I could never make sufficient proofe thereof, although I have observed it. Moreover, the dayes, the yeere, and the moneths, shew the truth hereof, that the violent heate of the Sunne causeth the raine in the burning Zone: experience teacheth us the like in artificiall things, as in a Limbecke, wherein they draw waters from herbs and flowers; for the vehemency of the fire forceth and driveth [III. v. 919.] up an abundance of vapours, which being pressed, and finding no issue, are converted into liquor and water. The like wee see in gold and silver, which we refine with quick-silver, the fire being small and slow, we draw out almost nothing of the quick-silver, but if it be quick and violent, it doth greatly evaporate the quick-silver, which encountring the head above, doth presently turne into liquor, and begins to drop downe: Even so the violent heate of the Sunne produceth these two effects, when it findes matter disposed, that is, to draw up the

vapours on high, and to dissolve them presently, and turne them into raine, when there is any obstacle to consume them. And although these things seeme contrarie, that one Sunne within the burning Zone, being neere, should cause raine, and without the Zone afarre off should breed the like effect; so it is, that all well considered, there is no contrarietie. A thousand effects in naturall causes proceed of contrarie things by divers meanes: we drie linnen by the fire, and in the aire, and yet the one heats and the other cooles; Pastures are dried and hardened by the Sunne and with the Frost; moderate exercise provokes sleepe, being too violent, it hindereth: if you lay no wood on the fire, it dyeth; if you lay on too much, it likewise quencheth: for the onely proportion entertaines and makes it to continue. To well discerne a thing, it must not be too neere the eye, nor too farre off, but in a reasonable distance proportionable; being too farre off from any thing we lose the sight, and too neere likewise we cannot see it. If the Sunne beams be weake, they draw up no fogge from the Rivers, if they be violent, having drawne up the vapours, they presently dissolve and consume them; but if the heat be moderate, it drawes up and preserves it: for this reason the vapours rise not commonly in the night, nor at noone, but in the morning, when as the Sunne begins to enter into his force. There are a thousand examples of naturall causes upon this subject, which wee see doe often grow from contrarie things: whereby we must not wonder, if the Sunne being neere, engenders raine, and being farre off, works the like effect: but being of a moderate and proportionable distance, causeth none at all. Yet there remaines one doubt, why the neernesse of the Sunne causeth the raine under the burning Zone, and without when it is farthest off. In my opinion the reason is, that in Winter without the Tropicks, the Sunne hath not force sufficient to consume the vapours which rise from the Land and Sea; for these vapours grow in great abundance in the cold Region of the aire, where they are congealed and thickned

by the extremitie of the cold; and after being pressed, they dissolve and turne into water. Therefore in Winter when the Sunne is farthest off, the dayes short, and the nights long, his heat hath small force: but when the Sunne approcheth, which is in the Summer time, his force is such as it drawes up the vapours, and suddenly consumes and disperseth them; for the heat and the length of the dayes grow through the neernesse of the Sunne. But within the Tropicks under the burning Zone, the farre distance of the Sunne workes the same effects that the neernesse doth without the Tropicks; by reason whereof, it raines no more under the burning Zone when the Sunne is farre off, then without the Tropicks when it is neerest, for that in this approching and retyring, the Sunne remayns alwayes in one distance whence proceedes this effect of cleernesse. But when the Sunne is in the period of his force in the burning Zone, and that he cast his beames directly upon the Inhabitants heads, there is neither cleernesse nor drynesse, as it seemes there should be, but rather great and strange showers: for that by this violent heat, he drawes up suddenly a great abundance of vapours from the Earth and Ocean, which are so thicke, as the winde, not able easily to disperse them, they melt into water, which breedeth the cold raine in so great abundance: for the excessive heat may soone draw up many vapours, the which are not so soone dissolved: and being gathered together through their great abundance, they melt and dissolve into water. The which wee may easily discerne by this familiar example: roast a piece of Porke, Mutton, or Veale, if the fire be violent, and the meate neere, wee see the fat melts suddenly and drops away, the reason is, that the violent heat drawes forth the humour and fat from the meat, and being in great abundance cannot dissolve it, and so it distils more away: But when the fire is moderate, and the meat in an equall distance, wee see that it roasts handsomly, and the fat drops not too suddenly, for that the moderate heat drawes out the moistnesse which it consumes suddenly.

And therefore Cookes make a moderate fire, and lay not their meate too neere nor too farre off, lest it melt away. The like may bee seene in another experience in candles of tallow or waxe, if the wike bee great, it melts the tallow or the waxe, for that the heat cannot consume the moistnesse which riseth, but if the flame bee proportionable, the wax melts nor drops not, for that the flame doth waste it by little and little as it riseth.

Exceptions to generall rules. But this is not to hinder the exceptions which Nature hath given to this Rule, making some Regions of the burning Zone extremely drie. The which is reported of Ethiopia, and wee have seene it in a great part of Peru, where all that Land or Coast, which they call Playnes, wants raine, yea, land waters, except some Vallies where Rivers fall from the Mountaines; the rest is a sandie and barren soile, where you shall hardly finde any Springs, but some deepe Wells. But with the helpe of God, we will shew the reason why it rayneth not in these Playnes (the which many demand;) for now I onely pretend to shew, that there are many exceptions to naturall Rules, whereby it may happen, that in some part of the burning [III. v. 920.] Zone it raines not when the Sunne is neerest, but being farthest off, although unto this day I have neither seene nor heard of it: but if it be so, we must attribute it to the particular qualitie of the Earth: and also, if sometimes the contrarie doth chance, we must have regard that in naturall things there happens many contrarieties and lets, whereby they change and dissolve one another. For example, it may be the Sunne will cause raine, and that the windes will hinder it, or else cause more abundance then hath beene usuall.

The Authors experience. When I passed to the Indies, I will tell what chanced unto mee: having read what Poets and Philosophers write of the burning Zone, I perswaded my selfe, that comming to the Equinoctiall, I should not indure the violent heate, but it fell out otherwise; for when I passed, which was when the Sunne was there for Zenith, being entred into Aries, in the moneth of March, I felt so great cold, as

I was forced to goe into the Sunne to warme me: what could I else doe then, but laugh at Aristotles Meteors and his philosophie, seeing that in that place, and at that season, when as all should be scortched with heat, according to his rules, I, and all my companions were a cold? In truth there is no Region in the world more pleasant and temperate then under the Equinoctiall, although it be not in all parts of an equall temperature, but have great diversities. The burning Zone in some parts is very temperate, as in Quitto, and on the playnes of Peru; in some parts very cold, as at Potozi, and in some very hot, as in Ethiopia, Bresil, and the Molucques. This diversitie being knowne and certaine unto us, wee must of force seeke out another cause of cold and heat then the Sunne beames, seeing that in one season of the yeere, and in places of one height and distance from the Pole and Equinoctiall we finde so great diversitie, that some are invironed with heat, some with cold, and others tempered with a moderate heat.

Various and diversified tempers of the Torrid Zone.

Considering this matter generally, I finde two generall causes, which maketh this Region temperate: the one is that before mentioned, for that this Region is very moist and subject to raine, and there is no doubt but the raine doth refresh it, for that the water is by nature cold; and although by the force of the fire it be made hot, yet doth it temper this heat proceeding onely from the Sunne beames. The which wee see by experience in the inner Arabia, the which is burnt with the Sunne, having no showres to temper the violence thereof. The cloudes and mists are the cause that the Sunne offends not so much, and the showres that fall from them, refresh both the Aire and the Earth, and moisten likewise how hot soever it be. They drinke raine water, and it quencheth the thirst, as our men have well tried, having no other to drinke. So as reason and experience doth teach us, that raine of it selfe doth temper the heat; and having by this meanes shewed, that the burning Zone is much subject unto raine, it appeares that there is matter in it, to temper the violence

Causes of temperatenesse under the Line and within the Tropicks.

Second cause. of the heat. To this I will adde an other reason, which deserves to be knowne, not onely for this matter, but for many others; for although the Sunne be very hot and burning under the Equinoctiall, yet is it not long, so as the heat of the day being there shorter and of lesse continuance, it causeth not so violent a heate; the which it behooves to specifie more particularly. Such as are practised in the knowledge of the Spheare teach very well, that the more the Zodiake is oblique and traversing our Hemisphere, the more unequall are the dayes and nights; and contrariwise, where the Spheare is straight, and the signes mount directly, there the dayes and nights are equall. And therefore in all that Region which is betweene the two Tropicks, there is lesse inequalitie then without them, and the more wee approch the Line the lesse inequalitie we finde, the which wee have tried in those parts. Those of Quitto, for that they are under the Line, have not throughout the whole yeere the dayes and nights more short at one season then at an other, but are continually equall. Those of Lima being distant almost twelve degrees, finde some difference betwixt the dayes and the nights, but very little, for that in December and Januarie the dayes increase an houre or little lesse. Those of Potozi finde much more difference both in Winter and in Summer, being almost under the Tropicke. But those that live without the Tropicks finde the dayes in Winter shorter and in Summer longer: the more remote they are from the Equinoctiall and come neere the Pole, as wee see in Germanie and in England, the dayes are longer in Summer then in Italie and in Spaine. It is a thing which the Spheare doth teach, and experience doth plainly shew us. Wee must adde an other Proposition, which is likewise true and very considerable for all the effects of Nature to understand the perseverance and continuation of the efficient cause to worke and moove. This presupposed, if any one demand of me, why under the Equinoctiall Line the heat is not so violent in Summer, as in some other Regions (as in Andelousia in the moneths

of July and August) I will answere, that in Andelousia the dayes are longer and the nights shorter; and as the day being hot, inflames and causeth heat; so the nights being cold and moist, give a refreshing. According to the which, at Peru, there is no such great heat, for that the dayes in Summer are not long, nor the nights short; so as the heat of the day is much tempered by the freshnesse of the night.

That there bee other reasons besides the former mentioned, which shew, that the burning zone is temperate, especially alongst the Ocean, Chap. 11. [III. v. 921.]

Being a thing concluded, that the two fore-named properties are common and universall to all the Region of the burning Zone: and yet in the same there are found some places very hot, and other exceeding cold: Also, that the temperature is not there equall in all places, but under one climate, one part is hot, another cold, and the third temperate, all at one season; wee are forced to seeke out other reasons, whence this great diversitie should proceede in the burning Zone. Discoursing therefore upon this question, I doe finde three apparant and certaine causes, and a fourth more obscure and darke. The apparant and certaine causes bee: The first, is the Ocean: the second, the situation of the Land: and the third, the nature and propertie of many and sundrie windes. Besides these three which I hold for manifest, I beleeve there is a fourth hidden and lesse apparent, which is the propertie of the same Land inhabited, and the particular influence of the Heavens. Among the speciall causes and reasons, I have first placed the Sea, for without doubt, the neernesse thereof doth helpe to temper and coole the heat: for although the Water be salt, yet is it alwayes water, whose nature is cold.

But if wee shall yet search more particularly, wee shall not finde in all this Land an equall temperature of heate, although it bee in equall distance from the Sea, and in the same degree, seeing that in some parts there is great heate, and in some very little. Doubtlesse, the cause thereof is, that the one is lower, and the other higher; which causeth that the one is hot, and the other cold. It is most certaine, that the tops of the Mountaines are

colder then in the bottome of the Vallies, the which proceedes, not onely for that the Sunne beames have greater repercussions upon lower places, although it be a great reason; yet there is another, which is, that the Region of the aire is colder when it is farthest from the ground. The cause why the middle Region of the aire is more cold, hath beene shewed before: for that the Region of the aire next to the fierie exhalation, the which (according to Aristotle) is upon the Spheare of the aire, repells and thrusts backe all the cold, the which retires it selfe into the middle Region of the aire, by Antiparistasis, as the Philosophers speake. Now, if any one should question with me in this manner; If it be so that the aire is hot and moist, as Aristotle holds, and as we commonly say; whence then proceedes the cold which is congealed in the middle Region of the aire, seeing it cannot come from the fierie Spheare? For if it come from the Water, or the Earth, by this reason the lower Region of the aire should be colder then the middle.

Arist. Me.

To answere truly what I thinke, I will confesse, that this Argument and Objection is so difficult, as I am almost readie to follow the opinion of such as reprove the qualities, agreements and disagreements which Aristotle gives unto the Elements, saying, they are but imaginations, who for this occasion hold the aire to bee cold by nature. And to this end they use many arguments and reasons, whereof we will propound one very familiar and well knowne, leaving the rest apart. In the Canicular dayes we are accustomed to beate the aire with a fan, and wee finde that it doth refresh us; so as these Authors affirme, that heate is no private propertie of any other Element, but of fire onely, which is dispersed and mingled with all things (as the great Denis doth teach us.) But whether it be so, or otherwise (for I will not contradict Aristotle, but in that which is most certaine) in the end they agree all, that the middle Region of the aire is colder then the lowest next to the Earth, as experience doth shew us; seeing that in this middle Region are congealed,

Dionys. c. 15. *de cœl. hierar.*

Snow, Haile, Frosts, and other signes of extreme cold. The middle Region then which they call the burning Zone, having on the one side the Sea, and on the other the Mountaines, we must hold them for sufficient causes to temper and coole the heate.

That the cold windes bee the principal cause to make the burning Zone temperate. Chap. 13.

The temperature of this Region ought chiefly to be attributed to the propertie of the winde that blowes in that Country, the which is pleasant and fresh. The providence of the great God Creator of all things hath beene such, as he hath ordayned fresh and coole windes in that Region where the Sunne makes his course (which seemes should be burnt up) that by their coolenesse the excessive heate of the Sunne might be qualified. Wee see in one climate, some Regions and Cities hotter then others, onely for that they feele lesse winde to refresh them. The like is in other Countries where no winde blowes, the which are all on fire like unto a furnace. If we shall neerly looke into the consideration of the winde, whereof we have spoken, we may resolve many doubts which some object, and which seeme strange and wonderfull: wherefore the Sunne casting his beames upon the burning Zone, and particularly at Peru, and that more violently then in Spaine in the Canicular dayes, yet they defend the heat with a light covering, so as with a slender covering of mats or straw, they are better preserved from the heate, then in Spaine under a roofe of wood, or a vault of stone. Moreover, why are not the nights in Summer at Peru as hot and troublesome as in Spaine? Wherefore on the highest tops of Mountaines, even amongst the heapes of snowe, you shall sometimes feele great and insupportable heat? Wherefore in all the Province of Colao, when yee come into the shade, how little soever, you feele cold: But comming into the Sunne beames, you presently finde the heate excessive? Every morning the winde from the Sea doth cease, and the Sunne begins to cast his beames; and for this reason they feele the greatest heat in the morning, untill the returne of the same windes, which otherwise they call the tyde or winde of the Sea,

It is noted by travellers that there is a hot winde sometimes neere to Balsara and Ormus which swalloweth mens breath and suddenly kills them. Linschoten observes at Goa the wind to blow twelve houres from the Sea, and other twelve constantly from the land.

which makes them first to feele cold. Wee have tried all this, whilest wee were at the Ilands of Barlovante, where in the mornings wee did sweat for heat, and at noone we felt a fresh aire; for that then, a North Easterly winde which is fresh and coole, doth commonly blow.

Temper of the Indies.

Considering with my selfe, the pleasing temperature of many Countries at the Indies, where they know not what Winter is, which by his cold doth freeze them, nor Summer [III. v. 922.] which doth trouble them with heat, but that with a Mat they preserve themselves from the injuries of all weather, and where they scarce have any neede to change their garments throughout the yeere. I say, that often considering of this, I find that if men at this day would vanquish their passions, and free themselves from the snares of covetousnesse, leaving many fruitlesse and pernicious designes, without doubt they might live at the Indies very pleasant and happily: for that which other Poets sing of the Elisean fields & of the famous Tempe, or that which Plato reports or feignes of his Atlantike Iland; men should finde in these Lands, if with a generous spirit they would choose rather to command their silver and their desires, then to remayne to it slaves as they are.

Of the windes, their differences, properties, and causes in generall.

Having discoursed in the two former Bookes of that which concernes the Heavens, and the habitation of the Indies * in generall, it behooves us now to treat of the

lib. 3. cap. 2.

* We have abbreviated and to prevent tediousness cut off a great part of Acostas observations in the two former bookes, as having handled the same in our Pilgrimage l. 8. where we have shewed whence men and beasts might come thither, and that the opinion of the worlds unhabitablenesse betwixt the Tropicks is false: for the daily raines when the Sunne is neerest, the long nights & therein great dewes, the breezes and constant course of the windes, the great Lakes & Rivers, height of Hills, &c. make those parts not onely habitable, but more temperate than others and fitter for mans life: there being more heat at, and on this side the Tropicks then under the Line. We here doe but cull out choise things for better understanding the naturall historie of those parts; for other things referring the Reader to the Authour himselfe. Occasionally our notes shall elucidate those things also, which are in the Text omitted.

three elements, Aire, Water, and Land, and their compounds, which be metals, plants and beasts: for, as for the fire, I see no speciall matter at the Indies which is not in other Regions; unlesse some will say, that the manner to strike fire in rubbing two stones one against another, as some Indians use, or to boile any thing in gourds, casting a burning stone into it, & other such like things, are remarkable, whereof I have written what might bee spoken. But of those which are in the Vulcans * and Mouthes of fire at the Indies, worthy doubtlesse to be observed, I will speake in their order, treating of the diversitie of grounds, whereas they finde these fires or Vulcans. Therefore to begin with the windes, I say, that with good reason, Salomon in the great judgement which God had given him, esteemes much the knowledge of the windes; and their properties being very admirable; for that some are moist, others drie; some unwholsome, others sound; some hot, others cold; some calme and pleasant, others rough and tempestuous; some barren, and others fertile, with infinite other differences. There are some windes which blow in certaine Regions, and are, as it were, Lords thereof, not admitting any entrie or communication of their contraries. In some parts they blow in that sort, as sometimes they are Conquerors, somtimes conquered; often there are divers and contrarie windes, which doe runne together at one instant, dividing the way betwixt them, somtimes one blowing above of one sort, and another below of an other sort; somtimes they incounter violently one with another, which puts them at Sea in great danger: there are some windes which helpe to the generation of Creatures, and others that hinder and are opposite. There is a certaine winde, of such a qualitie, as when it blowes in some Countrie, it causeth it to raine Fleas, and in so great abundance, as they trouble and darken the aire, and cover all the Sea-shoare: and in other places it raines Frogs. These diversities and others which are sufficiently knowne, are commonly attributed to the place by the which these windes passe.

* *Vulcans, as Ætna, Hecla, &c. sulphurous earth whence fire issueth.*

Generall windes.

Monsons.

For they say, that from these places they take their qualities to be cold, hot, drie, or moist, sickly or sound, and so of the rest, the which is partly true, and cannot be denyed; for that in a small distance you shall see in one winde many diversities. For example, the Solanus or Easterne winde is commonly hot and troublesome in Spaine; and in Murria it is the coolest and healthfullest that is, for that it passeth by the Orchards, and that large champaine which wee see very fresh. In Carthagene which is not farre from thence, the same winde is troublesome and unwholsome. The Meridionall (which they of the Ocean call South, and those of the Mediterranean Sea, Mezo giorno) commonly is raynie and boysterous, and in the same Citie whereof I speake, it is wholesome and pleasant. Plinie reports that in Africke it raines with a Northerne winde, and that the Southerne winde is cleere. He then that shall well consider what I have spoken of these windes, he may conceive, that in a small distance of Land or Sea, one winde hath many and divers qualities, yea sometimes quite contrarie; whereby wee may inferre, that hee draweth his propertie from the place where it passeth, the which is in such sort true (although we may not say infallibly) as it is the onely and principall cause of the diversitie of the windes. It is a thing we easily find, that in a River contayning fiftie leagues in circuit (I put it thus for an example) that the winde which blowes of the one part, is hot and moist; and that which blowes on the other, is cold and drie. Notwithstanding this diversitie is not found in places by which it passeth, the which makes me rather to say, that the windes bring these qualities with them, whereby they give unto them the names of these qualities. For example, we attribute to the Northerne winde, otherwise called Cierco, the propertie to be cold and drie, and to dissolve mists; to the Southerne winde his contrarie, called Levesche, we attribute the contrarie qualitie, which is moist and hot, and ingenders mists. But it is needfull to seeke further, to know the true and originall cause of these so strange

Windes receive their qualities from the places by which they passe.

differences which we see in the windes. I cannot conceive any other, but that the same efficient cause which bringeth forth and maketh the winds to grow, doth withall give them this originall qualitie: for in truth, the matter whereon the winds are made, which is no other thing (according to Aristotle) but the exhalation of the interior Elements, may well cause in effect a great part of this diversitie, being more grosse, more subtill, more drie, and more moist. But yet this is no pertinent reason, seeing that we see in one Region, where the vapours and exhalations are of one sort and qualitie, that there rise windes and effects quite contrarie. We must therefore referre the cause to the higher and celestiall Efficient, [III. v. 923.] which must be the Sunne, and to the motion and influence of the Heavens, the which by their contrarie motions, give and cause divers influences. But the beginnings of these motions and influences are so obscure and hidden from men, and on the other part, so mightie and of so great force, as the holy Prophet David in his propheticall Spirit, and the Prophet Jeremie admiring the greatnesse of the Lord, speake thus, Qui profert ventos de thesauris *Psalme* 134. suis. Hee that drawes the windes out of his Treasures. *Jeremie* 10. In truth these principles and beginnings are rich and hidden treasures: for the Author of all things holds them in his hand, and in his power; and when it pleaseth him, sendeth them forth for the good or chastisement of men, and sends forth such windes as he pleaseth: not as that Eolus whom the Poets doe foolishly feigne to have charge of the windes, keeping them in a Cave like unto wilde beasts. We see not the beginning of these windes, neither doe we know how long they shall continue, or whither they shall goe. But wee see and know well the diverse effects and operations they have, even as the supreme Truth, the Author of all things hath taught us, saying, Spiritus ubi vult spirat, & vocem ejus audis, & nescis unde venit, aut quò vadit.

It is true, that the Northerne winde is not usually cold and cleere there as here. In some parts of Peru, as at

Lima, and on the Playnes, they finde the Northerne windes troublesome and unwholsome, and all along the Coast which runnes above five hundred leagues, they hold the Southerne windes for healthfull and coole, and (which is more) most cleere and pleasant; yea it never raines, contrarie to that wee see in Europe, and of this side the Line. Yet that which chanceth upon the coast of Peru is no generall rule, but rather an exception, and a wonder of Nature, never to raine upon that coast, and ever to have one winde, without giving place to his contrarie, whereof we will hereafter speake our minde. It is no generall rule there, that the Northerne winde is neither hot nor raynie there, as the South winde is on this side; but contrariwise, it raines when as the South winde blowes there, as wee see in all the Sierre or mountaine of Peru, in Chile, and in the Countrie of Congo, which is on the other side of the Line, and farre advanced into the Sea. And in Potozi likewise, the winde which they call Tomahani (which is our North) if my memorie faile me not, is extremely cold, drie, and unpleasant, as it is here with us. Yet doth not the Northerne winde disperse the cloudes usually there, as it doth here: but contrariwise, if I be not deceived, it doth often cause raine. There is no doubt, but the windes doe borrow this great diversitie of contrarie effects, from the places by which they passe, and the neere Regions where they are bred, as wee see by daily experience in a thousand places. But speaking in generall of the qualitie of the windes, we must rather looke to the coasts or parts of the World from whence they proceede, then to observe, whether they be on this side or beyond the Line, as it seemes the Philosopher held opinion. These capitall windes, which be the East and West, have no such universall qualities, nor so common in this Continent, nor in the other, as the two former. The Solanus or Easterne winde, is commonly here troublesome and unwholsome, and the Westerne or Zephirus, is more milde and healthfull. At the Indies, and in all the burning Zone, the Easterne winde which they call

Herera hath shewed the height of the Hills to bee the cause of the windes constancy and raines raritie.

Brise, is contrariwise very healthfull and pleasant. Of the West, I cannot speake any thing certaine or generall, for that it blowes not at all, or very seldom in the burning Zone, for in all the navigation betwixt the two Tropicks, the Easterne winde is ordinarie. And for that it is one of the admirable workes of Nature, it shall bee good to understand the cause and the beginning thereof.

Eastern winde raineth betwixt the Tropicks.

The wayes at Sea are not as at Land, to returne the same way they passe. It is all one way (saith the Philosopher) from Athens to Thebes, and from Thebes to Athens; but it is not so at Sea, for wee goe one way and returne by another. The first which discovered the East and West Indies, laboured much with great difficultie to finde out their course, untill that Experience (the Mistresse of these secrets) had taught them, that to saile through the Ocean, is not like the passage in Italie, through the Mediterranean Sea, where in their returne, they observe the same Ports and Capes they had sight of in their passage, attending still the benefit of the winde, which changeth instantly, and when that failes, they have recourse to their Oares; and so the Gallies goe and come daily, coasting along the shoare. In some parts of the Ocean, they may not looke for any other winde then that which blowes, for that commonly it continues long. To conclude, that which is good to goe by, is not fit to returne with: for in the Sea beyond the Tropicke, and within the burning Zone, the Easterly windes raine continually, not suffering their contraries. In the which Region there are two strange things, the one is, that in that Zone (being the greatest of the five, into the which the World is divided) the Easterly windes (which they call Brises) doe reigne, not suffering the Westerne or Southerne (which they call lower winds) to have their course at any season of the yeere: The other wonder is, that these Easterly windes never cease to blow, and most commonly in places neerest to the Line (where it seemes that Calmes should be more frequent, being a part of the World, most subject to the heat of the Sunne, but it is

That the burning Zone, the Brises, or Easterly windes, doe continually blow, and without the Zone the Westerne, and that the Easterly are ordinarie alwayes there. Chap. 4 Juan de Gacos in Decade 1. lib. 4. cap. 6.

They goe one way to the Indies and return another, why.

contrarie, for you shall hardly finde any Calmes there, and the winde is cold and continues longer, which hath beene found true in all the Navigations of the Indies. This is the reason, why the voyage they make from Spaine to the West Indies is shorter, more easie, and more assured, then the returne to Spaine.

[III. v. 924.] The Fleetes parting from Sivil, have more difficultie to passe the Canaries, for that the gulfe of Yegues or of Mares, is variable, being beaten with divers windes, but having passed the Canaries, they saile with a Westerne winde untill they come to the burning Zone, where presently they finde an Easterly winde, and so they saile on with full windes, so as they have scant any need to touch their sailes in the whole voyage: for this reason they called this great gulfe, the gulfe of Dames, for the calmnesse and pleasantnesse thereof. Then following their course, they come to the Ilands of Guadelupe Dominique, Desired, Marigualante, and the rest, which in that place, be as it were, the Suburbs of the Indies. There the Fleetes separate and divide themselves, whereof some (which goe to new Spaine) take to the right hand towards Hispaniola; and having discovered Cape Saint Anthony, they passe unto Saint John Delua, alwayes using the same Easterly windes. Those for the mayne Land, take the left hand, discovering the high mountaine of Tayrone, then having touched at Carthagene, they passe unto Nombre de Dios, from whence they goe by Land to Panama, and from thence, by the South Sea to Peru. But when the fleetes returne to Spaine, they make their voyage in this sort: The fleete of Peru discovers Cape Saint Anthony, then they enter into the Havana, which is a goodly Port in the Iland of Cuba. The fleet of new Spaine doth likewise touch at the Havana, being parted from Vera Cruz, or from the Iland of Saint John Delua, the which is not without difficultie, for that commonly Easterly windes blow there, which is a contrarie winde to goe to the Havana. These fleetes being joyned together for Spaine, they seeke their height without the

Tropicks, where presently they finde Westerly windes, which serve them untill they come in view of the Acores, or Terceres, and from thence to Sivil. So as their voyage in going, is of a small height, not above twentie degrees from the Line, which is within the Tropicks. But the returne is without the Tropicks, in eight and twentie or thirtie degrees of height at the least, for that within the Tropicks, the Easterne windes continually blow, the which are fittest to goe from Spaine to the West Indies, for that their course is from East to West; and without the Tropicks (which is in three and twentie degrees of height) they finde Westerly windes, the which are the more certaine and ordinarie, the farther you are from the Line, and more fit to returne from the Indies; for that they are windes blowing from the South and West, which serve to runne into the East and North.

The like discourse is of the Navigation made into the South Sea, going from new Spaine or Peru, to the Philippines or China, and returning from the Philippines or China to new Spaine, the which is easie, for that they saile alwayes from East to West, neere the Line, where they finde the Easterly windes to blow in their Poope. In the yeere 1584. there went a ship from Calloa in Lima to the Philippines, which sayled two thousand and seven hundred leagues without sight of Land, and the first it discovered, was the Iland of Lusson, where they tooke Port, having performed their voyage in two moneths, without want of winde or any torment, and their course was almost continually under the Line; for that from Lima (which is twelve degrees to the South) he came to Manilla, which is as much to the North. The like good fortune had Alvaro de Mandana, when as he went to discover the Ilands of Solomon, for that he had alwayes a full gale, untill he came within view of these Ilands, the which must bee distant from that place of Peru, from whence hee parted, about a thousand leagues, having runne their course alwayes in one height to the South. The returne is like unto the voyage from the Indies unto

Sayling 2700. leagues without sight of Land in two moneths. See Candishes voyage.

Spaine: for those which returne from the Philippines or China to Mexico, to the end they may recover the western windes, they mount a great height, untill they come right against the Ilands of Japon, and discovering the Caliphornes, they returne by the coast of new Spaine to the Port of Acapulco, from whence they parted. So as it is proved likewise by this Navigation, that they saile easily from East to West, within the Tropicks, for that their Easterly windes doe raine: but returning from West to East, they must seeke the Westerne windes without the Tropicks, in the height of seven and twentie degrees. The Portugals prove the like in their Navigations to the East Indies, although it be in a contrarie course.

Cause of the Brises.

Let us now speake of that which toucheth the Question propounded, what should be the reason why under the burning Zone we saile easily from East to West, and not contrarie: wherein we must presuppose two certaine grounds. The one is, that the motion of the first Moover, which they call Diurnall, not onely drawes and mooves with him the celestiall Spheares, which are inferiour unto him, as wee see daily in the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres; but also the Elements doe participate of this motion, insomuch as they are not hindered. The Earth is not mooved, by reason of her heavinesse, which makes it immoveable, being farre from this first motor. The Element of water mooves not likewise with this Diurnall motion, for that it is united to the Earth and make one spheare, so as the Earth keeps it from all circular motion. But the other two Elements of Fire and Aire, are more subtill and neerer the heavenly Regions, so as they participate of their motion, and are driven about circularly, as the same celestiall bodies. As for the Fire, without doubt it hath his spheare (as Aristotle and other Philosophers have held) but for the Aire (which is no point of our subject) it is most certaine that it mooves with a motion Diurnall, which is from East to West, which wee see plainly in Comets that moove from the East unto the West, mounting, descending, and finally turning in the

Motion of the Primum Mobile carrieth the inferiour aire with it.

hemispheare in the same sort as the Starres move in the firmament; for otherwise these Comets being in the region and sphere of the ayre, whereas they ingender, appeares consum'd. It should be impossible for them to move circularly, as they doe, if the element of the aire doth not move with the same motion that the first motor doth. For these elements being of a burning substance, by reason they should be fixt, without moving circularly, if the sphere where they are did not move; if it be not as we faine, that some Angell or intellectuall Spirit doth walke with the Comet, guiding it circularly. In the yeare 1577. appeared that wonderfull Comet (in forme like unto a feather) from the horizon almost to the middest of heaven, and continued from the first of November, untill the eight of December: I say from the first of November, for although in Spaine it was noated but the ninth of November (according to the testimonie of Writers of that time) yet at Peru, where I was then, I remember well, we did see it, and observe it eight dayes before, and all the time after. Touching the cause of this diversitie, some may delate upon it particularly: I will onely shew, that during those fortie dayes which it continued, wee all observed (both such as were in Spaine, and we that lived then at the Indies) that it moved daily with an universall motion, from East to West, as the Moone and other Planets, whereby it appeares that the sphere of the aire, being its Region, the element it selfe must of necessitie move after the same sort. We noted also, that besides this universall motion, it had another particular, by which it moved with the planets from West to East, for every night it turned more Eastward, like unto the Moone, Sunne, and Planets of Venus. We did also observe a third particular motion, whereby it moved from the Zodiacke towards the North; for after some nights it was found neerer unto the Septentrionall signes. And it may be this was the reason why the great Comet was sooner seene by those that were Southerly, as at Peru, and later discovered by them of Europe: for by this third [III. v. 925.]

The Comet 1577. seene eight dayes sooner in Peru then in Spaine.

motion (as I have said) it approached neerer the Northerne Regions. Yet every one may well observe the differences of this motion, so as we may well perceive, that many and sundry celestiall bodies, give their impressions to the sphere of the ayre. In like sort it is most certaine, that the ayre moves with the circular motion of the heaven, from East to West, which is the first ground before mentioned. The second is no lesse certaine, which is, that the motion of the ayre in those parts that are under the Line, or neere unto it, is very swift and light, the more it approacheth to the Equinoctiall; but the farther off it is from the Line, approaching neere the Poles, the more slow and heavie this motion is. The reason hereof is manifest, for that the moving of the celestiall bodies, being the efficient cause of the moving of the ayre, it must of necessitie be more quicke and light, where the celestiall bodies have their swiftest motion.

Alonso Sanches was of opinion that this motion of the ayre was not a winde, but the ayre moved by the Sunne. This is learnedly spoken, yet can wee not deny it to be a winde, seeing there are vapours and exhalations of the Sea; and that we sometimes see the Brise, or Easterly windes stronger, sometimes more weake, and placed in that sort, as sometimes they can hardly carry all their sayles. We must then know (and it is true) that the ayre moved, draweth unto it the vapours it findes, for that the force is great, and findes no resistance, by reason whereof the Easterne and Westerne windes are continual, and in a manner alwayes alike, in those parts which are neere the Line, and almost under all the burning Zone, which is the course the Sun followes betwixt the two circles of Cancer and Capricorne.

The Brize (or motion of the aire with the heavens) is a winde.

Why without the Zone, in a greater altitude, we finde alwaies Westerly windes.

Chap. 7. Eddy windes.

Who so would neerely looke into what hath bin spoken, may likewise understand, that going from the West to the East, in altitude beyond the Tropikes, we shall finde Westerne windes, for that the motion of the Equinoctiall being so swift, it is a cause that the ayre moveth under it according to this motion, which is from the East to

West, drawing after it the vapours and exhalations that rise of either side the Equinoctiall or burning Zone, incountring the course and motion of the Zone, are forced by the repercussion to returne almost to the contrary, whence grow the South-west windes so ordinary in those parts. Even as we see in the course of waters, the which (if they be incountred by others of more force) returne in a manner backe: So it seemes to be like in vapours and exhalations, whereby it growes that the windes doe turne and separate themselves from one part to another. These Westerly windes doe commonly raine in a meane altitude, which is from twenty and seven to thirty and seven degrees, though they be not so certaine nor so regular as the Brises that are in a lesse altitude. The reason is, for that the South-west winds are no causes of this proper and equall motion of the heaven, as the Brises are, being neere to the Line. But (as I have said) they are more ordinary, and often more furious and tempestuous. But passing into a greater altitude, as of fortie degrees, there is as small assurance of windes at Sea as at Land; for sometimes the East or North winde blowes, and sometimes the South, or West: whereby it happeneth their navigations are more uncertaine, and more dangerous.

Of the exceptions to the foresaid Rules, & of the winds and calmes both at Land and at Sea. Chap. 8.

That which we have spoken of windes, which blow ordinarily within and without the Zone, must be understood of the maine Sea, and in the great gulphes; for at land it is otherwise, where we finde all sorts of windes, by reason of the inequalitie which is betwixt the Mountaines and the vallies; the great number of Rivers and Lakes, and the divers scituations of Countries, whence the grosse and thick vapours arise, which are moved from the one part or the other, according to the diversitie of their beginnings, which cause these divers windes the motion of the ayre, caused by the heaven, having not power enough to draw and move them with it. And this varietie of windes is not onely found at land, but also upon the Sea coast, which is under the burning Zone,

Cause of the variety of windes.

[III. v. 926.]

for that there be forraine or land windes which come from the land, and many which blow from the Sea; the which windes from the Sea, are commonly more wholesome and more pleasant then those of the land, which are contrariwise troublesome and unwholesome, although it be the difference of the coast that causeth this diversitie: commonly the land windes blow from mid-night to the Sunne rising, and the Sea windes untill Sunne setting. The reason perhaps may be, that the earth, as a grosse substance, fumes more when as the Sunne shines not upon it, even as greene wood, or scarse dry, smoakes most when the flame is quenched. But the Sea, which is compounded of more subtile parts, engenders no fumes, but when it is hot, even as straw or haie, being moist and in small quantitie, breedes smoake when it is burnt, and when the flame failes, the fume suddenly ceaseth. Whatsoever it be, it is certaine that the Land winde blowes by night, and that of the Sea by day. So that even as there are often contrary, violent, and tempestuous windes upon the Sea coast, so doe we see very great calmes. Some men of great experience report, that having sailed many great passages at Sea under the Line, yet did they never see any calmes, but that they alwayes make way little or much, the ayre being moved by the celestiall motion, which is sufficient to guide a Shippe, blowing in poope, as it doth. I have already said, that a Shippe of Lima going to Manilla, sailed two thousand seven hundred leagues, alwayes under the Line, or not above twelve degrees from it, and that in the moneths of February and March, when as the Sunne is there for Zenith, and in all this space they found no calmes, but alwayes a fresh gale, so as in two moneths they performed this great voyage. But in the burning Zone and without it, you shall usually see great calmes upon the coasts, where the vapours come from the Ilands, or maine land. And therefore stormes and tempests, and the sudden motions of the ayre, are more certaine and ordinary upon the coasts, whereas the vapours come from the Land, then in full

Simile

Note.

Sea, I meane under the burning Zone, for without it and at Sea, there are both calmes and whirlewindes. Notwithstanding, sometimes betwixt the two Tropickes, yea, under the Line, you shall have great raine and sudden showers, yea farre into the Sea; for the working whereof, the vapours and exhalations of the Sea, are sufficient, which moving sometimes hastily in the ayre, cause thunder and whirlewindes, but this is more ordinary neere to the Land and upon the Land. When I sailed from Peru to new Spaine, I observed, that all the time we were upon the coast of Peru, our voyage was (as it was ordinary) very calme and easie, by reason of the Southerne winde that blowes, having alwayes a fore winde, returning from Spaine and new Spaine. As we passed the gulph, lanching farther into the Sea, almost under the Line, wee found the season coole, quiet, and pleasant, with a full winde, but comming neere to Nicaragua, and to all that coast, wee had contrary windes, with great store of raine and fogges. All this Navigation was under the burning Zone: for from twelve degrees to the South, which is Lima, we sailed to the seventeenth, which is Gautulco, a port of new Spaine: and I beleeve, that such as have observed their navigations, made under the burning Zone, shall finde what I have said, which may suffice for the windes which raigne at Sea, under the burning Zone.

Of some marvellous effects of the windes, which are in some parts of the Indies. Chap. 9.

It were a very difficult matter, to report particularly the admirable effects which some windes cause in divers regions of the world, and to give a reason thereof. There are windes, which naturally trouble the water of the Sea, and makes it greene and blacke, others cleere as Christall, some comfort and make glad, others trouble and breede heaviness. Such as nourish Silke-wormes, have great care to shut their windows, when as the South-west windes doe blow, and to open them to the contrary: having found by certaine experience, that their wormes diminish and dye with the one, and fatten and become better with the other: and who so will neerely observe it, shall finde in himselfe, that the diversities of windes,

Silkewormes killed with South-west windes.

cause notable impressions and changes in the body, principally in sicke parts and ill disposed, when they are most tender and weake. The holy Scripture calleth one a burning winde, another, a winde full of dewe and sweetnesse. And it is no wonder if we see such notable effects of the winde, in Plants, Beasts, and Men, seeing that we see it visibly in Iron, which is the hardest of all mettals. I have seene Grates of Iron in some parts of the Indies, so rusted and consumed, that pressing it betwixt your fingers, it dissolved into powder, as if it had beene hay or parched straw, the which proceedes onely from the winde which doth corrupt it, having no meanes to withstand it. But leaving apart many other great and notable effects, I will onely make mention of two. The one, although it causeth pangs greater then death it selfe, yet doth it not breede any further inconvenience. The other takes away life without feeling of it. The sicknesse of the Sea, wherewith such are troubled as first begin to goe to Sea, is a matter very ordinary; and yet if the nature thereof were unknowne to men, we should take it for the pangs of death, seeing how it afflicts and torments while it doth last, but the casting of the stomacke, paine of the head, and other troublesome accidents. But in truth this sicknesse so common and ordinary happens unto men by the change of the ayre and Sea. For although it be true that the motion of the Ship helpes much, in that it moves more or lesse: and likewise the infections and ill favours of things in the Ship: yet the proper and naturall cause, is the ayre and the vapours of the Sea, the which doth so weaken and trouble the body and the stomacke, which are not accustomed thereunto, that they are wonderfully moved and changed: for the ayre is the Element, by which we live and breath, drawing it into our entrailes, the which we bathe therewithall. And therefore there is nothing that so suddenly, and with so great force doth alter us, as the change of the ayre we breathe, as we see in those which dye of the plague. It is approved by many experi-

Exo. c. 10. & 14. *Job.* 17. *Joan.* 4. *Osee.* 13. *Dan.* 3.

The like Linschoten observeth in the Terceras.

Sea sicknesse whence.

Agitation and Sea ayre.

[III. v. 927.]

ences, that the ayre of the Sea, is the chiefe cause of this strange indisposition; the one is, that when there blowes from the Sea a strong breath, we see them at the Land as it were Sea-sicke, as I my selfe have often found. Another is, the farther wee goe into the Sea, and retyre from Land, the more wee are touched and dazeled with this sicknesse. Another is, that coasting along any Iland, and after lanching into the maine, we shall there finde the ayre more strong. Yet will I not deny, but the motion and agitation may cause this sicknesse, seeing that we see some are taken therewith passing Rivers in Barkes: others in like sort going in Coaches and Caroaches, according to the divers complexions of the Stomacke: as contrariwise, there are some how boisterous and troublesome soever the Sea be, doe never feele it. Wherefore it is a matter certaine, and tried, that the ayre of the Sea, doth commonly cause this effect in such as newly goe to Sea. I thought good to speake this, to shew a strange effect, which happens in some parts of the Indies, where the ayre and the winde that raigns makes men dazle, not lesse, but more then at Sea. Some hold it for a fable, others say it is an addition: for my part I will speake what I have tried.

Strange passion at Pariacaca by the ayre there.

There is in Peru, a high mountaine which they call Pariacaca, and having heard speake of the alteration it bred, I went as well prepared as I could, according to the instructions which was given me, by such as they call Vaguianos, or expert men: but notwithstanding all my provision, when I came to mount the degrees, as they called them, which is the top of this mountaine, I was suddenly surprized with so mortall and so strange a pang, that I was ready to fall from the top to the ground: and although we were many in company, yet every one made haste (without any tarrying for his companion,) to free himselfe speedily from this ill passage. Being then alone with one Indian, whom I intreated to helpe to stay me, I was surprized with such pangs of straining and casting, as I thought to cast up my heart too; for having cast

up meate, flegme, and coller, both yellow and greene; in the end I cast up blood, with the straining of my stomacke. To conclude, if this had continued, I should undoubtedly have dyed; but this lasted not above three or foure houres, that wee were come into a more convenient and naturall temperature, where all our companions (being fourteene or fifteene) were much wearied. Some in the passage demanded confession, thinking verily to dye: others left the Ladders and went to the ground, being overcome with casting, and going to the stoole: and it was told me, that some have lost their lives there with this accident. I beheld one that did beate himselfe against the earth, crying out for the rage and griefe which this passage of Pariacaca had caused. But commonly it doth no important harme, onely this paine and troublesome distaste while it endures: and not onely the passage of Pariacaca hath this propertie, but also all this ridge of the Mountaine, which runnes above five hundred leagues long, and in what place soever you passe, you shall finde strange intemperatures, yet more in some parts then in others, and rather to those which mount from the Sea, then from the Plaines. Besides Pariacaca, I have passed it by Lucanas and Soras: in another place, by Colleguas, and by Cavanas. Finally, by foure different places, going and comming, and alwayes in this passage I have felt this alteration, although in no place so strongly, as at the first in Pariacaca, which hath beene tried by all such as have passed it. And no doubt but the winde is the cause of this intemperature and strange alteration, or the ayre that raignes there. For the best remedy (and all they finde) is to stoppe their noses, their eares, and their mouthes, as much as may be, and to cover themselves with cloathes, especially the stomacke, for that the ayre is subtile and piercing, going into the entrailes, and not onely men feele this alteration, but also beasts that sometimes stay there, so as there is no spurre can make them goe forward. For my part I hold this place to be one of the highest parts of land in the

Height of Pariacaca.

world, for we mount a wonderfull space. And in my opinion, the Mountaine Nevade of Spaine, the Pirenees, and the Alpes of Italie, are as ordinary houses, in regard of hie Towers. I therefore perswade my selfe, that the element of the ayre is there so subtile and delicate, as it is not proportionable with the breathing of man, which requires a more grosse and temperate ayre, and I beleeve it is the cause that doth so much alter the stomacke, and trouble all the disposition. The passages of the mountaines Nevade, and other of Europe, which I have seene, although the ayre be cold there, and doth force men to weare more cloathes, yet this colde doth not take away the appetite from meate, but contrariwise it provokes; neither doth it cause any casting of the stomacke, but onely some paine in the feete and hands. Finally, their operation is outward. But that of the Indies, whereof I speake (without molesting of foote or hand, or any outward part) troubles all the entrailes within: and that which is more admirable, when the Sunne is hot, which maketh me imagine, that the griefe wee feele comes from the qualitie of the ayre which wee breathe: Therefore that is most subtile and delicate, whose cold is not so sensible, as piercing. All this ridge of mountaines is, for the most part, desart, without any Villages or habitations for men, so as you shall scarce finde any small Cottages to lodge such as doe passe by night: there are no Beasts, good or bad, but some Vicunos, which are their Countrie Muttons, and have a strange and wonderfull property, as I shall shew in his place. The Grasse is often burnt, and all blacke with the ayre, and this Desart runs five and twenty or thirty leagues overthwart, and in length above five hundred leagues.

Aire too subtile for mens bodies. So we see Horses to beate the water with their fecte to make it more grosse and thereby more agreeable to their bodies.

[III. v. 928.]

Vicunos.

Great Desart.

There are other Desarts or places inhabited, which at Peru they call Punas (speaking of the second point we promised) where the qualitie of the ayre cutteth off mans life without feeling. In former time the Spaniards went from Peru, to the Realme of Chille by this Mountaine,

Punas ayre killing.

but at this day they doe passe commonly by Sea, and sometimes alongst the side of it. And though that way be laborious and troublesome, yet is there not so great danger as by the Mountaine, where there are Plaines, on the which many men have perished and dyed, and sometimes have scaped by great hap, whereof some have remained lame. There runs a small breath, which is not very strong nor violent, but proceeds in such sort, that men fall downe dead, in a manner without feeling, or at the least, they loose their feete and hands: the which may seeme fabulous, yet is it most true. I have knowne and frequented long the Generall Jerome Costilla, the auncient peopler of Cusco, who had lost three or foure toes, which fell off in passing the Desart of Chille, being perished with this ayre, and when he came to looke on them, they were dead, and fell off without any paine, even as a rotten Apple falleth from the tree. This Captaine reported, that of a good armie which he had conducted by that place, in the former yeares, since the discovery of this Kingdome by Almagro, a great part of the men remained dead there, whose bodies he found lying in the Desart, without any stinke or corruption; adding thereunto one thing very strange, that they found a yong Boye alive, and being examined how hee had lived in that place, hee said, that he lay hidden in a little Cave, whence hee came to cut the flesh of a dead Horse with a little Knife, and thus had he nourished himselfe a long time, with I know not how many companions that lived in that sort, but now they were all dead, one dying this day, & another to morrow, saying that he desired nothing more then to dye there with the rest, seeing that hee found not in himselfe any disposition to goe to any other place, nor to take any taste in any thing. I have understood the like of others, and particularly of one that was of our company, who being then a secular man, had passed by these Desarts: and it is a strange thing, the quality of this cold ayre, which kils, and also preserves the dead bodies without corruption.

Strange Story.

The same confirmed by a Jesuites report, and a Dominicans.

I have also understood it of a reverend religious man, of the Order of Saint Dominike, and Prelate thereof, who had seene it passing by the Desarts: and which is strange, he reported, that travelling that way by night, was forced to defend himselfe against that deadly winde which blowes there (having no other meanes) but to gather together a great number of those dead bodies that lay there, and made thereof, as it were, a rampire and a bolster for his head: in this manner did hee sleepe, the dead bodies giving him life. Without doubt this is a kinde of colde so piercing, that it quencheth the vitall heate, cutting off his influence; and being so exceeding colde, yet doth not corrupt nor give any putrifaction to the dead bodies, for that putrifaction groweth from heate and moistnesse. As for the other kinde of ayre which thunders under the earth, and causeth earthquakes, more at the Indies, then in any other Regions, I will speake thereof in treating the qualities of the Land at the Indies. We will content our selves now with what we have spoken of the winde and ayre, and passe to that which is to be spoken of the water.

Such effects of cold we have observed in Russia, and other Northern parts: and the like Master Knivet will tell us at the Maggelan Straits.

§. II.

Of the Ocean that invirons the Indies, and of the North and South Seas, their ebbing, flowing, Fishes, fishing, Lakes, Rivers, and Springs.

AMong all waters the Ocean is the principall, by which the Indies have beene discovered, and are invironed therewith; for either they be Ilands of the Ocean Sea, or maine Land, the which wheresoever it ends, is bounded with this Ocean. To this day they have not discovered at the Indies any Mediterranean Sea, as in Europe, Asia, and Affrica, into the which there enters some arme of this great Sea, and makes distinct Seas, taking their names from the Provinces they wash: and almost all the Mediterranean Seas continue

No Mediterranean Sea of great note in America.

and joyne together, and with the Ocean it selfe, by the straight of Gibraltar, which the Ancients called, the Pillers of Hercules, although the Red Sea being separated from the Mediterranean Seas, enters alone into the Indian Ocean; and the Caspian Sea joynes not with any other: so that at the Indies we finde not any other Sea then this Ocean, which they divide into two, the one they call the North Sea, and the other the South; for that the Indies which were first discovered by the Ocean, and reacheth unto Spaine, lies all to the North, and by that Land thereafter discovered a Sea on the other side, the which they called the South Sea, for that they decline untill they have passed the Line: and having lost the [III. v. 929.] North, or Pole-articke, they called it South. For this cause they have called all that Ocean the South Sea, which lyeth on the other side of the East Indies, although a great part of it be seated to the North, as all the coast of new Spaine, Nuaragna, Guatimala and Panama. They say, that he that first discovered this Sea, was called Blascowunes of Bilbo, the which he did by that part *Terra firme.* which we now call Maine Land, where it growes narrow, and the two Seas approach so neere the one to the other, that there is but seven leagues of distance: for although *Straight of land but eight leag. betwixt North & South Seas.* they make the way eighteene from Nombre de Dios to Panama, yet is it with turning to seeke the commoditie of the way, but drawing a direct line, the one Sea shall not be found more distant from the other. Some have discoursed and propounded to cut through this passage of seven leagues, and to joyne one Sea to the other, to make the passage from Peru more commodious and easie, for that these eighteene leagues of Land betwixt Nombre de Dios and Panama, is more painefull and chargeable then 2300. by Sea, whereupon some would say, it were a meanes to drowne the Land, one Sea being lower then *Herodotus.* another. As in times past we finde it written, that for the same consideration, they gave over the enterprize to winne the red Sea into Nile, in the time of King Sesostris, *Jovius.* and since, in the Empire of the Othomans. But for my

part, I hold such discourses and propositions for vaine, although this inconvenience should not happen, the which I will not hold for assured. I beleeve there is no humaine power able to beate and breake downe those strong and impenetrable Mountaines, which God hath placed betwixt the two Seas, and hath made them most hard Rockes, to withstand the furie of two Seas. And although it were possible to men, yet in my opinion they should feare punishment from heaven, in seeking to correct the workes, which the Creator by his great providence hath ordained and disposed in the framing of this universall world.

Leaving this discourse of opening the Land, and joyning both Seas together, there is yet another lesse rash, but very difficult and dangerous to search out. Whether these two great gulfes doe joyne in any other part of the world, which was the enterprize of Fernando Magellan a Portugall Gentleman, whose great courage and constancie in the research of this subject, and happy successe in the finding thereof, gave the name of eternall memory to this straight, which justly they call by the name of the discoverer Magellan, of which straight we will intreate a little, as of one of the greatest wonders of the world. Some have beleeved, that this Straight which Magellan had discovered in the South Sea, was none, or that it was straightned, as Don Alonso d'Arsile writes in his Auracane: and at this day there are some that say, there is no such Straight, but that they are Ilands betwixt the Sea and Land, for that the maine Land ends there, at the end whereof are all Ilands, beyond the which the one Sea joynes fully with the other, or to speake better, it is all one Sea. But in truth it is most certaine, there is a straight and a long and stretched out Land on either side, although it hath not yet beene knowne how farre it stretcheth of the one side of the straight towards the South. After Magellan, a Shippe of the Bishop of Plaisance passed the straight, Don Guitieres Carvajal (whose Maste they say is yet at Lima, at the entrie of the Pallace) they went afterwards coasting along the

Experience in Drakes and Maires voyage have found them no straights but broken Ilands to the South, contrary to our Author here.

South, to discover the Straight, by the commandement of Don Garcia of Mendoca, then Governor of Chille, according to that which Captaine Ladrillero found it and passed it. I have read the discourse and report he made, where he saieth, that he did not hazard himselfe to land in the Straight, but having discovered the North Sea, he returned backe, for the roughnesse of the time, winter being now come, which caused the waves comming from the North, to grow great and swelling, and the Sea continually foming with rage. In our time, Francis Drake an Englishman, passed this Straight. After him, Captaine Sarmiento passed it on the South side. And lastly, in the yeere 1587. other Englishmen passed it, by the instruction of Drake, which at this time run along all the coast of Peru.

See of this Sir Francis Drakes Voyage. to. 1. l. 2.

I have omitted Sarmientoes voiage. &c.

Even as Magellan found out this Straight upon the South, so some have pretended to discover another Straight, which they say is in the North, and suppose it to be in Florida, whose coast runnes in such sort, as they know no end thereof. Peter Melendez the Adelantade, a man very expert at Sea, affirmeth for certaine, that there is a Straight, and that the King had commanded him to discover it, where in he shewed a great desire: he prepounded his reasons to prove his opinion, saying, that they have seene some remainders of Ships in the North Sea, like unto those the which the Chinois use, which had beene impossible, if there were no passage from one Sea unto another. Moreover, hee reported, that in a certaine great Bay in Florida (the which runs 300. leagues within the Land) they see Whales in some season of the yeare, which come from the other Sea.

The supposed Straight in Florida.

Of the ebbing and flowing of the Indian Ocean. Chap. 14. The Philosophers in searching the cause of ebbing and flowing have easily erred, following the Greekes and Latines which knew not the Ocean, and could not therfore know the cause.

One of the most admirable secrets of Nature is the ebbing and flowing of the Sea, not onely for this strange property of rising and falling, but much more for the difference there is thereof in divers Seas, yea in divers coasts of one and the same Sea. There are some Seas that have no daily flowing nor ebbing, as we see in the

inner Mediterranean, which is the Thyrene Sea, and yet it flowes and ebbes every day in the upper Mediterranean Sea, which is that of Venice, and justly giveth cause of admiration, that these two Seas being Mediterranean, and that of Venice being no greater then the other, yet hath it his ebbing and flowing as the Ocean, and that other Sea of Italie none at all. There are some Mediterranean Seas, that apparantly rise and fall every moneth; and others [III. v. 930.] that neither rise in the day, nor in the moneth. There are other Seas, as the Spanish Ocean, that have their flux and reflux every day; and besides that, they have it monethly, which commeth twice, that is to say, at the change, and at the full of every Moone, which they call Spring-tides. To say that any Sea hath this daily ebbing and flowing, and not monethly, I know not any. It is strange, the difference we finde of this subject at the Indies, for there are some places whereas the Sea doth daily rise and fall two leagues, as at Panama, and at a high water it riseth much more. There are other places where it doth rise and fall so little, that hardly can you finde the difference. It is ordinary in the Ocean Sea to have a daily flowing and ebbing, and that was twice in a naturall day, and ever it fals three quarters of an houre sooner one day then another, according to the course of the Moone: so as the tide fals not alwaies in one houre of the day. Some would say, that this flux and reflux proceeded from the locall motion of the water of the Sea; so as the water that riseth on the one side, fals on the other that is opposite unto it: so that it is full Sea on the one side when it is a low water on the opposite, as we see in a Kettle full of water, when we moove it, when it leanes to the one side the water increaseth, and on the other it diminisheth. Others affirme, that the Sea riseth in all parts at one time, and decreaseth at one instant: as the boyling of a Pot, comming out of the centre it extendeth it selfe on all parts, and when it ceaseth, it fals likewise on all parts.

This second opinion is true, and in my judgement,

certaine and tried, not so much for the reasons which the Philosophers give in their Meteors, as for the certaine experience wee may make. For to satisfie my selfe upon this point and question, I demanded particularly of the said * Pilot, how he found the tides in the straight, and if the tides of the South Sea did fall when as those of the North did rise. And contrariwise (this question being true) why the increase of the Sea in one place, is the decrease thereof in another, as the first opinion holdeth. He answered that it was not so, but they might see plainely, that the tides of the North and South Seas rise at one instant, so as the waves of one Sea incountred with the other, and at one instant likewise they began to retire, every one into his Sea, saying, that the rising and falling was daily seene, and that the incounter of the tides (as I have said) was at threescore and tenne leagues to the North Sea, and thirtie to the South. Whereby we may plainely gather, that the ebbing and flowing of the Ocean is no pure locall motion, but rather an alteration: whereby all waters really rise and increase at one instant, and in others, they diminish, as the boyling of a Pot, whereof I have spoken. It were impossible to comprehend this point by experience, if it were not in the Straight, where all the Ocean, both on th' one side, and on th' other joynes together: for none but Angels can see it, and judge of the opposite parts: for that man hath not so long a sight, nor so nimble and swift footing as were needefull, to transport his eyes from one part to another, in so short a time, as a tide will give him respite, which are onely six houres.

**Hernando Alonso which with Sarmiento had gone to the Straights to seeke Captaine Drake.*

At the Downes on our coast two tides meet one from the Westerne Sea or slewe, the other from the North, which there cause much varietie.

There are in the Indian Ocean, an infinite number of fishes, the kindes and properties whereof the Creator onely can declare. There are many such as we have in the Sea of Europe, as Shads, and Aloses which come from the Sea into the Rivers; Dorads, Pilchards, and many other. There are others, the like I doe not thinke to have seene in these parts, as those which they doe call Cabrillas, which doe somewhat resemble the Trowt, and in new

Of sundry Fishes, and their manner of fishing at the Indies.

Spaine they call them Bobos, they mount from the Sea into the Rivers. I have not seene any Besugues there, nor Trowts, although some say there are in Chille. There are Tonins in some parts upon the coast of Peru, but they are rare, and some are of opinion, that at a certaine time they doe cast their spawne in the Straight of Magellan, as they doe in Spaine at the Straight of Gibraltar, and for this reason they finde more upon the coast of Chille, although those I have seene there, are not like to them in Spaine. At the Ilands (which they call Barlovente) which are Cuba, Saint Dominicke, Port rique, and Jamaique, they finde a fish which they call Manati, a strange kinde of fish, if we may call it fish, a creature which ingenders her yong ones alive, and hath teates, and doth nourish them with milke, feeding of grasse in the fields, but in effect it lives continually in the water, and therefore they eate it as fish; yet when I did eate of it at Saint Dominique on a friday, I had some scruple, not for that which is spoken, but for that in colour and taste it was like unto morsels of Veale, so is it greene, and like unto a Cowe on the hinder parts. I did wonder at the incredible ravening of the Tiburons, or sharkes, when as I did see drawne from one (that was taken in the Port) out of his gullet, a Butchers great Knife, a great Iron hooke, and a piece of a Cowes head with one whole horne, neither doe I know if both were there, or no. I did see in a creeke made with that Sea, a quarter of a horse for pleasure hanging upon a stake, whither presently came a company of these Tiburons, at the smell thereof: and for the more pleasure, this Horse-flesh was hung in the ayre, I know not how many hand breadth from the water; this company of fish flocke about it, leaping up, and with a strange nimblenesse cut off both flesh and bone off the Horse legge, as if it had beene the stalke of a lettuce; their teeth being as sharpe as a rasour. There are certaine small fishes they call Rambos, which cleave to these Tiburons, neither can they drive them away, and they are fed with that which

The Manati a strange fish. The Whales also bring forth their yong alive, and nourish them with their brests, being in that huge creature scarce twice so big as the breasts of a woman, and farre lesse then those of many women. Their foode is also Sea weedes. Sharking sharkes.

[III. v. 931.] falles from the Tiburons. There are other small fishes, which they call flying fishes, the which are found within the tropickes, and in no other place, as I thinke: they are pursued by the Ducades; and to escape them they leape out of the Sea, and goe a good way in the ayre, and for this reason they are called flying Fishes: they have wings as it were of linnen cloath, or of parchment, which doe support them some space in the ayre. There did one flye or leape into the Ship wherein I went, the which I did see, and observe the fashion of his wings.

They have rough heads whereby they cleave and sticke fast to the Sharke, which thus are forced to carry them with their swift motion, of whose offall also they live.

In the Indian Histories there is often mention made of Lezards or Caymans (as they call them) and they are the very same which Plinie and the Auncients call Crocodiles, they finde them on the Sea side, and in hot Rivers, for in cold Rivers there are none to be found. And therefore they finde none upon all the coasts of Peru unto Payra, but forward they are commonly seene in the Rivers. It is a most fierce and cruell beast, although it be slow and heavie. Hee goes hunting and seekes his prey on the Land, and what he takes alive, he drownes it in the water, yet doth he not eate it, but out of the water, *for that his throate is of such a fashion, as if there entred any water, he should easily be drowned. It is a wonderfull thing to see a combat betwixt a Caymant and a Tigre, whereof there are most cruell at the Indies. A religious man of our company told me that he had seene these beasts fight most cruelly one against the other; upon the Sea shoare the Caymant with his taile gave great blowes unto the Tygre, striving with his great force to carry him into the water: and the Tigre with his pawes resisted the Caymant, drawing him to Land. In the end the Tigre vanquished, and opened the Lezard, it seemes by the belly, the which is most tender and penetrable, for in every other part he is so hard, that no Lance, and scarce a harquebuze can pierce it. The victory which an Indian had of a Caymant was yet more rare: the Caymant had carried away his yong childe, and sodainely plunged into

Crocodiles.

**Yet so as ever and anon hee dips it in the water his tongue being so short, that otherwise he could not swallow it.*

Tigre kils a Crocodile.

the Sea, the Indian moved with choller, cast himselfe after him, with a knife in his hand, and as they are excellent swimmers and divers, and the Caymant swimmeth alwayes on the toppe of the water, hee hurt him in the belly, and in such sort, that the Caymant feeling himselfe wounded, went to the shoare, leaving the little infant dead.

Indians exploit on a Crocodile.

But the combat which the Indians have with Whales is yet more admirable, wherein appeares the power and greatnesse of the Creator, to give so base a Nation (as be the Indians) the industrie and courage to incounter the most fierce and deformed beast in the world, and not onely to fight with him, but also to vanquish him, and not to triumph over him. Considering this, I have often remembred that place of the Psalmes, speaking of the Whale, Draco iste quem formasti ad illudendum eum: What greater mockerie can there be, then to see an Indian leade a Whale as bigge as a Mountaine, vanquished with a cord: The manner the Indians of Florida use (as some expert men have told me) to take these Whales (whereof there is great store) is, they put themselves into a Canoe, which is like a barke of a tree, and in swimming approach neere the Whales side, then with great dexteritie they leape to his necke, and there they ride as on horse-back expecting his time, then he thrusts a sharpe and strong stake (which he carries with him) into the Whales nostrill, for so they call the hole or vent by which they breathe, presently he beates it in with another stake as forcibly as he can; in the meane space the Whale doth furiously beate the Sea, and raiseth Mountaines of water, running into the deepe with great violence, and presently riseth againe, not knowing what to doe for paine: the Indian still sits firme, and to give him full paiment for this trouble, he beates another stake into the other vent or nosthrill, so as he stoppeth him quite, and takes away his breathing, then he betakes him to his Canoe, which he holds tied with a cord to the Whales side, and goes to Land, having first tied his cord to the Whale, the which

Whale killed by the Savages.

he lets run with the Whale, who leapes from place to place, whilest he finds water enough: being troubled with paine, in the end he comes neere the Land, and remaines on ground by the hugenesse of his body, unable any more to move; then a great number of Indians come unto the Conquerour, to gather his spoiles, they kill him, and cut his flesh in peeces, the which is bad enough: this doe they dry and beate into powder, using it for meate, it doth last them long: wherein is fulfilled, that which is spoken in another Psalme of the Whale, Dedisti eum escam populis Æthiopum. Peter Mendez the Adelantade did often speake of this kinde of fishing. Whereof Monardes makes mention in his Booke.

There is another fishing which the Indians doe commonly use in the Sea, the which, although it be lesse, yet is it worthy the report. They make as it were faggots of bul-rushes or dry sedges well bound together, which they call Balsas: having carried them upon their shoulders to the Sea, they cast them in, and presently leape upon them: being so set, they lanch out into the deepe, rowing up and downe with small reedes of either side: they goe a league or two into the Sea to fish, carrying with them their cords and nets upon these faggots, and beare themselves thereon. They cast out their nets, and doe there remaine fishing the greatest part of the day and night, untill they have filled up their measure, with the which they returne well satisfied. Truely it was delightfull to see them fish at Callao of Lima, for that they were many in number, and every one set on horse-backe, cutting the waves of the Sea, which in their place of fishing are great and furious, resembling the Tritons or Neptunes, which they paint upon the water, and being come to Land, they draw their barke out of the
[III. v. 932.] water upon their backes, the which they presently undoe, and lay abroad on the shoare to drie. There were other Indians of the Vallies of Yca, which were accustomed to goe to fish in leather, or skins of Sea-wolves, blowne up with winde, and from time to time they did blow them

like bals of winde, lest they should sinke. In the vale of Canete, which in old time they called Guaroo, there were a great number of Indian fishers; but because they resisted the Ingue, when he came to conquer that Land, hee made shew of peace with them, and therefore to feast him, they appointed a solemne fishing of many thousand Indians, which went to Sea in their vessels of reeds: at whose returne, the Ingua (who had laid many Souldiers in ambush) made a cruell butcherie of them, so as afterward this Land remained unpeopled, although it be aboundant and fertile. I did see another manner of fishing, whereunto Don Francis of Toledo the Viceroy did leade me, yet was it not in the Sea, but in a River which they call great in the Province of Charcas, where the Indians Chiraquanas plunged into the water, and swimming with an admirable swiftnesse, followed the fish, where with darts and hookes (which they use to carry in their right hand, onely swimming with the left) they wound the fish, and so hurt they brought them forth, seeming in this more like unto fishes then men of the Land. But now that we have left the Sea, let us come to other kinde of waters that remaine to be spoken of.

Of Lakes and Pooles that be at the Indies. Chap. 16.

In place of the Mediterranean Sea, which is in the old world, the Creator hath furnished this new with many Lakes, whereof there are some so great, as they may be properly called Seas, seeing the Scripture calleth that of Palestina so, which is not so great as some of these. The most famous is that of Titicaca, which is at Peru, in the Province of Callao, the which as I have said in the former booke, containes neere fourescore leagues in compasse, into the which there runs ten or twelve great Rivers. A while since, they began to saile in it with Barkes and Ships, wherein they proceeded so ill, that the first Ship was split with a tempest that did rise in the Lake. The water is not altogether sower nor salt, as that of the Sea, but it is so thicke, as it cannot be drunke. There are two kindes of fishes breede in this Lake in great abundance, the one they call Suches, which is great and savorous,

Thicke water.

Fishes and fishing.

but phlegmaticke and unwholesome: and the other Bogos, which is more healthfull, although it be lesse and fuller of bones: there are great numbers of wilde-ducks and Wigens. When as the Indians will feast it, or shew delight to any one that passeth along the two bankes, which they call Chucuyto and Omasugo, they assemble a great number of Canoes, making a circle and invironing the fowle, untill they take with their hands what they please: and they call this manner of fishing Chaco. On the one and the other banke of this Lake, are the best habitations of Peru. From the issue thereof there growes a lesser Lake, although it be great, which they call Paria, upon the bankes whereof, there are great numbers of cattell, especially Swine, which grow exceeding fat with the grasse upon those bankes. There are many other Lakes in the high Mountaines, whence proceede Brookes and Rivers, which after become great flouds. Upon the way from Arequippa to Callao, there are two Lakes, upon the Mountaines of the one and other side the way, from the one flowes a brooke, which growes to a floud, and fals into the South Sea; from the other, they say the famous River of Aporima takes her beginning; from the which some hold that the renowned River of Amazons, otherwise called Maragnon proceedes, with so great an assembly and abundance of waters, which joyne in these Mountaines. It is a question may be often asked, why there is so many Lakes in the tops of these Mountaines, into the which no river enters, but contrariwise, many great streames issue forth, and yet doe we scarce see these Lakes to diminish any thing at any season of the yeare. To imagine that these Lakes grow by the Snow that melts, or raine from heaven, that doth not wholly satisfie me: for there are many that have not this abundance of Snow, nor raine, and yet wee see no decrease in them, which makes me to beleeve they are Springs which rise there naturally, although it be not against reason, to thinke that the Snow and raine helpe somewhat in some seasons. These Lakes are so common in the highest tops

Originall of Lakes.

of the Mountaines, that you shall hardly finde any famous river that takes not his beginning from one of them. Their water is very cleere and breedes little store of fish, and that little is very small, by reason of the cold which is there continually. *Greatest rivers flow from Lakes.*

Notwithstanding, some of these Lakes be very hot, which is another wonder. At the end of the Vallie of Tarapaya neere to Potozi, there is a Lake in forme round, which seemes to have beene made by compasse, whose water is extreamely hot, and yet the Land is very cold: they are accustomed to bathe themselves neere the banke, for else they cannot endure the heate being farther in. In the midst of this Lake, there is a boiling of above twentie foote square, which is the very Spring, and yet (notwithstanding the greatnesse of this Spring) it is never seene to increase in any sort: it seemes that it exhals of it selfe, or that it hath some hidden and unknowne issue, neither doe they see it decrease; which is another wonder, although they have drawne from it a great streame, to make certaine engines grinde for mettall, considering the great quantitie of water that issueth forth, by reason whereof, it should decrease. *Hot Lake, and many wonders thereof.*

But leaving Peru, and passing to new Spaine, the Lakes there, are no lesse to be observed; especially that most famous of Mexico, where we finde two sorts of waters, one salt Lake like to that of the Sea, and the other cleere and sweete, by reason of the Rivers that enter into it. In the midst of this Lake, is a rocke very delightfull and pleasant, where there are bathes of hot water that issue forth, the which they greatly esteeme for their health. There are Gardens in the middest of this Lake, framed and fleeting upon the water, where you may see plots full of a thousand sorts of hearbes and flowers, & they are in such sort as a man cannot well conceive them without sight. The Citie of Mexico is seated in the same Lake, although the Spaniards have filled up the place of the scituation with earth, leaving onely some currents of water, great and small, which enter into the Citie, to *Lake of Mexico salt and fresh.* [III. v. 933.]

carrie such things as they have neede of, as wood, hearbs, stone, fruites of the Countrie, and all other things. When Cortez conquered Mexico, hee caused Brigandins to be made, yet afterwards he thought it more safe not to use them: therefore they use Canoes, whereof there is great store. There is great store of fish in this Lake, yet have I not seene any of price: notwithstanding, they say the revenue of this Lake, is worth three-hundred thousand Duckets a yeere. There are many other Lakes, not farre from this, whence they bring much fish to Mexico. The Province of Mechouacan is so called, for that it aboundeth greatly with fish. There are goodly and great Lakes, in the which there is much fish, and this Province is coole and healthfull. There are many other Lakes, whereof it is not possible to make mention, nor to know them in particular, onely wee may note by that which hath beene discoursed in the former Booke, that under the burning Zone there is greater abundance of Lakes, then in any other part of the world.

Rich Lakes.

Of many and divers Springs and Fountains. Chap. 17.

There is at the Indies as in other parts of the world, great diversitie of Springs, Fountaines, and Rivers, and some have strange properties. In Guancauilica of Peru (where the Mines of Quick-silver be,) there is a Fountaine that casts forth hot water, and in running, the water turnes to rocke, of which rocke or stone, they build in a manner all the houses of the Village. This stone is soft, and easie to cut, for they cut it as easily with Iron as if it were wood, it is light and lasting. If men or beasts drinke thereof, they dye, for that it congeales in the very entrailes, and turnes into stone, and for that cause some Horses have died. As this water turnes into stone, the which flowes, stoppes the passage to the rest; so as of necessitie it changeth the course, and for this reason it runnes in divers places, as the rocke increaseth. At the point of Cape Saint Helaine, there is a Spring or Fountaine of Pitch, which at Peru, they call Coppey. This should be like to that which the Scripture speakes of the savage Valley, where they did finde pits of Pitch. The

Hot Spring turning into Stone.

Fountaine of Pitch.

Marriners use these Fountaines of Pitch or Coppey, to pitch their ropes and tackling, for that it serves them as Pitch and Tarre in Spaine. When I sailed into new Spaine by the coast of Peru, the Pilot shewed me an Iland, which they call the Ile of Wolves, where there is another Fountaine or Pit of Coppey or Pitch, with the which they anoint their tackling. There are other Fountaines and Springs of Goultranrozen, which the Pilot (an excellent man in his charge) told me he had seene, and that sometimes sailing that waies, being so farre into the Sea, as he had lost the sight of Land, yet did he know by the smell of the Coppey, where he was, as well as if he had knowne the Land, such is the savour that issues continually from that Fountaine.

Cold and hot Springs together.

At the Bathes, which they call the Bathes of Ingua, there is a course of water, which comes forth all hot and boiling; and joyning unto it, there is another whose water is as cold as Ice. The Ingua was accustomed to temper the one with the other; and it is a wonderfull thing to see Springs of so contrarie qualities, so neere one to the other. There are an infinite number of other hot Springs, specially in the Province of Charcas, in the water whereof, you cannot indure to hold your hand the space of an Ave Maria, as I have seene tried by wager. In a Farme neere to Cusco, springs a Fountaine of Salt, which as it runnes turnes into Salt, very white and exceeding good, the which (if it were in another Countrie) were no small riches, yet they make very small account thereof, for the store they have there. The waters which runne in Guayaquel, which is in Peru, almost under the Equinoctiall Line, are held to be healthfull for the French disease, and other such like, so as they come from many places farre off to be cured. And they say the cause thereof is, for that in that Countrie there is great aboundance of rootes, which they call Salepareille, the vertue and operation whereof is so knowne, that it communicates her propertie to the waters wherein it is put to cure this disease. Bilcanota is a Mountaine the which

Salt Spring which yeeldes Salt without boiling.

Pocke spring.

(according to common opinion) is in the highest part of Peru, the top whereof is all covered with Snow, and in some places is blacke like coale. There issueth forth of it, two Springs in contrary places, which presently grow to be very great brooks, and so by little and little become great flouds, the one goes to Calloa, into the great Lake Titicaca, the other goes to the Lands, and is that which they call Yucay, which joyning with another runnes into the North Sea, with a violent and furious course. This Spring, when it comes out of the rocke Bilcanota, as I have said, is of the colour of lie, having an ashie colour,

Smoak Spring. and casts a fume as a thing burnt, the which runs far in this sort, until the multitude of waters that run into it, quench this smoak and fire which it drawes from the Spring. In new Spain I have seene a Spring as it were

Inke, &c. Ink, somewhat blew, in Peru another, of color red like blood, where upon they cal it the red River.

Of Rivers. Chap. 18. *Maragnon or Amazons.* [III. v. 934.] Amongst all Rivers, not onely at the Indies, but generally through the world, the River Maragnon, or of Amazons, is the chiefe, whereof we have spoken in the former Booke. The Spaniards have often sailed it, pretending to discover the Lands, which by report are very rich, especially those they call Dorado and Paytiti, Jean de Salnies, the Adelantade, made a memorable entrie, though of small effect. There is a passage which they call Pongo, one of the most dangerous in all the world; for the River being there straightned, and forced betwixt

Water fall. two high steepe Rocks: the water fals directly downe with so great a violence, that comming steepe downe, it causeth such a boyling, as it seemeth impossible to passe it without drowning: yet the courage of men durst attempt to passe it, for the desire of this renowmed Dorado: they slipt downe from the top to the bottome, thrust on with the violence and currant of the floud, holding themselves in their Canoes or barkes: and although in falling they were turned topsie turvie, and both they and their Canoes plunged into the deepe, yet by their care and industrie they recovered themselves againe; and

in this sort the whole armie escaped, except some few that were drowned. And that which is more admirable, they carried themselves so cunningly, that they neither lost their Powder nor Munition. In their returne (having suffered many troubles and dangers) they were forced, in the end, to passe backe that same way mounting by one of those high Rocks, sticking their Ponyards in the Rocke. *Golden thirst.*

Captaine Peter d'Orsua made another entrie by the same River, who being dead in the same Voyage, and the Souldiers mutinied; other Captaines followed the enterprise, by an arme that comes into the North Sea. A religious man of our company told us, that being then a secular man, he was present in a manner at all that enterprise, and that the tides did flow almost a hundred leagues up the River, and whereas it enters into the Sea (the which is under the Line, or very neere) it hath seventy leagues breadth at the mouth of it, a matter incredible, and which exceeds the breadth of the Mediterranean Sea, though there be some others, who in their descriptions give it but twenty five or thirty leagues breadth at the mouth.

River of Plata, increasing as Nilus.

Next to this River that of Plata, or of Silver holds the second place, which is otherwise called Paraguay, which runs from the Mountains of Peru, into the Sea, in thirty five degrees of altitude to the South: it riseth (as they say) like to the River of Nile, but much more without comparison, and makes the fields it overflowes like unto a Sea, for the space of three moneths, and after returneth againe to his course, in the which Shippes doe saile many leagues against the streame. There are many other Rivers that are not of that greatnesse, and yet are equall: yea they surpasse the greatest of Europe, as that of Magdalaine, neere to Saint Marthe, called the great River, and that of Alvarado in new Spaine, and an infinite number of others. Of the South side, on the Mountaines of Peru, the Rivers are not usually so great, for that their current is not long, and that many waters cannot joyne together, but they are very swift, descending

from the Mountaines, and have sodaine fals, by reason whereof they are very dangerous, and many men have perished there. They increase and overflow most in the time of heate. I have gone over twenty and seven Rivers upon that coast, yet did I never passe any one by a foord.

How they passe their Rivers.

The Indians use a thousand devises to passe their Rivers. In some places they have a long cord that runnes from one side to th'other, and thereon hangs a basket, into the which he puts him selfe that meanes to passe; and then they draw it from the banke with another cord, so as he passeth in this basket. In other places the Indian passeth, as it were on Horse-backe, upon a bottle of straw, and behinde him he that desires to passe; and so rowing with a peece of a boord, carries him over. In other places they make a floate of gourds or pompions, upon which they set men with their stuffe to carry over, and the Indians having cords fastned to them, goe swimming before, and draw this floate of pompions after them, as Horses doe a Coach: others goe behinde thrusting it forward. Having passed, they take their barke of pompions upon their backe, and returne swimming: this they doe in the River of Saint at Peru. We passed that of Alvarado in new Spaine upon a table, which the Indians carried upon their shoulders, and when they lost their footing, they swamme. These devises, with a thousand other wherewith they use to passe their Rivers, breede a terrour in the beholders, helping themselves with such weake and unsure meanes; and yet they are very confident. They doe use no other bridges but of haire or of straw. There are now upon some Rivers bridges of Stone, built by the diligence of some Governours, but many fewer then were needefull in such a Countrie, where so many men are drowned by default thereof, and the which yeeldes so much Silver, as not onely Spaine, but also other strange Countries make sumptuous buildings therewith. The Indians doe draw from these flouds that runne from the Mountaines to the

Haire and Straw Bridges.

Vallies and Plaines, many and great Brookes to water their Land, which they usually doe with such industrie, as there are no better in Murcia, nor at Millan it selfe, the which is also the greatest and onely wealth of the Plaines of Peru, and of many other parts of the Indies.

§. III. [III. v. 935.]

Of the qualitie of the Land at the Indies in generall. Properties of Peru, and of new Spaine, and other parts: Of Vulcanes and Earthquakes.

WE may know the qualitie of the Land at the Indies, for the greatest part (seeing it is the last of the three Elements, whereof we have propounded to treate in this Booke) by the discourse we have made in the former Booke of the burning Zone, seeing that the greatest part of the Indies doth lye under it. But to make it knowne the more particularly, I have observed three kindes of Lands, as I have passed through those Regions: whereof there is one very low, another very high, and the third which holds the middle of these two extreames. The lower is that which lyeth by the Sea coasts, whereof there is in all parts of the Indies, and it is commonly very hot and moist, so as it is not so healthfull; and at this day we see it lesse peopled, although in former times it hath beene greatly inhabited with Indians, as it appeareth by the histories of new Spaine and Peru, and where they kept and lived, for that the soile was naturall unto them being bred there. They lived of fishing at Sea, and of seeds, drawing brooks from the Rivers, which they used for want of raine, for that it raines little there, and in some places not at all. This low Countrie hath many places unhabitable, as well by reason of the Sands which are dangerous (for there are whole Mountaines of these Sands) as also for the Marishes which grow by reason of the waters that fall from the *L. 3. C. 19.*

Mountaines, which finding no issue in these flat and low Lands, drowne them, and make them unprofitable.

Decay of people in the Indies by the Spaniards.

And in truth the greatest part of all the Indian Sea coast is of this sort, chiefly upon the South Sea: the habitation of which coasts is at this present so wasted and contemned, that of thirty parts of the people that inhabited it, there wants twenty nine; and it is likely the rest of the Indians will in short time decay. Many, according to the varietie of their opinions, attribute this to divers causes: some to the great labour which hath beene imposed upon these Indians; others, unto the change and varietie of meates and drinkes they use, since their commerce with the Spaniards: others, to their great excesse and drinking, and to other vices they have: for my part, I hold this disorder to be the greatest cause of their decay, whereof it is not now time to discourse any more. In this low Countrie (which I say generally is unhealthfull, and unfit for mans habitation) there is exception in some places which are temperate and fertile, as the greatest part of the Plaines of Peru, where there are coole vallies and very fertile. The greatest part of the habitation of the coast entertains all the traffike of Spain by Sea: whereon all the estate of the Indies dependeth. Upon this coast there are some Towns well peopled, as Lima and Truxillo in Peru, Panama and Carthagena upon the maine Land, and in the Ilands Saint Dominique, Port Ricco, and Havana, with many other Towns which are lesse then these, as the True Crosse in new Spaine, Yca, Arigua and others in Peru: the Ports are commonly inhabited, although but slenderly. The second sort of Land is contrary, very high, and by consequent, cold and dry, as all the Mountaines are commonly. This Land is neither fertile nor pleasant, but very healthfull, which makes it to be peopled and inhabited. There are Pastures and great store of Cattle, the which, for the most part, entertaines life, and by their Cattell, they supply the want they have of Corne and Graine, by trucking and exchange. But that which makes these Lands more

inhabited and peopled, is the riches of the Mines that are found there, for that all obeys to Gold and Silver. By reason of the Mines there are some dwellings of Spaniards and Indians, which are increased and multiplied, as Potozi and Gancavelicque in Peru, and Cacatecas in new Spaine. There are also through all these Mountaines great dwellings of the Indians, which to this day are maintained; yea some will say they increase, but that the labour of the Mines doth consume many, and some generall diseases have destroyed a great part, as the Cocoliste in new Spaine: yet they finde no great diminution. In this extremitie of high ground they finde two commodities, as I have said, of Pastures and Mines, which doe well countervaile the two other that are in the lower grounds alongst the Sea coast, that is, the commerce of the Sea, and the abundance of Wine which groweth not but in the hot Lands. Betwixt these two extreames *Corn grounds.* there is ground of a meane height, the which, although it be in some parts higher or lower one then other, yet doth it not approach neither to the heate of the Sea coast, nor the intemperature of the Mountaines. In this sort of soyle there groweth many kindes of Graine, as Wheate, Barley, and Mays, which growes not at all in the high Countries, but well in the lower; there is likewise store of Pasture, Cattell, Fruits, and greene Forrests. This part is the best habitation of the three, for health and recreation; and therefore it is best peopled of any part of the Indies, the which I have curiously observed in many Voyages that I have undertaken, and have alwayes found it true, that the Province best peopled at the Indies be in this scituation. Let us looke neerely into new Spaine (the which without doubt is the best Province the Sunne doth circle) by what part soever you doe enter, you mount up; and when you have mounted a good height, you begin to descend, yet very little: and that Land is [III. v. 936.] alwayes much higher then that along the Sea coast.

All the Land about Mexico is of this nature and scituation; and that which is about the Vulcan, which is the

best soile of the Indies, as also in Peru, Arequipa, Guamangua and Cusco, although more in one then in the other. But in the end, all is high ground, although they descend into deepe Vallies, and clime up to high Mountaines: the like is spoken of Quitto, Saint Foy, and of the best of the New Kingdome. To conclude, I doe beleeve that the wisedome and providence of the Creator would have it so, that the greatest part of this Countrie of the Indies should be hillie, that it might be of a better temperature: for being low, it had beene very hot under the burning Zone, especially being farre from the Sea. Also all the Land I have seene at the Indies, is neere to the Mountaines on the one side or the other, and sometimes of all parts: So as I have oftentimes said there, that I would gladly see any place, from whence the horizon did fashion it selfe and end by the heaven, and a Countrie stretched out and even, as we see in Spaine in a thousand champaine fields; yet doe I not remember that I have ever seene such sights at the Indies, where it in the Ilands, or upon the maine Land, although I have travelled above seven hundred leagues in length.

The Indies mountainous, and thereby temperate.

But as I have said, the neerenesse of the Mountaines is very commodious in this region, to temper the heate of the Sunne. To conclude, the best inhabited parts of the Indies are as I have said: and generally, all that Countrie abounds in Grasse, Pastures, and Forrests, contrary unto that which Aristotle and the ancients did hold. So as when we go out of Europe to the Indies we wonder to see the Land so pleasant, greene and fresh. Yet this rule hath some exceptions, and chiefly in the Land of Peru, which is of a strange nature amongst all others, whereof we will now proceede to speake.

Of the properties of the land of Peru. Chap. 20.

We meane by Peru, not that great part of the world which they call America, seeing that therein is contained Bresil, the Kingdome of Chille, and that of Grenade, and yet none of these Kingdomes is Peru, but onely that part which lies to the South, beginning at the Kingdome of Quitto, which is under the Line, and runs in length to

the Realme of Chille, the which is without the Tropickes, which were six hundred leagues in length, and in breadth it containes no more then the Mountaines, which is fiftie common leagues, although in some places, as at Chachapayas, it be broader. This part of the world which wee call Peru, is very remarkeable, and containes in it strange properties, which serveth as an exception to the generall rule of the Indies. The first is, that upon all the coast it blowes continually with one onely winde, which is South and South-west, contrary to that which doth usually blow under the burning Zone. The second is, that this winde being by nature the most violent, tempestuous, and unhealthfull of all others, yet in this Region it is marvellous pleasing, healthfull, and agreeable: so as we may attribute the habitation of that part thereunto, without the which it would be troublesome and inhabitable, by reason of the heate, if it were not refreshed with the winde. The third propertie is, that it never raines, thunders, snowes, nor hailes in all this coast, which is a matter worthy of admiration. Fourthly, that a little distance from the coast it raines & snowes terribly Fiftly, that there are two ridges of Mountaines which runne the one as the other, and in one altitude, notwithstanding on the one there are great Forrests, and it raines the greatest part of the yeare, being very hot; and the other is all naked and bare, and very cold: so as winter and summer are divided on those two Mountaines, and raine and cleerenesse it selfe. For the better understanding hereof, we must consider that Peru is divided as it were into three parts, long and narrow, which they call Lanos, Sierras, and Andes; the Lanos runs alongst the Sea coast; the Sierras be all hils, with some vallies; and the Andes be steepe and craggie Mountaines. The Lanos or Sea coast, have some ten leagues in breadth, in some parts lesse, and in some parts a little more. The Sierra containes some twenty leagues in breadth: and the Andes as much sometimes more, sometimes lesse. They run in length from North to South, and in breadth

One winde onely.

The Plaines, the hils, and the Andes. See sup. in Herera.

from East to West. It is a strange thing, that in so small a distance as fiftie leagues, equally distant from the Line and Pole, there should be so great a contrarietie, as to raine almost continually in one place, and never in the other. It never raines upon the coast or Lanos, although there fals sometimes a small dew, which they call Guarua, and in Castill Mollina, the which sometimes thickens, and fals in certaine drops of water, yet it is not troublesome, nor such as they neede any covering. Their coverings are of mats with a little earth upon them which is sufficient. Upon the Andes it raines in a manner continually, although it be sometimes more cleere then other. In the Sierra which lies betwixt both the extreames, it raineth in the same season as it doth in Spaine, which is from September unto April, but in the other season, the time is more cleere, which is when the Sunne is farthest off, and the contrary when it is neerest. That which they call Andes and Sierra, are two ridges of most high Mountaines, which runne above a thousand leagues, the one in view of the other, and almost equally. There are an infinite number of Vicagues, which breede in the Sierres, and are properly like unto wilde Goates, very nimble and swift. There are also of those beasts which they call Guanacos and Pacos, which are sheepe, which we may well tearme the Asses of that Countrie; whereof we shall speake in their place. And upon the Andes they finde Apes, very gentle and delightfull, and Parrots in great numbers. There also they finde the herbe or tree which they call Coca, that is so greatly esteemed by the Indians, and the trafficke they make of it, is worth much mony.

Raine almost ever, and almost never.

Divers Beasts.

[III. v. 937.]

That which they call Sierre, causeth Vallies, where as it opens, which are the best dwellings of Peru, as is the Valley of Xauxa of Andaguaylas, and Yucay. In these Vallies there growes Wheat, Mays, and other sorts of fruits, but lesse in one then in the other. Beyond the Citie of Cusco (the ancient Court of the Lords of those Realmes) the two ridges of Mountaines separate them-

selves one from the other, and in the midst leave a Playne and large Champaigne, which they call the Province of Callao, where there are many Rivers and great store of fertile Pastures: there is also that great Lake of Titicaca. And although it bee a full soile, and in the same height and intemperature, that the Sierre, having no more Trees nor Forrests, yet the want they have of bread is countervailed with the rootes they sow, the which they call Papas, and they grow in the earth. This roote is the Indians foode; for drying it and making it cleane, they make that which they call Chugno, which is the bread and nourishment of those Provinces. There are other rootes and small herbes which they eate. It is a healthfull soile, best peopled, and the richest of all the Indies, for the abundance of Cattell they feede, as well of those that are in Europe, as Sheepe, Neat, and Goates, as of those of the Country, which they call Guanacos and Pacos, and there are store of Partridges. Next to the Province of Callao, is that of Charcas, where there are hot Vallies very fertile, and very high Rocks, the which are very rich in mynes, so as in no part of the World shall you finde better nor fairer.

Their bread.

For that it is rare and extraordinarie to see a Country where it never raines nor thunders; men desire naturally to know the cause of this strangenesse. The reason which some give that have neerly looked into it, is, that upon that Coast there rise no vapours, sufficient to engender raine for want of matter; but onely that there bee small and light vapours, which cannot breede any other then mists and deawes, as wee see in Europe, oftentimes vapours doe rise in the morning, which are not turned into raine, but into mists onely: the which growes from the substance, which is not grosse and sufficient enough to turne to raine. They say, the reason why that which happens but some times in Europe, falls out continually upon the Coast of Peru, is, for that this Region is very drie, and yeelds no grosse vapours. The drinesse is knowne by the great abundance of Sands, having neither Wells nor

The reason why it raines on the Lanos, along the Sea coast. Chap. 21.

Fountaines, but of fifteene Stades deepe (which is the height of a man or more) and that is neere unto Rivers, the water whereof, piercing into the Land, gives them meanes to make Wells. So as it hath beene found by experience, that the course of Rivers being turned, the Wells have beene dried up, untill they returned to their ordinarie course: and they give this reason for a materiall cause of this effect, but they have another efficient, which is no lesse considerable, and that is the great height of the Sierre, which comming along the Coast, shadowes the Lanos; so as it suffers no winde to blow from the Land, but above the tops of these Mountaines. By meanes whereof, there reignes no winde, but that from the Sea, which finding no opposite, doth not presse nor straine forth the vapours which rise to engender raine; so as the shadow of the Mountaines keepes the vapours from thickning, and converts them all into mists. There are some experiences agree with this discourse; for that it raines upon some small Hills along the Coast, which are least shadowed, as the Rocks of Atico and Arequipa. It hath rained in some yeeres when as the Northerne or Easterly windes have blowne: yea, all the time they have continued, as it happened in seventie eight, upon the Lanos of Trugillo, where it rained abundantly, the which they had not seene in many ages before. Moreover, it raines upon the same Coast in places, where as the Easterly or Northerne windes be ordinarie, as in Guayaquil, and in places where as the Land riseth much, and turnes from the shadow of the Mountaines, as in those that are beyond Ariqua. Some discourse in this manner, but let every one thinke as he please. It is most certaine, that comming from the Mountaines to the Vallies, they doe usually see as it were two Heavens, one cleere and bright above, and the other obscure, and as it were a gray vaile spread underneath, which covers all the Coast: and although it raine not, yet this mist is wonderfull profitable to bring forth grasse, and to raise up and nourish the seed: for although they have plentie of water, which they draw

from the Pooles and Lakes, yet this moisture from Heaven hath such a vertue, that ceasing to fall upon the Earth, it breedes a great discommoditie and defect of graine and seedes. And that which is more worthy of admiration, the drie and barren Sands are by this deaw so beautified with grasse and flowers, as it is a pleasing and agreeable sight, and very profitable for the feeding of Cattell, as we see in the Mountaine called Sandie, neere to the Citie of Kings.

Of the properties of new Spaine, of the Ilands, and of other Lands. Chap. 22.

New Spaine passeth all other Provinces in pastures, which breedes infinite troopes of Horse, Kine, Sheepe, and other Cattell. It abounds in fruit and all kinde of graine. To conclude, it is a Country the best furnished and most accomplished at the Indies. Yet Peru doth surpasse it in one thing, which is Wine, for that there growes store and good; and they daily multiply and increase, the which doth grow in very hot Vallies, where there are waterings. And although there be Vines in new Spaine, yet the grape comes not to his maturitie, fit to make Wine. The reason is, for that it raines there in July and August, when as the grape ripens: and therefore it comes not to his perfection. And if any one through curiositie would take the paines to make wine, it should be like to that of Genua and Lombardie, which is very small and sharpe, having a taste like unto Verjuyce. The Ilands which they call Barlovente, which bee Hispaniola, Cuba, Port Ricco, and others thereabouts, are beautified with many greene pastures, and abound in Cattell, as Neat, and Swine, which are become wilde. The wealth of these Ilands, bee their Sugar-workes and Hides. There is much Cassia fistula and Ginger. It is a thing incredible, to see the multitude of these merchandizes brought in one fleete, being in a manner impossible that all Europe should waste so much. They likewise bring wood of an excellent qualitie and colour, as Ebone, and others, which serve for buildings and Joyners. There is much of that wood which they call Lignum sanctum or Guage, fit to cure the pox. All these Ilands and others

Peru wine.

[III. v. 938.]

Sugar workes and Hides.

thereabouts, which are many, have a goodly and pleasant aspect, for that throughout the yeere, they are beautified with grasse and greene trees, so as they cannot discerne when it is Autumne or Summer, by reason of continuall moisture joyned to the heat of the burning Zone. And although this Land bee of a great circuit, yet are there few dwellings, for that of it selfe it engenders great Arcabutos, as they call them, which be Groves or very thicke Coppises: and on the Playnes there are many marishes and bogs. They give yet another notable reason, why they are so smally peopled, for that there have remayned few naturall Indians, through the inconsiderat-nesse and disorder of the first Conquerors that peopled it: and therefore, for the most part, they use Negros, but they cost deare, being very fit to till the Land. There growes neither bread nor wine in these Ilands, for that the too great fertilitie and the vice of the soile, suffers them not to seede, but casts all forth in grasse, very unequally. There are no Olive trees, at the least, they beare no Olives, but many greene leaves pleasant to the view, which beare no fruit. The bread they use is of Caçave, whereof we shall hereafter speake. There is gold in the Rivers of these Ilands, which some draw forth, but in small quantitie. I was little lesse then a yeere in these Ilands, and as it hath beene told me of the mayne Land of the Indies, where I have not beene, as in Florida, Nicaragua, Guatimala, and others, it is in a manner of this temper, as I have described: yet have I not set downe every particular of Nature in these Provinces of the firme Land, having no perfect knowledge thereof. The Country which doth most resemble Spaine and the Regions of Europe, in all the West Indies, is the Realme of Chille, which is without the generall rule of these other Provinces, being seated without the burning Zone, and the Tropicke of Capricorne. This Land of it selfe is coole and fertile, and brings forth all kindes of fruits that bee in Spaine; it yeelds great abundance of bread and wine, and abounds in Pastures and Cattell. The aire is wholsome and cleere,

Indians wasted.

temperate betwixt heat and cold, Winter and Summer are very distinct, and there they finde great store of very fine gold. Yet this Land is poore and smally peopled, by reason of their continuall warre with the Auricanos, and their Associates, being a rough people and friends to libertie.

Of the unknowne Land, and the diversitie of a whole day, betwixt them of the East and the West. Chap. 23.

There are great conjectures, that in the temperate Zone at the Antartike Pole, there are great and fertile Lands: but to this day they are not discovered, neither doe they know any other Land in this Zone, but that of Chille, and some part of that Land which runnes from Ethiopia to the Cape of Good Hope, as hath beene said in the first Booke; neither is it knowne if there bee any habitations in the other two Zones of the Poles, and whether the Land continues and stretcheth to that which is towards the Antartike or South Pole. Neither doe we know the Land that lyes beyond the Straight of Magellan, for that the greatest height yet discovered, is in fiftie sixe degrees, as hath beene formerly said; and toward the Artike or Northerne Pole, it is not known how farre the Land extends, which runnes beyond the Cape of Mendoçin and the Caliphornes, nor the bounds and end of Florida, neither yet how farre it extends to the West. Of late they have discovered a new Land, which they call New Mexico, where they say is much people that speake the Mexican tongue. The Philippines and the following Ilands, as some report that know it by experience, ranne above nine hundred leagues. But to intreat of China, Cochinchina, Siam, and other Regions which are of the East Indies, were contrarie to my purpose, which is onely to discourse of the West: nay, they are ignorant of the greatest part of America, which lyes betwixt Peru and Bresil, although the bounds be knowne of all sides, wherein there is diversitie of opinions; some say it is a drowned Land, full of Lakes and waterie places; others affirme there are great and flourishing Kingdomes, imagining there be the Paytiti, the Dorado, and the Cæsars, where they say are wonderfull things. I have heard one of our

companie say, a man worthy of credit, that he had seene great dwellings there, and the wayes as much beaten as those betwixt Salamanca and Villadillit, the which he did see, when as Peter d'Orsua, and after, those that succeeded him, made their entrie and discoverie by the great River of Amazons, who beleeving that the Dorado which they sought, was farther off, cared not to inhabit there, and after went both without the Dorado, which they could not finde, and this great Province which they left. To speake the truth, the habitations of America are to this day unknowne, except the extremities, which are Peru, Bresil, and that part where the Land begins to straighten, which is the River of Silver, then Tucuman, which makes the round to Chille and Charcas. Of late we have understood by Letters from some of ours which goe to Saint
[III. v. 939.] Croix in the Sierre, that they goe discovering of great Provinces and dwellings, betwixt Bresil and Peru. Time will reveile them, for as at this day the care and courage of men is great, to compasse the World from one part to another; so we may beleeve, that as they have discovered that which is now knowne, they may likewise lay open that which remaynes, to the end the Gospell may be preached to the whole World, seeing the two Crownes of Portugal and Castile have met by the East and West, joyning their discoveries together, which in truth is a matter to be observed, that the one is come to China and Japan by the East, and the other to the Philippines, which are neighbours, and almost joyning unto China, by the West: for from the Ilands of Lusson, which is the chiefe of the Philippines, in the which is the Citie of Manille, unto Macao, which is in the Ile of Cauton, are but foure score or a hundred leagues, and yet we finde it strange, that notwithstanding this small distance from the one to the other, yet according to their account, there is a dayes difference betwixt them; so as it is Sunday at Macao, when as it is but Saturday at Manille, and so of the rest. Those of Macao and of China have one day advanced before the Philippines. It happened to father

Alonse Sanches, of whom mention is made before, that parting from the Philippines, hee arrived at Macao the second day of May, according to their computation, and going to say the Masse of Saint Athanasius, he found they did celebrate the feast of the Invention of the holy Crosse, for that they did then reckon the third of May. The like happened unto him in another voyage beyond it.

Some have found this alteration and diversitie strange, supposing that the fault proceedes from the one or the other, the which is not so: but it is a true and well observed computation, for according to the difference of wayes where they have beene, we must necessarily say, that when they meet, there must be difference of a day; the reason is, for that sayling from West to East, they alwayes gaine of the day, finding the Sunne rising sooner: and contrariwise, those that saile from East to West, doe alwayes lose of the day, for that the Sunne riseth later unto them; and as they approach neerer the East or the West, they have the day longer or shorter. In Peru, which is Westward in respect of Spaine, they are above sixe houres behinde; so as when it is noone in Spaine, it is morning at Peru; and when it is morning here, it is mid-night there. I have made certaine proofe thereof, by the computation of Eclipses of the Sunne and Moone. Now that the Portugals have made their navigations from West to East, and the Castillans from East to West, when they came to joyne and meet at the Philippines and Macao, the one have gayned twelve houres, and the other hath lost as much; so as at one instant, and in one time, they finde the difference of foure and twentie houres, which is a whole day.

Of the Vulcans or Vents of fire. Chap. 24.

Although we finde vents of fire in other places, as Mount Ætna and Vesuvio, which now they call Mount Soma, yet is that notable which is found at the Indies. Ordinarily these Volcans be Rocks or Pikes of most high Mountaines, which raise themselves above the tops of all other Mountaines; upon their tops they have a Playne, and in the midst thereof a pit or great mouth, which

descends even unto the foote thereof; a thing very terrible to behold. Out of these mouthes there issues smoake, and sometimes fire: some cast little smoake, and have in a manner no force of Volcans, as that of Arequipa, which is of an unmeasurable height, and almost all sand. It cannot be mounted up in lesse then two dayes, yet they have not found any shew of fire, but onely the reliques of some sacrifices which the Indians made while they were Gentiles, and sometimes it doth cause a little smoake. The Volcan of Mexico which is neere to the Village of Angels, is likewise of an admirable height, whereas they mount thirtie leagues in turning: from this Volcan issueth not continually, but sometimes, almost every day, a great exhalation or whirlewinde of smoake, which ascends directly up like to the shot of a Crosse-bow, and growes after like to a great plume of feathers, untill it ceaseth quite, and is presently converted into an obscure and darke cloude. Most commonly it riseth in the morning after the Sunne rising, and at night when it setteth, although I have seene it breake out at other times. Sometimes it doth cast forth great store of ashes after this smoake. They have not yet seene any fire come from it; yet they feare it will issue forth and burne all the Land round about, which is the best of all the Kingdome: And they hold it for certaine, that there is some correspondencie betwixt this Vulcan and the Sierre of Tlaxcala, which is neere unto it, that causeth the great thunders and lightnings they doe commonly heare and see in those parts.

Some Spaniards have mounted up to this Volcan, and given notice of the myne of sulphur to make powlder thereof. Cortez reports the care he had to discover what was in this Volcan. The Volcans of Guatimala are more renowmed, as well for their greatnesse and height: which those that saile in the South Sea discover afarre off, as for the violence and terrour of the fire it casts. The three and twentieth day of December, in the yeere 1586. almost all the Citie of Guatimala fell with an Earthquake, and some people slaine. This Volcan had then sixe moneths

Terrible earthquake at Guatimala.

together, day and night cast out from the top, and vomited as it were, a floud of fire, the substance falling upon the sides of the Volcan, was turned into ashes like unto burnt earth (a thing passing mans judgement, to conceive how it could cast so much matter from its centre during sixe moneths, being accustomed to cast smoake alone, and that sometimes with small flashes.) This was written unto me being at Mexico, by a Secretarie of the Audience of Guatimala, a man worthy of credit, and at that time [III. v. 940.] it had not ceased to cast out fire. This yeere past, being in Quitto in the Citie of Kings, the Volcan which is neere thereunto, cast such abundance of ashes, that in many leagues compasse thereabout it darkned the light of the day: and there fell such store in Quitto, as they were not able to goe in the streets. There have beene other Volcans seene which cast neither smoake, flame, nor yet ashes, but in the bottome they are seene to burne with a quicke fire without dying: such a one was that which in our time a covetous and greedie Priest seeing, perswaded himselfe that they were heapes of gold he did see burning, imagining it could be no other matter or substance, which had burnt so many yeeres, and not consumed. And in this conceit he made certaine kettles with chaines, and an instrument, to gather and draw up the gold out of this Pit or Volcan: but the fire scorned him, for no sooner did his Iron chaine and Caldron approach neere the fire, but suddenly they were broken in pieces. Yet some told me, that this man was still obstinate, seeking other inventions for to draw out this gold as he imagined.

Coveteous Priest.

Some have held opinion, that these Volcans consume the inner substance they have of Nature; and for this reason they beleeve, that naturally they shall end, when as they have consumed the fuell (as a man may say) that is within them. According to which opinion wee see at this day, some Mountaines and Rocks, from whence they draw a burnt stone which is light, but very hard, and is excellent to build with, as that which is carried to

Causes of this burning.

Mexico. And in effect there are some shewes of that which hath beene spoken, that these Mountaines or Rocks had somtimes a naturall fire, which hath died after the matter was consumed; and so these stones have remayned burnt and pierced with the fire as wee see. For my part, I will not contradict it, that in those places there hath not beene fire sometimes, or Volcans. But there is some difficultie to beleeve it should be so in all Volcans, considering the matter they cast out is almost infinite; and that being gathered together, it could not bee contayned in the same concavitie from whence it goes. Moreover, there are some Volcans, that in hundreds, yea thousands of yeeres are alwayes of one fashion, casting out continually smoake, fire, and ashes. Plinie the historiographer of naturall things (as the other Plinie his nephew reports) searching out the secret how this should passe: and approaching too neere the exhalation of fire of one of these Volcans, died; and thinking by his diligence to find an end thereof, had an end of his life. For my part, upon this consideration I thinke, that as there are places in the earth, whose vertue is to draw vaporous matter, and to convert it into water, which bee the Fountaines that alwayes runne, and have alwayes matter to make them runne, for that they draw unto them the substance of water. In like sort there are places that have the propertie to draw unto them hot exhalations, and to convert them into fire and smoake which by their force and violence cast out other thicke matter which dissolves into ashes, into pumice stone, or such like substance: and for a sufficient argument to prove it to be so in these Volcans, they sometimes cast smoake, and not alwayes, and sometimes fire, and not alwayes, which is according to that it can draw unto it, and digest, as the Fountaines which in Winter abound, and in Summer decrease; yea some are quite dried up, according to the force and vigour they have, and the matter that is presented: even so it is of these Volcans, which cast fire more or lesse at certaine seasons. Others say, that it is Hell fire, which issueth

there, to serve as a warning, thereby to consider what is in the other life: but if Hell (as Divines hold) bee in the centre of the Earth, the which containes in diameter above two thousand leagues, we cannot judge that this fire is from the centre; for that Hell fire (as Saint Basil and others teach) is very different from this which wee see, for that it is without light, and burneth without comparison much more then ours. *Basil. Psal. 28. & in exam.*

Some have held, that from these Volcans which are at the Indies, the Earthquakes proceede, being very common there: but for that they ordinarily chance in places farre from those Volcans, it cannot be the totall cause. It is true they have a certaine simpathy one with another, for that the hot exhalations which engender in the inner concavities of the Earth, seeme to be the materiall substance of fire in the Volcans, whereby there kindleth another more grosse matter, and makes these shewes of flame and smoake that come forth. And these exhalations (finding no easie issue in the Earth) move it, to issue forth with great violence, whereby wee heare that horrible noise under the Earth, and likewise the shaking of the Earth, being stirred with this burning exhalation; Even as Gun-powlder in mynes, having fire put to it breaks Rocks and Walls: and as the Chesnut laid into the fire, leapes and breakes with a noise, when as it casts forth the aire (which is contayned within the huske) by the force of the fire: Even so these Earthquakes doe most commonly happen in places neere the water or Sea. As wee see in Europe, and at the Indies, that Townes and Cities farthest from the Sea and waters are least afflicted therewith; and contrariwise, those that are seated upon Ports of the Sea, upon Rivers, the Sea coast, and places neere unto them, feele most this calamitie. There hath happened in Peru (the which is wonderfull, and worthy to be noted) Earthquakes which have runne from Chille unto Quitto, and that is above a hundred leagues, I say the greatest that ever I heard speake of, for lesser be more common there. Upon the coast of Chille (I remember not well in what *Of Earthquakes. Cap. 26.* *Great earthquakes.*

yeere) there was so terrible an Earthquake, as it overturned whole Mountaines, and thereby stopped the course of Rivers which it converted into Lakes, it beat downe
[III. v. 941.] Townes, and slue a great number of people, causing the Sea to leave her place some leagues, so as the ships remayned on drie ground, farre from the ordinarie Roade, with many other heavie and horrible things. And as I well remember, they say this trouble and motion, caused by the Earthquake, ranne three hundred leagues alongst the Coast. Soone after, which was in the yeere eightie two, happened that earthquake of Arequipa, which in a manner over-threw the whole Citie. Since in the yeere eightie sixe, the ninth of July, fell another earthquake in the Citie of Kings, the which as the Vice-roy did write, had runne one hundred threescore and ten leagues alongst the Coast, and overthwart in the Sierre fiftie leagues. The mercy of the Lord was great in this Earthquake, to fore-

Noyse before the earth-quake.

warne the people by a great noise which they heard a little before the Earthquake, who taught by former experiences, presently put themselves in safetie, leaving their Houses, Streets, and Gardens, to goe into the fields; so as although it ruined a great part of the Citie, and of the chiefest buildings, yet there died not above fifteene or twentie persons of all the Inhabitants. It caused the like trouble and motion at Sea, as it had done at Chille, which happened presently after the Earthquake, so as they might see the Sea furiously to flie out of her bounds, and to runne neere two leagues into the Land, rising above fourteene fathom: it covered all that Playne, so as the Ditches and pieces of wood that were there, swam in the water. There was yet another earthquake in the Realme and Citie of Quitto; and it seemes all these notable Earthquakes upon that Coast, have succeeded one another by order, as in truth it is subject to these inconveniences. And therefore although upon the coast of Peru, there be no torments from Heaven, as thunder and lightning, yet are they not without feare upon the Land: and so every one hath before his eyes, the Heralds of divine Justice,

to moove him to feare God. For as the Scripture saith, Fecit hæc ut timeatur. Returning then to our purpose, I say the Sea coast is most subject to these earthquakes, the reason is, in my judgement, for that the water doth stop the conduits and passages of the earth, by which the hot exhalations should passe, which are engendered there. And also the humiditie thickning the superficies of the earth, doth cause the fumes and hot exhalations to goe close together and encounter violently in the bowels of the earth, which doe afterwards breake foorth.

Why the Sea coast is subject to earthquakes.

Some have observed, that such Earthquakes have usually hapned, when as a raynie season falls after some drie yeeres. Whereupon they say, that the Earthquakes are most rare, where are most Wells, the which is approved by experience. Those of the Citie of Mexico hold opinion, that the Lake whereon it is seated, is the cause of the Earthquakes that happen there, although they be not very violent: and it is most certaine, that the Townes and Provinces, farre within the Land, and farthest from the Sea, receive sometimes great losses by these Earthquakes, as the Citie of Chachapoyas at the Indies, and in Italie that of Ferrara, although upon this subject. It seemes this latter, being neere to a River, and not farre from the Adriaticke Sea, should rather be numbred among the Sea-townes. In the yeere of our Lord 1581. in Cugiano, a Citie of Peru, otherwise called The Peace, there happened a strange accident touching this subject. A Village called Angoango (where many Indians dwelt that were Sorcerers and Idolaters) fell suddenly to ruine, so as a great part thereof was raysed up and carried away, and many of the Indians smothered, and that which seemes incredible (yet testified by men of credit) the earth that was ruined and so beaten downe, did runne and slide upon the Land for the space of a league and a halfe, as it had beene water or waxe molten, so as it stopt and filled up a Lake, and remayned so spread over the whole Countrie.

Earthquake at Ferrara terrible.

At Angoango.

§. IIII.

Of Metals in the Indies and especially of the Gold and Silver, and Quick-silver.

Metals grow as plants.

METals are (as Plants) hidden and buried in the bowels of the Earth, which have some conformitie in themselves, in the forme and manner of their production; for that we see and discover even in them, branches, and as it were a bodie, from whence they grow and proceede, which are the greater veines and the lesse, so as they have a knitting in themselves: and it seemes properly that these Minerals grow like unto Plants, not that they have any inward vegetative life, being onely proper to Plants: but they are engendered in the bowels of the earth, by the vertue and force of the Sunne and other Planets, and in long continuance of time, they increase and multiply after the manner of Plants. And even as metals bee plants hidden in the earth, so wee may say, that plants bee living Creatures fixed in one place, whose life is maintayned by the nourishment which Nature

Animalia.

furnisheth from their first beginning. But living Creatures surpasse Plants, in that they have a more perfect being; and therefore have neede of a more perfect foode and nourishment; for the search whereof, Nature hath given them a mooving and feeling to discover and discerne it. So as the rough and barren earth is as a substance and nutriment for metals; and that which is fertile and better seasoned a nourishment for Plants. The same plants serve as a nourishment for living creatures, and the plants

[III. v. 942.]

and living creatures together as a nourishment for men, the inferiour nature alwayes serving for the maintenance and sustentation of the superiour, and the lesse perfect yeelding unto the more perfect: whereby wee may see how much it wants, that gold and silver and other things which men so much esteeme by their covetousnesse, should bee the happinesse of man, whereunto hee should

tend, seeing they bee so many degrees in qualitie inferior to man, who hath beene created and made onely to be a subject to serve the universall Creator of all things, as his proper end and perfect rest and to which man, all other things in this world, were not propounded or left, but to gaine this last end.

The diversitie of metals, which the Creator hath shut up in the closets and concavities of the earth, is such, and so great, that man drawes profit and commoditie from every one of them. Some serve for curing of diseases, others for armes and for defence against the enemies. some are for ornament and beautifying of our persons and houses, and others are fit to make vessels and Iron-workes, with divers fashions of instruments, which the industrie of man hath found out and put in practice. But above all the uses of metals, which be simple and naturall, the communication and commerce of men hath found out one, which is the use of money, the which (as the Philosopher saith) is the measure of all things. And *Arist. 5. Ethic. cap. 5.* although naturally, and of it selfe, it bee but one onely thing, yet in value and estimation we may say, that it is all things. Money is unto us as it were, meate, clothing, house, horse, and generally whatsoever man hath need of. By this meanes all obeyes to money, and as the Wiseman *Eccles. 10.* saith, to finde an invention that one thing should be all. Men guided or thrust forward by a naturall instinct, choose the thing most durable and most maniable, which is metall, and amongst metals, gave them the prehemi-nence in this invention of money, which of their nature were most durable and incorruptible, which is silver and gold. A Wiseman said, that what a father doth to marry his daughter well, is to give her a great portion in marriage; the like hath God done for this Land so rough and laboursome, giving it great riches in mynes, that by this meanes it might be the more sought after. At the west Indies then there are great store of mynes of all sorts of metals, as Copper, Iron, Lead, Tinne, Quick-silver, Silver, and Gold: and amongst all the Regions and Parts

of the Indies, the Realmes of Peru abound most in these metals, especially with Gold, Silver, Quick-silver, or Mercurie, whereof they have found great store, and daily discover new mynes. And without doubt, according to the qualitie of the earth, those which are to discover, are without comparison, farre more in number then those which are yet discovered: yea, it seemes that all the Land is sowed with these metals, more then any other in the world that is yet known unto us, or that ancient Writers have made mention of.

Of the qualitie and nature of the earth where the metals are found, and that all these metals are not imployed at the Indies, and how the Indians used them. l. 4. Chap. 3. Plin. lib. 5. de Genes. mund. Euseb. lib. 8. de præpar. evang. cap. 9.

The reason why there is so great abundance of metals at the Indies (especially at the west of Peru, as I have said) is the will of the Creator, who hath imparted his gifts as it pleased him. But comming to a naturall and philosophicall reason, it is very true, which Philon a wise man writes, saying, that gold, silver, and metals, grow naturally in land that is most barren and unfruitfull. And wee see, that in Lands of good temperature, the which are fertile with grasse and fruits, there are seldome found any mynes; for that Nature is contented to give them vigour to bring forth fruits more necessarie for the preservation and maintenance of the life of beasts and men. And contrariwise to lands that are very rough, drie, and barren (as in the highest Mountaines and inaccessible Rocks of a rough temper) they finde mynes of silver, of quick-silver, and of gold, and all those riches (which are come into Spaine since the West Indies were discovered) have beene drawne out of such places which are rough and full, bare and fruitlesse: yet the taste of this money, makes these places pleasing and agreeable, yea, well inhabited with numbers of people. And although there be, as I have said, many mynes of all kindes of metals as at the Indies, yet they use none but those of gold and silver, and as much quick-silver as is necessarie to refine their gold and silver. They carry Iron thither from Spaine and China. As for Copper, the Indians have drawne of it, and used it for their armes, the which were not usually of Iron, but of Copper. Since the Spaniards possessed the Indies, they

have drawne very little, neither doe they take the paines to seeke out these mynes, although there bee many busying themselves in the search of richer and more precious metals, wherein they spend their time and labour. They use no other metals, as Copper, and Iron, but onely that which is sent them from Spaine, or that which remaines of the refining of gold and silver. Wee finde not that the Indians in former times used gold, silver, or any other metall for money, and for the price of things, but onely for ornament, as hath been said, whereof there was great quantitie in their Temples, Palaces, and Tombes, with a thousand kindes of vessels of gold and silver, which they had. They used no gold nor silver to trafficke or buy withall, but did change and trucke one thing for another, as Homer and Plinie report of the Ancients. They had some other things of greater esteeme, which went currant amongst them for price, and in stead of coine: and unto this day this custome continues amongst the Indians, as in the Provinces of Mexico, in stead of money they use Cacao, (which is a small fruit) and therewith buy what they will. In Peru they use Coca, to the same end (the which is a leafe the Indians esteeme much) as in Paraguay, they have stamps of Iron for coine, and cotton woven in Saint Croix, of the Sierre. Finally, the manner of the Indians trafficke, and their buying and selling, was to exchange, and give things for things: and although there were great Marts and famous Faires, yet had they no neede of money, nor of Brokers, for that every one had learned what he was to give in exchange for every kinde of merchandise. Since the Spaniards entred, the Indians have used gold and silver to buy withall: and in the beginning there was no coine, but silver by weight was their price and money, as they report of the ancient Romans. Since, for a greater benefit, they have forged coine in Mexico and Peru, yet unto this day they have not in the West Indies coyned any money of Copper or other metall, but onely of silver and gold: for the richnesse of that Countrie hath not

No money of gold, but of fruits, &c. Plin. lib. 33. c. 3.

[III. v. 943.]

Plin. lib. 33. c. 4.

admitted nor received such money as they call bullion, nor other kindes of alloy, which they use in Italie, and in other Provinces of Europe; Although in some Ilands of the Indies, as Saint Dominique, and Port Ricco, they use coine of leather, which is square, the which are currant onely in those Ilands, having little silver or gold. I say little, although there be much, for that no man digges it and refines it. But for that the riches of the Indies, and their manner to labour in the mynes, consists of gold, silver, and quick-silver, I will speake something of these three metals, leaving the rest for this time.

Coine of leather.

Of gold which they digge and refine at the Indies. Chap. 4.

Gold amongst other metals hath beene alwayes held the most excellent; and with reason, being the most durable and incorruptible of all others; for fire which consumes and diminisheth the rest, amends it, and brings it to perfection. Gold which hath often passed through the fire, keepes his colour, and is most fine and pure; which properly is called (as Plinie saith) Obriso, whereof the Scripture makes so often mention and use, which consumeth all other metals (as the same Plinie saith) doth not any thing waste gold, nor yet hurt it, neither is it eaten, nor groweth old. And although his substance and body bee firme and solid; yet doth it yeeld and bow wonderfully; the Beaters and Drawers of gold know well the force it hath to bee drawne out without breaking. All which things well considered, with other excellent properties, will give men of judgement to understand, wherefore the holy Scripture doth compare Charitie to gold. To conclude, there is little neede to relate the excellencies thereof to make it more desirable. For the greatest excellencie it hath, is to be knowne (as it is) amongst men, for the supreme power and greatnesse of the World. Comming therefore to our subject; at the Indies there is great abundance of this metall, and it is well knowne by approved Histories, that the Inguas of Peru did not content themselves with great and small vessels of gold, as Pots, Cups, Goblets, and Flagons; yea with Kowles or great Vessels, but they had Chaires also,

Plin. lib. 33. c. 3.

Apoc. 3. & 21. Cant. 3. Psal. 67. 3. Reg. 6.

and Litters of massie gold: and in their Temples they had set up mayne Images of pure gold, whereof they finde some yet at Mexico, but not such store as when the first Conquerors came into the one and the other Kingdome, who found great treasure, and without doubt there was much more hidden in the earth by the Indians. It would seeme ridiculous to report that they have made their horse shooes of silver for want of Iron, and that they have paid three hundred crownes for a bottle of wine, and other strange things; and yet in truth this hath come to passe, yea and greater matters. They draw gold in those parts after three sorts: or at the least; I have seene all three used. For either they finde gold in graines, in powlder, or in stone. *See before in I. dos Santos, and in Herrera.*

The most famous gold is that of Caranava in Peru, and of Valdivia in Chille, for that it riseth with his alloy and perfection, which is twentie three Carrats and a halfe, and sometimes more. They make account likewise of the gold of Veragua to bee very fine. They bring much gold to Mexico from the Philippines, and China, but commonly it is weake and of base alloy. Gold is commonly found mixt with Silver or with Copper; but that which is mixed with silver is commonly of fewer Carrats then that which is mixed with copper. If there be a fift part of silver, Plinie saith, it is then properly called Electrum, which hath the propertie to shine more at the light of the fire, then fine gold or fine silver. That which is incorporate with copper, is commonly of a higher value. They refine powldred gold in basons, washing it in many waters, untill the Sand falls from it, and the gold as most heavie remayneth in the bottome. They refine it likewise with quick-silver and strong water, for that the allum whereof they make this water hath the vertue to separate gold from drosse, or from other metals. After it is purified and molten, they make Bricks or small Barres to carry it unto Spaine; for being in powlder, they cannot transport it from the Indies, for they can neither custome it, marke it, nor take say, untill it bee molten. In the fleet where *Plin. lib. 3. cap. 4.*

I came, which was in the yeere 1585. the declaration of the firme Land was of twelve Cassons or Chests of gold, every Casson at the least weighed foure Arobes, that is a hundred weight; and a thousand fiftie and sixe Mares from new Spaine, which was for the King onely, besides that which came for Merchants and private men being registred; and much that came unregistred. This may suffice touching the gold of the Indies, and now wee will speake of Silver.

Of the Silver at the Indies. Chap. 5.

Now we will shew how they discover the mynes of Silver, their veines, rootes, and beginnings whereof Job speakes. And first I will say, that the reason why they give silver the second place among all other metals, is, for that it approcheth neerer to gold then any other, being more durable and lesse indamaged by the fire, and more mallable then any other: yea it passeth gold in brightnesse, beautie, and sound, the which is cleere, and agree-
[III. v. 944.] able, for the colour is more conformable and resembling the light, and the sound more piercing, more lively, and more delicate. The mynes of silver are commonly found in Mountaines and high Rocks very desart, although they have sometimes beene found in Playnes and Champaines. There are two different kindes, the one they call stragling, the other fixed and setled. The stragling, are pieces of metall found in certaine places, the which drawne away, there is no more found. But the fixed veines, are those which have a continuance in depth and length, like to great branches and armes of Trees; and when they finde any one of them, they commonly finde many in the same place. The manner to purge and refine silver which the Indians have used, was by melting, in dissolving this masse of metall by fire, which casts the earthly drosse apart, and by his force separates Silver from Lead, Tin from Copper, and other metals mixt. To this end they did build small Furnaces in places where as the winde did commonly blow, and with Wood and Cole made their refining, the which Furnaces in Peru they call Guayras. Since the Spaniards entred, besides this manner of refining

which they use to this day, they likewise refine silver with quick-silver, and draw more by this meanes then in refining it by fire. For there is some kind of silver metall found which can by no meanes be purged and refined by fire, but onely with quick-silver. But this kinde of metall is commonly poore and weake, the which usually they finde in greatest abundance. They call that poore which yeelds least silver, and great quantitie of other metall, and that rich which yeelds most silver. It is strange to see, not onely *Note.* the difference betwixt the refining of metall by fire, and without it by quick-silver, but also that some of these metals, which are refined by the fire, cannot well be molten with any artificiall winde, as with bellowes, but when it is kindled and blowne with the naturall aire, or naturall winde. The metall of the mynes of Porco is easily refined with bellowes, and that of the mynes of Potozi cannot bee molten with bellowes, but onely by the breath of their Guayras, which are small Furnaces upon the sides of the Mountaines, built expresly where the winde lies, within the which they melt this metall; and though it be hard to yeeld a reason for this difference, yet is it most certaine and approved by long experience: so as the greedie desire of this metall so much valued amongst men, hath made them seeke out a thousand gentle inventions and devices, whereof we will hereafter make mention. The chiefe places of the Indies from whence they draw silver, are new Spaine and Peru, but the mynes of Peru farre surpasse the rest; and amongst all others of the World, those of Potozi.

Of the Mountaine or Hill of Potozi, and the discovery thereof. Chap. 6.

The Mountaine or Hill of Potozi so famous, is situate in the Province of Charcas, in the Kingdome of Peru, distant from the Equinoctiall towards the South, or Pole Antartike, one and twentie degrees and two thirds: so as it falls under the Tropicke, bordering upon the burning Zone, and yet this Region is extremely cold, yea, more then old Castile in the Kingdome of Spaine, and more then Flanders it selfe, although by reason it should be hot or temperate, in regard of the height and elevation of the Pole where it is seated. The reason of this so cold

a temperature, is the height of the Mountaine, whereas cold and intemperate winds continually blow, especially that which they call Thomahavi, which is boistrous and most cold. It raines most commonly in June, July, and August. The ground and soile of this Mountaine is drie, cold, and very unpleasant, yea altogether barren, which neither engenders nor brings forth any fruit, grasse, nor graine; it is naturally unhabitable, for the intemperature of the Heaven, and the barrennesse of the Earth. But the force of silver, which drawes unto it the desire of all things, hath peopled this Mountaine more then any other place in all these Kingdomes, making it so fruitfull of all kindes of meates, as there wants nothing that can be desired, yea, in great abundance; and although there be nothing but what is brought by carriage, yet every place abounds so with Fruit, Conserves, exquisite Wines, Silkes, and all other delicates, as it is not inferiour to any other part. This Mountaine is of colour darke red, and is in forme pleasing at the first sight, resembling perfectly the fashion of a Pavilion, or of a Sugar-loafe. It exceeds all other Hills and Mountaines about it in height. The way whereby they ascend, is very rough and uneven, and yet they goe up on horse-back. It is round at the top, and at the foot it hath a league in circuit. It containes from the top to the bottom 1680. common yards, the which reduced to the measure of Spanish leagues, makes a quarter of a league. At the foot of this Mountaine there is another small Hill that riseth out of it, in the which there hath beene somtimes mynes of metall dispersed, which were found as it were in purses, and not in fixed or continued veines; yet were they very rich, though few in number. This small Rock was called by the Indians, Guayna Potozi, which is yong Potozi; at the foot wherof begins the dwellings of the Spaniards and Indians, which are come to the riches and worke of Potozi, which dwelling may containe some two leagues in circuit, and the greatest traffick and commerce of all Peru is in this place. The mynes of this Mountaine were not digged nor dis-

covered in the time of the Inguas, which were the Lords of Peru, before the Spaniards entred, although they had digged and opened the mynes of Porco, neer to Potozi, distant only six leagues.

An Indian called Gualpa, of the Nation of Chumbibilca, which is a Province of Cusco, going one day to hunt for Venison, passing towards the West whither the beast was fled, hee began to runne up against the Rocke, which at that time was covered and planted with certaine Trees they call Quinua, and with thicke bushes, and as he strived to get up a way which was somewhat rough and uneasie, hee was forced to lay hold upon a branch, which issued from a veine of a silver myne (which since they [III. v. 945.] have called Rich) which hee pulled up, perceiving in the hole or roote thereof, metall, the which he knew to be very good, by the experience hee had of the mynes of Porco: and after finding upon the ground certaine pieces of metall, which lay broken and dispersed neere to this veine, being scarce well able to judge thereof, for that the colour was spoyled and changed by the Sunne and raine; he carried it to Porco to trie by the Guayras (which is the triall of metall by fire) and having thereby found the great riches and his happy fortune, he secretly digged and drew metall out of this veine, not imparting it to any man, untill that an Indian called Guanca, of the Valley of Xaura, which is upon the borders of the Citie of Kings, who remayning at Porco neere unto Gualpa of Chumbibilca, perceived one day that hee made a refining, and that his Wedges and Bricks were greater then such as were usually made in those places: and also increasing in his expence of apparell, having till then lived but basely. For this reason, and for that the metall his Neighbour refined was different from that of Porco, hee thought to discover this secret, and wrought so, that although the other kept it as secret as hee could, yet through importunitie hee was forced to carry him unto the Rocke of Potozi, having enjoyed this rich treasure full two moneths. And then Gualpa the Indian willed Guanca for his part to

take a veine, which he had discovered neere to the rich veine, which at this day is called the veine of Diego Centeno, that was not lesse rich, but more hard to digge and to draw forth; and so by agreement they divided betweene them the richest Rocke in the world. It chanced after, the Indian Guanca finding some difficultie to digge and draw forth his metall, being most hard, and the other Gualpa refusing to impart any of his myne unto him, they fell at debate; so as Guanca of Xaura grieved therewith, and with some other discontents, discovered this secret unto his Master called Villaroel a Spaniard, who then remayned at Porco. This Villaroel desirous to understand the truth, went to Potozi, and finding the riches his Yanacona or servant had discovered unto him, caused the Indian Guanca to be inrolled, undertaking with him the said veine, which was called Centeno, they call it Undertaking, that is as much as to note and marke the myne, and so much ground in circuit for him, which the Law graunts unto those that discover any myne, or unto those that digge them: by meanes whereof, having discovered them to the Justice, they remayned Lords of the myne, to digge and draw forth the silver, as being their owne, paying onely their duties unto the King, which is a fift part. So as the first discoverie and inregistring of the mynes of Potozi, was the one and twentieth of Aprill, in the yeere of our Lord 1545. in the Territorie of Porco, by the said Villaroel a Spaniard, and Guanca an Indian. Presently after they discovered another veine, which they called the Veine of Tinne, the which is very rich, although it be rough and very painfull to worke in, the metall being as hard as flint. Since the thirtie day of August in the same yeere 1545. the veine called Mendieta was inrolled, and these are the foure principall veines of Potozi. They say of the rich veine, the first that was discovered, that the metall lay above the ground the height of a Lance, like unto Rocks, raysing the superficies of the Earth, like unto a crest of three hundred foot long, and thirteene foot broad, and that this

remayned bare and uncovered by the deluge, this veine having resisted the violence and force of the water, as the hardest part. The metall was so rich as it was halfe silver, and this veine continued in his bountie fiftie or threescore Stades (which is the height of a man) and then it fayled. Presently after that the discoverie of Potozi was knowne in Peru; many Spaniards, and the most part of the Bourgeois of the Silver Citie, which is eighteene leagues from Potozi, came thither to take mynes: yea, there came many Indians from divers Provinces, especially the Guayzadores of Porco, so as within a short space it was the best peopled habitation of all the Kingdome.

When as the Licenciate Pollo governed that Province, the which was many yeeres after the discoverie of this Mountaine, they did every Saturday enter a hundred and fiftie and two hundred thousand pieces, whereof the Kings fift amounted to thirtie and fortie thousand pieces; and for every yeere a million and a halfe, or little lesse. So as according to that computation they did draw every day from this myne thirtie thousand pieces, whereof there came to the King for his fift, sixe thousand pieces a day.

Every piece is worth thirteene Rials and a fourth part.

There is yet another thing to bee spoken of, to shew the riches of Potozi, that the account which hath beene made, was onely of silver that was marked and customed. And it is well knowne in Peru, that they have long used silver in these Realmes, which they call Currant, which was neither marked nor customed. And they hold it for certaine which know these mynes, that in these dayes, the greatest part of silver drawne at Potozi, was not customed, and this had course amongst the Indians, and much amongst the Spaniards, as I have seene continued to my time; so as it may appeare, the third part of the riches of Potozi, yea the one halfe came not to light, neither was it customed. There is yet a more notable consideration, in that which Plinie saith, they had digged a fifteene hundred pases in the myne of Bebello; and that continually they found water, which is the greatest hinderance they have to draw forth their metall. But in this of

Plin. lib. 33. c. 6.

Potozi, although they have digged two hundred stades or heights of a man in depth; yet did they never finde any water, which is the greatest happinesse of this Mountaine. But the mynes of Porco, whose metall is good and very rich, are at this day left for the discommoditie of water, which they have found in their worke; [III. v. 946.] for they are two insupportable labours in searching of the metall; first, to digge and breake the Rocks, and then to draw out the water all together. The first of them, that is, to cut through the Rocks, is paine enough; yea very hard and excessive. Finally, at this day the King receives for his fift yeerly, from the mynes of Potozi, a million of silver, besides the wealth that growes by quicksilver, and other Royall prerogatives, which is a great treasure. Some men of judgement having cast up the accounts, say, that what hath beene brought into the custome House of Potozi, unto the yeere of our Lord 1585. amounteth unto a hundred thousand millions of pieces of Essay, whereof every piece is worth thirteene Rials and a fourth part, not reckoning the silver which hath beene carried away without custome, or that hath beene entred in other Royall custome houses, or the silver that hath beene wrought in the Countrie, which is not entred, the which is innumerable, although the first Registers of Entries are not so exactly kept as at this day; for that in the beginning and first discoveries, they made their receit by Romans, so great was their abundance.

Huge summes of silver.

But by the instructions and remembrances of Don Francisco de Toledo the Vice-roy, in the yeere of our Saviour Christ 1574. they finde seventie and sixe millions to that yeere: and from that yeere to eightie five inclusive, it appeares by the Royall Registers, there were thirtie five millions more entred. They sent this accompt to the Vice-roy from Potozi, in the yeere I have mentioned, being then in Peru; and since the wealth that hath come from Peru by ship, hath amouted to much more. In that fleet where I came in the yeere 1587. there were eleven millions transported in the two fleetes of Peru and Mexico,

whereof two thirds were in that of Peru, and almost the one halfe for the King.

This Rocke of Potozi, containes as I have said, foure principall veines, that is, the Rich veine, that of Centeno, *Estaim.* that of Tinne, and that of Mendieta. All these veines are of the East part of the Mountaine, as looking to the Sunne rising, for on the West part there is not any. The foresaid veines runne from North to South, which is from Pole to Pole. In the largest place they have sixe foot, and in the narrowest a span breadth. There are others of divers fashions that runne out of the said veines; like as out of the great armes of Trees, there commonly sprout forth lesse. Every veine hath divers mynes which are parts and portions of the same, distinct and divided betwixt divers Masters, by whose names they are commonly called. The great myne containes fourscore yards, neither may it be more by the Law, and the least containes foure. All these mynes are at this day very deepe. In the Rich myne they reckon seventie eight mynes, which are eightie yards deepe, or a hundred stades or height of a man, and in some places two hundred. In the veine of Centeno are foure and twentie mynes, whereof some are seventie or eightie stades deepe, and so of the other veines of this Mountaine. For a remedie to this great profunditie, they have invented mynes, which they call Soccabones, which are caves or vents made at the foote of the Mountaine, the which goe crossing till they incounter with the veines: for we must understand, that although the veines runne North to South, as hath beene said, yet is it in declining from the top to the foote of the Mountaine, which may be as they beleeve by conjecture, above twelve hundred stades. And by this account, although the mynes extend in such a profunditie, yet there remaines sixe times as much space unto the bottome or roote, the which they say, are most rich and aboundant, as the body and spring of all veines. Although unto this day we have seene the contrarie by experience, for the higher the veine is to the superficies of the earth, the more rich they

finde it: and the deeper it goes, the poorer it is, and of the baser aloy. They then invented the Soccabons, by which they enter to worke in the mynes very easily, with lesse charge, paine, and danger. They have eight foot in breadth, and a stade in height, the which they shut with doores. By them they drawe forth their metall very easily, paying to the proprietarie of the Soccabon, the fift part of all the metall they draw forth. There are nine alreadie made, and others are begun. They were nine and twentie yeeres in making of one Soccabon, as they call it, of the venome that flowes from the rich veine. It was begun in the yeere 1550. the eleventh yeere of the discoverie, and was ended in the yeere 1585. the eleventh of August. This Soccabon crossed the rich veine thirtie five stades from the roote or spring, and from thence where it met to the mouth of the myne, were a hundred thirtie five stades. So as they must descend all this depth to labour in the myne. This Soccabon containes from his mouth unto the veine of Crusero as they call it, two hundred and fiftie yards, in which worke were spent nine and twentie yeeres, whereby wee may see what great paines men take to draw silver out of the bowels of the earth. They labour in these mynes in continuall darknesse and obscuritie, without knowledge of day or night. And forasmuch as those places are never visited with the Sunne; there is not only continuall darknesse, but also an extreme cold, with so grosse an aire contrarie to the disposition of man, so as, such as newly enter, are sicke as they at Sea. The which happened to me in one of these mynes, where I felt a paine at the heart, and beating of the stomacke. Those that labour therein, use candles to light them, dividing their worke in such sort, as they that worke in the day, rest by the night, and so they change. The metall is commonly hard, and therefore they breake it with hammers, splitting and hewing it by force, as if they were flints. After they carry up this metall upon their shoulders, by Ladders of three branches, made of Neats leather twisted like pieces of wood, which

Preciosa pericula, Speciosa supplicia.

Intolerable paines and darknesse in the Mynes, and if in the Mindes farre more intolerable remayning.

[III. v. 947.]

are crossed with staves of wood; so as by every one of these Ladders they mount and descend together. They are ten stades long a piece: and at the end of one beginnes another of the same length, every Ladder beginning and ending at plat-formes of wood, where there are seates to rest them, like unto galleries, for that there are many of these Ladders to mount by one at the end of another. A man carries ordinarily the weight of two Arrobes of metall upon his shoulders, tied together in a cloth in manner of a skip, and so mount they three and three. He that goes before carries a candle tied to his thumbe: for (as it is said) they have no light from Heaven, and so goe they up the Ladder holding it with both their hands, to mount so great a height, which commonly is above a hundred and fiftie stades: a fearfull thing, and which breedes an amazement to thinke upon it, so great is the desire of Silver, that for the gaine thereof, men endure any paines. And truly, it is not without reason, that Plinie treating of this subject, exclaimes and sayes thus, Wee enter even into the bowels of the Earth, and goe hunting after riches, even to the place of the damned. And after in the same Booke hee saith: Those that seeke for metals, performe workes more then Giants, making holes and caves in the depth of the Earth, piercing Mountaines so deepe by the light of Candles, whereas the day and the night are alike, and in many moneths they see no day. So as often the walls of their mynes fall, smothering many of them that labour therein. And afterwards hee adds, They pierce the hard Rocke with hammers of Iron waighing one hundred and fiftie pounds, and draw out the metall upon their shoulders, labouring day and night, one delivering his charge to another, and all in darknesse, onely the last sees the light: with Wedges and Hammers they breake the Flints, how hard and strong soever, for the hunger of gold is yet more sharpe and strong.

Every Arobe is 25. pound.

Plin. in proem. lib. 33. cap. 6.

How they refine the metall of silver. Chap. 9.

The veines as I have said, where they finde silver, runne betwixt two Rocks, which they call The Chase, whereof the one is commonly as hard as flint, and the

other soft and easie to breake. This metall is not alwayes equall, and of the same bountie, for you shall find in one and the same veine, one sort of metall very rich, which they call Cacilla, or Tacana, from which they draw much silver; and another is poore, from whence they draw little. The most rich metall of this Mountaine, is of the colour of Amber, and the next is that which inclines to blacke. There is other somewhat red, and other of the colour of ashes: finally, of divers and sundrie colours, which seeme to such as know them not, to bee stones of no value. But the myners doe presently know his qualitie and perfection, by certaine signes and small veines they finde in them. They carry all this metall they draw out of these mynes, upon Indian sheepe, which serve them as Asses to carry it to the Mills; the richest metall is refined by melting in those small Furnaces, which they call Guayras, for that is most leadie; by reason whereof, it is most subject to melt, and for the better melting thereof, the Indians cast in a matter, they call Soroche, which is a metall full of Lead. The metall being in these Furnaces, the filth and earthie drosse, through the force of the fire, remaines in the bottome, and the Silver and Lead melt: so as the Silver swimmes upon the Lead, untill it be purified; then after they refine the silver many times, after this manner of melting. They have usually drawne out of one Quintall of metall, thirtie, fortie, and fiftie pieces of silver, and yet I have seene some most excellent that have beene shewne me, where they have drawne in the melting two hundred, yea two hundred and fiftie pieces of silver of a Quintall of metall; a rare wealth, and almost incredible, if we had not seene the triall thereof by fire, but such metals are very rare. The poorest metall is that which yeelds two, three, five, or sixe pieces, or little more. This metall hath commonly little Lead, but is drie, and therefore they cannot refine it with fire. And for this reason in Potozi, there was great store of these poore metals, whereof they made no great account, but were rejected like straw, and as the skum of the good metall,

untill they found meanes to refine it by quick-silver, whereby the skum they called Oquiache was of great profit, for the quick-silver by a strange and wonderfull propertie, purifies the silver, and is apt for these metals which are drie and poore, wherein they consume lesse quick-silver then in the richer: for the richer they are, the more need of quick-silver they have. At this day the most usuall manner of refining in Potozi, is by quick-silver, as also in the mynes of Cacatecas, and others of new Spaine. There were in old time upon the sides and tops of Potozi, above sixe thousand Guayras, which are small Furnaces where they melt their metall, the which were placed like lights (a pleasant sight to behold by night) casting a light afarre off like a flame of fire. But at this day there are not above two thousand, for that (as I have said) they use little melting, but refine it by quick-silver, the which is the greatest profit. And for that the properties of quick-silver are admirable; and that this manner of refining of silver is remarkable, I will discourse of Quick-silver, of the Mynes and Worke, and what is requisite for that subject.

Quick-silver, so called by the Latines, for that it runnes and slides suddenly from place to place, amongst all other metals hath great and wonderfull vertues. The first is, although it bee a true metall, yet is it not hard, neither hath it any certaine forme nor subsistance like to other metals, but is liquid, not like unto gold and silver molten, but of his owne proper nature; and although it be a liquor, yet is it more heavie then any other metall: and therefore all others swim above and sinke not to the bottome, being more light. I have seene two pounds of Iron put into a barrell of quick-silver, the which did [III. v. 948.] swimme about like unto Wood or Corke upon the Water. Plinie gives an exception hereunto, saying, That gold *Plin. l.* 33. alone doth sinke and not swimme above it. I have not *c.* 6. seene the experience; but it may bee this growes, by reason that quick-silver by nature doth inviron gold, and covers it, which is one of the most important properties

Sympathie with gold.

it hath; for it joynes with gold in a strange manner; it seekes it where it lyes, and invirons it in such sort, as it doth distinguish and separate it from any other body or metall wherewith it is mixt: for this reason such take gold as will preserve themselves from the dangers and discommodities of quick-silver. They have used a remedie to those (in whose eares they had put quick-silver, to cause them to die secretly) to put little plates of gold into their eares (for that Gold hath the vertue to draw out Mercurie) and after they drew out these plates all white with the quick-silver, it did sticke unto them. Being one day at Madril, I went to see the exquisite workes which Jacomo de Treco (a rare worke-man of Millan) made for Saint Laurence the Royall, it was my hap to be there one day, when as they gilded certaine pieces of a countertable of brasse, which is done with quick-silver; and for that the fume of Mercurie is mortall, he told me that the worke-men preserved themselves from this venome, by swallowing a double Duckat of gold rolled up; the which being in the stomacke, drawes unto it all the quick-silver that enters in fume by the Eares, Eyes, Nostrils, and Mouth, and by this meanes freed themselves from the danger of quick-silver, which the gold gathered in the stomacke, and after cast out by the excrements: a thing truly worthy of admiration. After the quick-silver hath purified and purged gold from all other metals and mixtures, hee is likewise separated from the gold his friend by the heate of the fire, the which purifies it from all quick-silver. Plinie sayes, that by a certaine arte and invention they did separate gold from quick-silver. It seemes to me the Ancients had no knowledge to refine silver by quick-silver, which at this day is the greatest use, and chiefe profit of quick-silver; for that he sayes plainly, that quick-silver joynes with no other metall but with gold; and when hee makes mention of refining of silver, hee speakes onely but of the manner of melting; whereby wee may inferre that the Ancients had no knowledge of this secret. In truth,

Plin. l. 33. c. 6.

though there be a league and simpathy betwixt gold and quick-silver, yet where as the Mercurie findes no gold, it joynes with silver, though not in the like manner as with gold; but in the end, it doth clense and purge it from Earth, Copper, and Lead, amongst the which the silver growes, without any neede of fire to melt it: yet must they use fire to separate it from the silver, as I will shew hereafter. Quick-silver holds no account of other metals, but of Gold and Silver; but contrariwise, it doth corrupt them, force and consume them, and flyeth from them as much as may bee. The which is likewise admirable, and for this cause they put it in earthen vessels, or in beasts skins. For if it bee put in vessels of Copper, of Iron, or other metall, it presently pierceth and corrupts them. And therefore Plinie calleth it the poyson of all things, for that it consumes and spoiles all. Wee finde quick-silver in the graves of dead men, which after it hath consumed the bodies, comes forth pure and whole. There hath beene likewise found in the bones and marrow of Men and Beasts, who having received it in fume by the mouth and nostrils, congeales within them and pierceth even unto the bones. Therefore it is a dangerous thing to frequent so perillous and mortall a creature. It hath another propertie, which is, to runne and make a hundred thousand small drops, whereof not one is lost, bee they never so little, but they returne every way to their liquor. It is almost incorruptible, having nothing in a manner that may consume it. And therefore Plinie calls it the eternall sweat. It hath yet another propertie, that although it doth separate Gold from Copper, and all other metals, yet they that will gild Copper, Brasse, or Silver, use quick-silver as the meanes of this union; for with the helpe thereof they gild metals. Amongst all the wonders of this strange liquor that seemes to mee most worthy observation, that although it bee the weightiest thing in the world, yet is it converted into the lightest of the world, which is smoake, and suddenly the same smoake which is so

light a thing, turnes againe into so heavie a substance, as is the proper liquor of quick-silver, whereinto it is dissolved; for this smoake encountring the metall on high, being a solid body, or comming into a cold Region, suddenly it thickens and is converted into quick-silver, and if you set him once againe to the fire, he doth likewise returne into smoake, to be resolved againe into quick-silver.

Of the place where they finde quick-silver, and how they discovered these rich mynes in Guancavilca. Chap. 11.

Quick-silver is found in a kinde of stone, which doth likewise yeeld Vermillion, which the Ancients called Minium, and at this day they call the Images of crystall Miniades, which are painted with quick-silver. The Ancients made great account of this Minium or Vermillion, holding it for a sacred colour, as Plinie reports, saying, That the Romans were accustomed to paint the face of Jupiter, and the bodies of those that triumphed in Ethiopia: yea, their Idols and their Governours likewise had their faces coloured with this Minium. And this Vermillion was so esteemed at Rome (which they brought onely from Spaine where they had many pits and mynes of quick-silver, which continue there to this day) that the Romans suffered it not to be refined in Spaine, lest they should steale some of it, but they carried it to Rome, sealed up in a masse as they drew it out of the myne, and after refined it. They did yeerly [III. v. 949.] bring from Spaine, especially from Andalusie, about ten thousand pound weight, which the Romans valued as an infinite treasure. I have reported all this out of that Author, to the end that those which doe see what passeth at this day in Peru, may have the content to know what chanced in former ages, among the mightiest Lords of the world. I speake for the Inguas Kings of Peru, and for the naturall Indians thereof, which have laboured and digged long in these Mines of Quick-silver, not knowing what Quick-silver was, seeking onely for Cinabrium or Vermillion, which they call Limpi, the which they esteeme much, for that same effect that Plinie reports of the Romans and Ethiopians, that is, to paint the face

and bodies of themselves and their Idols; the like hath beene much practised by the Indians, especially when they went to the warres, and use it at this day in their feasts and dancing, which they call slubbering, supposing that their faces and visages so slubbered, did much terrifie, and at this day they hold it for an ornament and beautifying; for this cause there were strange workes of Mines in the Mountaines of Guancavilca, which are in Peru, neere to the Citie of Guamangua, out of the which they drew this Mettall: it is of such a manner, that if *Labirinths.* at this day they enter by the caves or Soccabones, which the Indians made in those dayes, they loose themselves, finding no passage out: but they regarded not Quick-silver, which naturally is in the same substance or mettall of Vermillion, neither had they knowledge of any such matter.

The Indians were not alone for so long a time without the knowledge of this treasure, but likewise the Spaniards, who untill the yeare 1566. and 1567. (at such time as the licentiate Castro governed in Peru) discovered not the Mines of Quick-silver, which happened in this *Mines of Quick-silver found.* manner. A man of judgement called Henrique Guarces, a Portugall borne, having a piece of this coloured Mettall, as I have said, which the Indians call Limpi, with which they paint their faces, as he beheld it well, found it to be the same which they call Vermillion in Castile: and for that hee knew well that Vermillion was drawne out of the same mettall that Quick-silver was, he conjectured these Mines to be of Quick-silver, went to the place whence they drew this Mettall, to make triall thereof. The which he found true, and in this sort the Mines of Palcas in the territorie of Guamangua, being discovered, great numbers of men went thither to draw out Quick-silver, and so to carry it to Mexico, where they refine Silver by the meanes of Quick-silver, wherewith many are inriched. This Countrie of Mines which they call Guancavilca, was then peopled with Spaniards and Indians that came thither, and come still to worke in these Mines

of Quick-silver, which are in great numbers, and very plentifull: but of all these Mines, that which they call d'Amador de Cabrera, or of Saints, is goodly and notable. It is a Rocke of most hard Stone, interlaced all with Quick-silver, and of that greatnesse, that it extends above fourescore Vares or yards in length, and fortie in breadth: in which Mine they have many pits, and ditches, of threescore and tenne stades deepe, so as three hundred men may well worke together; such is the capacitie thereof. This Mine was discovered by an Indian of Amador of Cabrera, called Navincopa of the Village of Acoria, the which Amador of Cabrera caused to be registred in his name. He was in suite against the Procurer fiscall, but the usufruite was adjudged to him by sentence as the discoverer. Since he sold his interest to another, for two hundred and fiftie thousand Ducates; and afterwards thinking he had bin deceived in the sale, he commenced an action against the buyer, being worth, as they say, above five hundred thousand Ducates; yea, some hold it to be worth a Million of Gold: a rare thing to see a Mine of that wealth.

When as Don Francisco of Toledo governed in Peru, there was one which had bin in Mexico, and observed how they refined Silver with Mercury, called Pero Fernandes de Valesco, who offred to refine Silver at Potozi, with Mercury: and having made triall thereof in the yeare 1571. performed it with credit, then began they to refine Silver at Potozi with Quick-silver, which they transported from Guancavelicqua, which was a goodly helpe for the Mines; for by the meanes of Quick-silver they drew an infinite quantitie of mettall from these Mines, whereof they made no accompt, the which they called Scrapings. For as it hath beene said, the Quick-silver purifies the Silver, although it be drie, poore, and of base alloy, which cannot be done by melting in the fire. The Catholike King drawes from it Quick-silver mines, without any charge or hazard, almost foure hundred thousand pieces of a Mine, the which are foureteene rials

a peece, or little lesse, besides the rights that rise in Potozi, where it is imployed, the which is a great riches. They doe yearely, one with another, draw from these Mines of Guancavilca, eight thousand quintals of Quick-silver, yea and more.

The manner how to draw out Quick silver, and how they refine Silver. Chap. 12.

Let us now speake how they draw out Quick-silver, and how they refine Silver therewith. They take the stone or mettall where they finde the Quick-silver, the which they put into the fire in pots of earth well luted, being well beaten, so as this mettall or stone comming to melt by the heate of the fire, the Quick-silver separates it selfe, and goes forth in exhalation, and sometimes even with the smoake of the fire, untill it incounters some body where it staies and congeales, and if it passe up higher, without meeting of any hard substance, it mounts up untill it be cold, and then congealed, it fals downe againe. When the melting is finished, they unstop the pots and draw forth the mettall, sometimes staying untill it be very cold, for if there remained any fume or vapour, [III. v. 950.] which should incounter them that should unstop the pots, they were in danger of death, or to be benummed of their limbes, or at the least to loose their teeth. And *Dangers by Quick-silver.* for that they spend an infinite quantitie of wood, in the melting of these mettals, a Miller called Rodrigo de Tores found out a profitable invention, which was, to gather certaine straw which growes throughout all those Mountaines of Peru, the which they call Ycho, it is like unto a hard reede wherewith they make their fire. It is a strange thing to see the force which this straw hath to *Force of straw.* melt and dissolve these mettals, the which fals out, as Plinie saies, that there is gold which melts more easily *Plin. l. 33. c. 4.* with the flame of straw, then with hot burning coales. They put the Quick-silver thus molten into skinnes, for that it keepes best in leather, and in this sort they lay it into the Kings store-house, from whence they carrie it by Sea to Ariqua, and so to Potozi by Land upon their sheepe. There is yeerely spent in Potozi for the refining of Mettals, about six or seven thousand quintals

of Quick-silver, besides that they draw from the Plates (which is the earth or drosse of the first washings of these Mettals, which are made in caldrons.) The which plates they burne in their furnaces, to draw out the Quick-silver which remaines in them: and there are above fiftie of these Furnaces in the Citie of Potozi, and in Tarpaya. The quantitie of mettals which they refine, (as some men of experience have made the account) doth amount yearely to above three hundred thousand quintals, from the earth and drosse whereof being molt and refined, they may draw yearely above two thousand quintals of Quick-silver. We must understand there are divers sorts of mettals, for some yeeld much Silver, and waste little Quick-silver: others consume much Quick-silver, and yeelde little Silver: and there are others which consume much Quick-silver, and yeeldes much Silver; and others that consume little Quick-silver, and also yeelde little Silver: and as men incounter in these mettals, so they grow rich or poore in their trafficke. Although commonly the rich mettall yeeldes much Silver, and consumes much Quick-silver; and likewise that which is poore, yeeldes little Silver, and consumes as little Mercurie. They first beate and grinde the mettall very small, with hammers and other instruments, which beate this Stone like unto tanne Mils, and being well beaten, they searce it in a copper searce, making the poulder as small and fine, as if it were horse haire: these searces being well fitted, doe sift thirtie quintals in a day and a night; then they put the poulder of the mettall into the vessels upon furnaces, whereas they anoint it and mortifie it with brine, putting to every fiftie quintals of poulder, five quintals of Salt. And this they doe for that the Salt separates the earth and filth, to the end the Quick-silver may the more easily draw the Silver unto it. After they put Quick-silver into a peece of Holland and presse it out upon the mettall, which goes forth like a dewe, alwaies turning and stirring the mettall, to the end it may be well incorporate.

Abundance of Mettals.

Manner of working.

Before the invention of these furnaces of fire, they did often mingle their mettall with Quick-silver, in great troughes, letting it settle some daies, and did then mixe it, and stir it againe, untill they thought all the Quick-silver were well incorporate with the Silver, the which continued twentie daies and more, and at the least nine daies. Since they discovered (as the desire to get is diligent,) that to shorten the time fire did much helpe: to incorporate Silver the sooner with Quick-silver, they invented these furnaces, whereon they set vessels to put in their mettall, with Salt and Quick-silver, and underneath they put fire by little and little, in furnaces made for the nonce underneath; so as in five or six daies the Quick-silver is incorporate with the Silver. And when they finde that the Mercurie hath done his part, and assembled all the Silver, leaving nothing behinde, but is well imbrued as a Spunge doth water, dividing it from the Earth, Lead, and Copper, with the which it is engendered. Then after they seperate it likewise from the Quick-silver, the which they doe in this sort; they put the Mettall in Caldrons, and vessels full of water, where with certaine wheeles they turne the mettall round about, as if they should make Mustard, and so the earth and drosse goes from the Mettall with the water that runnes away: The Silver and Quick-silver as most ponderous remaining in the bottome; the Mettall which remaines, is like unto Sand: then they take it out and wash it againe in great platters of wood, or keelers full of water, still drawing the earth from it, untill they leave the Silver and Quick-silver well clensed. There slippes away also some small portion of Silver and Quick-silver with the earth and drosse, which they call washings, the which they after wash againe and draw out the remainder. When the Silver and Quick-silver are clensed and begin to shine, and that there remaines no earth, they put all the Mettall into a cloth, which they straine out very forcibly, so as all the Quick-silver passeth out, being not incorporate with the Silver, and the rest

remaines as a loafe of Silver, like to a marke of Almonds pressed to draw oyle. And being thus pressed, the remainder containes but the sixt part in Silver, and five in Mercurie. So as if there remaines a marke of three-score pounds, ten are of Silver, and fiftie of Mercurie. Of these markes they make pinnes (as they call them) like pine apples, or sugar loaves, hollow within, the which they commonly make of a hundred pound weight; then to separate the Silver from the Quick-silver, they put it into a violent fire, which they cover with an earthen vessell, like to the mold of a Sugar-loafe, or unto a capuchon or hood, the which they cover with coales, and set fire unto it; whereby the Quick-silver exhals in smoake, the which striking against the capuchon of
[III. v. 951.] earth, it thickens and distils, like unto the smoake of a pot covered; and by a pipe like unto a limbecke, they receive the Quick-silver which distils, the Silver remaining without changing the forme, but in weight it is diminished five parts of that it was, and is spungious, the which is worthy the observation. Of two of these loaves they make one barre of Silver, in weight sixtie five or sixtie six markes: and in this sort they carrie it to the touch, custome, and marke. Silver drawne with Mercurie, is
Fine Silver for worke must be alloyed. so fine, that it never abates of two thousand three hundred and fourescore of alloy, and it is so excellent, that the worke-men are enforced to alay it, putting some mixture to it, as they doe likewise in their Mints, whereas their monie is stampt. Silver indures all these martyr-domes (if we may so call it) to be refined, the which if we consider well, it is a body framed where they grinde, sift, kneade, lay the leven, and bake the Silver: besides all this, they wash it and wash it againe; they bake it and bake it againe, induring the pestels, sives, troughes, furnaces, caldrons, presses: and finally, by the water and fire. I speake this, for that seeing this art in Potozi, I
Mat. 3. did consider what the Scripture speakes of the just,
Eccles. 2. Colabit eos & purgabit quasi argentum: And that
Psal. 11. which they speake in another part. Sicut argentum pur-

gatum terra, purgatum septuplum. So as to purifie Silver, to refine and clense it from the earth and stone where it engenders, they purge and purifie it seven times: for in effect it passeth their hands seven times, yea oftner, untill it remaines pure and fine; so is it in the word of God, where the soules must be purified, that shall injoy the heavenly perfection.

Of their Engins to grinde the Mettall, and of their triall of Silver. Chap. 13.

To conclude this subject of Silver and of Mettals, there remaines yet two things to speake of, the one is of their Engins and Mils, the other of their essay or triall: I have said before, how they grinde their Mettall: for the receiving of the Quick-silver, which is done with divers instruments and Engins, some with Horses like unto hand-mils, others like Water-mils; of which two sorts there are great numbers. But for that the water they doe use commonly, is but of raine, whereof they have not sufficient but three months in the yeare, December, January, and February: for this reason they have made Lakes and standing Pooles, which containe in circuite about a thousand and six hundred rods, and in depth three stades; there are seven with their sluces: so as when they have neede of any water, they raise up a sluce, from whence runnes a little streame of water, the which they stop upon holy-dayes. And when the Lakes and Pooles doe fill, and that the yeare abounds with raine, their grinding doth then continue six or seven moneths; so as even for Silver sake men desire a good yeare of raine in Potozi, as they doe in other places for bread. There are some other Engins in Tarapaya, which is a valley three or foure leagues distant from Potozi, whereas there runnes a River as in other parts. The difference of these Engins is, that some goe with six pestels, some with twelve, and others with fourteene. They grinde and beate the Mettall in Mortars, labouring day and night; and from thence they carry it to be sifted, upon the bankes of the brooke of Potozi. There are fortie eight Water-mils, of eight, ten, and twelve pestels, and foure on the other side, which they call Tanacognugno;

in the Citie of Tarapaya, there are two and twentie Engins all upon the water; besides there are thirtie goe with Horses in Potozi, and many others in divers parts, so great the desire of man is to get Silver, which is tried by deputies appointed by the King.

To give the alloy to everie piece, they carrie the bars of Silver unto the Assay Master, who give to every one his number, for that they carrie many at once, hee cuts a small peece of everie one, the which he weighs justly, and puts them into a Cruset, which is a small vessell made of burnt bones beaten; after he placeth every crusible in his order in the furnace, giving them a violent fire, then the Mettall melteth, and that which is lead, goes into smoake, and the copper and tinne dissolves, the Silver remaining most fine, of the colour of fire. It is a strange thing, that being thus refined, although it be liquid and molten, yet it never spils, were the mouth of the crusible turned downewards; but it remaineth fixed, without the losse of a droppe. The Assay Master knoweth by the colour and other signes, when it is refined, then doth he draw the crusibles from the fire, and weighes every peece curiously, observing what every one wants of his weight; for that which is of high alloy, wastes but little, and that which is baser, diminisheth much; and according to the waste, he sees what alloy he beares, according to the which he markes every bar punctually. Their ballance and weights are so delicate, and their graines so small, as they cannot take them up with the hand, but with a small paire of pincers: and this triall they make by candle-light, that no ayre might moove the ballance. For of this little the price of the whole barre dependeth. In trueth it is a very delicate thing, and requires a great dexteritie.

§. V. [III. v. 952.]

Of Emeralds, Pearles, Indian Bread, Trees, Fruites, Flowers naturall, and carried thither from Spaine.

IT shall not be from the purpose, to speake something of Emeralds, both for that it is a precious thing, as Gold and Silver, as also that they take their beginning from Mines and Mettals, as Plinie reports. *Pli. lib. 37. ca. 3.* The Emerald hath bin in old time in great esteeme, as the same Author writes, giving it the third place amongst all Jewels and precious stones, that is, next to the Diamond and Pearle. At this day they doe not so much esteeme the Emerald, nor the Pearle, for the great abundance brought of these two sorts from the Indies; onely the Diamond holds the principalitie, the which cannot be taken from it. Next, the Rubies come in price and other Stones, which they hold more precious then the Emerald. Men are so desirous of singularities and rare things, that what they see to be common, they doe not esteeme. They report of a Spaniard, who being *A pretty storie.* in Italie when the Indies were first discovered, shewed an Emerald to a Lapidary, who asking him the value thereof, after he had well viewed it, being of an excellent lustre and forme, he prized it at a hundred Duckets: he then shewed him another greater then it, which he valued at three hundred Duckats. The Spaniard drunke with this discourse, carried him to his lodging, shewing him a Casket full. The Italian seeing so great a number of Emeralds, said unto him, Sir, these are well worth a crowne a peece. The Kings of Mexico did much esteeme them; some did use to pierce their nostrils, and hang therein an excellent Emerald: they hung them on the visages of their Idols. The greatest store is found in the new Kingdome of Grenado, and Peru, neere unto Manta and Port Vieil.

There is towards that place a soile which they call, the Land of Emeralds, for the knowledge that they have of abundance to be there: and yet unto this day they have not conquered that Land. The Emeralds grow in stones like unto Christall; I have seene them in the same stone, fashioned like a veine, and they seeme by little and little to thicken and refine. I have seene some that were halfe white, and halfe greene; others all white, and some greene and very perfit. I have seene some of the bignesse of a Nut, and there have bin some greater found: but I have not knowne that in our time they have found any of the forme and bignesse of the plat or Jewell they have at Genes, the which they esteeme (and with reason) to be a Jewell of great price, and no relique; yet without comparison, the Emerald which Theophrastus speakes of, which the King of Babylon presented to the King of Ægypt, surpasseth that of Genes; it was foure cubits long, and three broad, and they say, that in Jupiters Temple, there was a needle or pyramide, made of foure Emeralds stones of fortie cubits long, and in some places foure broad, and in others two: and that in his time there was in Tirus in Hercules Temple, a Pillar of an Emerald. It may be (as Plinie saieth) it was of some greene stone, somewhat like the Emerald, and they called it a false Emerald. As some will say, that in the Cathedrall Church of Cordove there are certaine Pillars of Emeralds which remaine since it was a Mesquite for the Kings Miramamolins Moores, which reigned there. In the fleete, the yeare one thousand five hundred eightie and seven, in the which I came from the Indies, they brought two chests of Emeralds, every one weighing at the least foure Arobes, whereby we may see the abundance they have.

How Emeralds grow.

Admirable Emerald.

Church of Corduba.

Now that we intreate of the great riches that comes from the Indies, it were no reason to forget the Pearle, which the Ancients called Marguerites, and at the first were in so great estimation, as none but royall persons were suffered to weare them: but at this day there is

Of Pearles. Chap. 15.

such abundance as the Negres themselves doe weare chaines thereof; they grow in shels or Oysters, in eating whereof I have found Pearles in the middest of them. These Oysters within are of the colour of heaven, very lively. In some places they make Spoones, the which they call Mother of Pearle. The Pearles doe differ much in forme, in bignesse, figure, colour and polishing: so likewise in their price they differ much. Some they call Ave Mariaes, being like the small grains of beades: others are Pater nosters, being bigger. Seldome shall you finde two of one greatnesse, forme, and colour. For this reason the Romans (as Plinie writeth) called them Unions. When as they doe finde two that are alike in all points, they raise the price much (especially for eare-rings.) I have seene some paires valued at thousands of Ducats, although they were not like to Cleopatraes two Pearles, whereof Plinie reports, either of them being worth a hundred thousand Ducates, with the which this foolish Queene wonne a wager she had made against Marc Antony, to spend in one Supper above an hundred thousand Ducates, so at the last course shee dissolved one of these Pearles in strong Vinegar, and dranke it up. They say the other Pearle was cut in two, and placed in the Pantheon at Rome, at th'eares of the Image of Venus.

Plin. lib. 3. ca. 35.

Cleopatras vanity.

They fish for Pearles in divers parts of the Indies, the greatest abundance is in the South Seas, neere unto Panama, where the Ilands of Pearles be, as they call them. But at this day they finde greatest store, and the best, in the North Seas, the which is neere to the River of Hache. I did see them make their fishing, the which is done with great charge and labour of the poore slaves, which dive six, nine, yea twelve fadomes into the Sea, to seeke for Oysters, the which commonly are fastened to the rockes and gravell in the Sea: they pull them up, and bring them above the water to their canoes, where they open them, drawing forth the treasure they have within them. The water of the Sea in this part is very cold, but yet the labour and toile is greatest in holding of

Pearle fishings.

[III. v. 953.]

Manner thereof.

Long winded slaves.

their breath, sometimes a quarter, yea halfe an houre together, being under the water at their fishing. And to the end these poore slaves may the better continue and hold their breaths, they feede them with drie meates, and that in small quantitie, so as covetousnesse makes them abstaine and fast thus against their wils. They imploy their Pearles to divers works, and they pierce them to make chaines whereof there is great store in every place. In the yeare of our Lord 1581. I did see the note of what came from the Indies for the King: there were eighteene Maces of Pearle, besides three caskets, and for particulars, there were twelve hundred threescore and foure Marks, and besides them, seven caskets not pierced, which heretofore we would have esteemed and held for a lye.

Of the Indian Bread, and of Mays. Chap. 16.

They have (as we have here) a proper name, whereby they note and signifie bread, which at Peru, they call Tanta, and in other places by another name. But the qualitie and substance of the bread the Indians use, differs much from ours: for we finde not they had any kinde of Wheat or Barley, nor any other kinde of graine which they use in Europe to make Bread withall: instead whereof they used other kindes of graines and rootes, amongst the which Mays holds the first place, and with reason, in Castile they call it Indian Wheat, and in Italie they call it Turkey graine. And even as Wheate is the most common graine for the use of man, in the regions of the old world, which are Europe, Asia, and Affrica: So in the new found world, the most common graine is Mays, the which is found almost in all the Kingdomes of the West Indies, as at Peru, new Spaine, in the new Kingdome of Granado, in Gautimalla, in Chille, and upon the maine Land. I doe not finde that in old time, in the Ilands of Barlovente, as Cuba, Saint Dominique, Jamaique, and Saint Jean, that they used Mays: at this day they use much Yuca and Caçavi, whereof we will presently intreate. I doe not thinke that this Mays is any thing inferiour to our Wheate, in strength nor sub-

We call it also Virginia wheat.

stance, but it is more hot and grosse, and engenders more bloud, whereupon they that have not beene accustomed thereunto, if they eate too much, they swell and become scabbed. It growes upon Canes or Reedes; everie one beares one or two branches, to the which the graine is fastened, and although the graine be bigge, yet finde they great store thereof, so as in some clusters I have told seven hundred graines. They must plant it with the hand one by one, and not verie thicke; it desires a hot and a moist ground, and growes in great abundance in many places of the Indies. It is not strange in those Countries to gather three hundred Fanegues, or measures for one sowen. There is difference of Mays as there is of Wheate, one is great and very nourishing, another small and drie, which they call Moroche; the greene leaves and canes of Mays, is a good foode for their Mules and Horses, and it serves them for straw when it is dried; the graine is of more nourishment for Horses then Barley; and therefore in those Countries, they use to water their Horses before they eate, for if they should drinke after, they would swell as when they eate Wheate. Mays is the Indians bread, the which they commonly eate boiled in the graine hot, and they call it Mote, as the Chinois and Japonois eate their Rice sodden with the hot water: sometimes they eate it baked. There is some Mays round and bigge, as that of Lucanas, which the Spaniards eate rosted as a delicate meat, and hath a better taste then Buarbenses, or rosted peason. There is another kinde of eating it more pleasant, which is, to grinde the Mays, and to make small cakes of the flower, the which they put in the fire, and then bring them hot to the Table. In some places they call them Arepas. They make also round bowles of this paste, and so trimme them that they continue long, eating it as a daintie dish.

How it groweth.

I have had it ripen reasonably in my Garden in Essex.

They have invented at the Indies (for friandise and pleasure) a certaine kinde of paste, they doe make of this flower mixt with Sugar, which they call Biscuits

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and mellinders. This Mays serves the Indians, not onely for bread, but also for wine: for they doe make their drinke thereof, wherewith they are sooner drunke then with wine of Grapes. They make this wine of Mays in divers sorts and manner, calling it in Peru, Acua, and by the most common name of the Indies, Chicha. And the strongest is made like unto Beere, steeping the graine untill it breake. After they boile it in such sort, that it growes so strong, as a little overthrowes a man. In Peru they call this Sora, it is defended by the Law, for the great inconveniences that grow thereby, making men drunke. But this Law is ill observed, for that they use it still; yea they spend whole daies and nights in drinking carowses.

Malt & strong drinke made of it.

There is another manner of making this Acua or Chicha, which is to champe the Mays, and make a leven thereof, and then boile it: yea the Indians hold opinion, that to make good leven, it must be champed by old withered women, which makes a man sicke to heare, and yet they doe drinke it. The clenliest manner, the most wholesome, and that which least harmeth, is to roast the Mays, which the most civill Indians doe use, and some Spaniards, yea for physicke: For in effect they finde it a very wholesome drinke for the reines, so as you shall hardly finde any one at the Indies complaine of paine in the backe, for that they doe drinke of this Chicha. The Spaniards and Indians eate this Mays boyled and roasted for daintinesse, when it is tender in the grape like milke, they put it into the pot, and make sauces that are good to eate. The buds of Mays are very fat, and serve instead of Butter and oyle: so as this Mays at the Indies serves both for men and beasts, for bread, wine, and oyle.

Chica good against the Stone.

[III. v. 954.]

Of Yucas, Caçavi, Papas, Chunes and Ris. Chap. 17.

In some parts of the Indies they use a kinde of Bread they call Caçavi, which is made of a certaine roote they call Yuca. This Yuca is a great and grosse roote, which they cut in small morsels, they grate or scrape it, and then put it in a presse to straine, making a thinne and broad cake thereof, almost like unto a Moores Target

or Buckler; then doe they drie it: and this is the Bread they eate. It hath no taste, but is healthfull and of good nourishment. For this reason we said, being at Saint Dominicke, that it was the proper foode for great eaters, for that they might eate much, without any feare of surfetting. They must of necessitie water this Caçavi before they eate it; it is sharpe, and easely watered with water or broath, wherein it is very good, for that it swels much, and so they make Capirotades, but it is hardly steeped in Milke, Hony of Canes, or in Wine, for that these liquors cannot pierce it, as it doth Bread made of Wheate. Of this Caçavi there is one kinde more delicate then any other, which is that they make of the flower called Xauxau, which they doe much esteeme in those parts. For my part, I esteeme more a morsell of Bread, how hard and blacke soever. It is a strange thing that the juyce or water that commeth from this roote when they straine it, which makes the Caçavi, is a deadly poison, and kils any that drinkes thereof: but the substance that remaineth, is a very wholesome Bread and nourishment, as we have said.

Juice of Caçavi poison.

There is another kinde of Yuca, which they call Sweet, and hath not this poison in the juyce: this is eaten in the roote boiled or roasted, and is good meate. Caçavi will keepe long, and therefore they carrie it to Sea instead of Biscuit. The place where they use most of this Bread, is at the Ilands of Barlovente, which are Saint Dominicke, Cuba, Port Ricco, Jamaique, and some others thereabouts; for that the soile of these Ilands will neither beare Wheate, nor Mays: for when as they sowe Wheate, it comes up well, and is presently greene, but so unequally, as they cannot gather it; for of the seede sowen, at one instant some is spindled, some is in the eare, and some doth but bud, one is great and another little, one is in the grasse and another in the graine: and although they have carried labourers thither, to see if there were any tillage or Art to be used, yet could they finde no remedy for the qualitie of the earth. They carry Meale from new Spaine or the Canaries, which is so moist, that hardly can they make any

Wheat, why it groweth not in those parts.

profitable Bread, or of good taste. The Wafer-cakes wherewith they say Masse, did bend like to wet paper, by reason of the extreame humiditie and heate which are joyntly in that Countrie. There is another extreame contrarie to this, which hinders the growing of Mays or Wheate in some parts of the Indies, as on the height of the Sierre of Peru, and the Provinces which they call of Colao, which is the greatest part of this Realme, where the climate is so cold and dry, as it will not suffer any of these seedes to grow: instead thereof the Indians use another kinde of roote, which they call Papas: these rootes are like to ground Nuts, they are small rootes, which cast out many leaves. They gather this Papas, and dry it well in the Sunne, then beating it, they make that which they call Chuno, which keepes many daies, and serves for bread. In this Realme there is great trafficke of Chuno, the which they carry to the Mines of Potozi: they likewise eate of these Papas boiled or roasted: there is one sweete of these kindes, which growes in hot places, whereof they doe make certaine sawces and minced meate, which they call Locro. To conclude, these rootes are the bread of that Land; so as when the yeare is good, they rejoyce much, for that oftentimes they freeze in the earth, so great is the cold of that Region: they carrie Mays from the Valley or Sea-Coast, and the Spaniards which are daintie, carrie likewise from the same places Wheate-meale, whereof they doe make good Bread, because that the Land is drie.

Papas and Chuno.

Of divers roots which grow at the Indies. Chap. 18.

Besides Papas, which is the principall, there is Ocas, Yanococas, Camotes, Vatas, Xiquimas, Yuca, Cochucha, Cavi, Totora, Mani, and an infinite number of other kindes, as the Patattres, which they eate as a delicate and toothsome meate. They have likewise carried fruites to the Indies from these parts, the which prosper better there, then the Indian Plants doe, brought into Europe. There are other rootes that serve them for dainties, as the Cochucho: it is a small sweete roote, which some provide for more delight. There are other rootes fit to coole, as

the Piquima, which is the qualitie very cold and moist, and in Summer it refresheth and quencheth the thirst; but the Papas and Ocas, be the chiefe for nourishment and substance. The Indians esteeme Garlike above all the rootes of Europe, and hold it for a fruite of great force.

Of divers sorts of green hearbs and Pulses, and of those they call Concombres, Pines, or Pine Apples, small fruits of Chille, and of Prunes. Cha. 19.

Seeing we have begunne with the lesser Plants, I might in few words, touch that which concernes Flowers and Pot-hearbes, and that which the Latines call Arbusta, without any mention of Trees. There are some kindes of these shrubbes at the Indies, which are of verie good taste. The first Spaniards named many things at the Indies with such Spanish names, as they did most resemble, as Pines, Concombres, and Prunes, although they be very different fruites to those which are so called in Spaine. The Pines, or Pine-aples, are of the same fashion and forme outwardly to those of Castile, but within they wholly differ, for that they have neither Apples, nor scales, but are all one flesh, which may be eaten when the skin is off. It is a fruite that hath an excellent smell, and is very pleasant and delightfull in taste, it is full of juyce, and of a sweete and sharpe taste, they eate it being cut in morsels, and steeped a while in water and salt. They grow one by one like a cane or stalke, which riseth amongst many leaves, like to the Lillie, but somewhat bigger. The Apple is on the top of everie cane, it growes in hot and moist grounds, and the best are those of the Ilands of Barlovente. I have seene in new Spaine, conserves of these Pines, which was very good. Those which they call Concombres, are no trees, but shrubbes, continuing but one yeare. They give it this name, for that some of this fruite, and the most part, is in length, and roundnesse like to the Concombres of Spaine: but for the rest they differ much, for they are not greene, but violet, yellow, or white, neither are they thornie or rough, but pollished and even, having a verie different taste, and farre better then that of Spaine, for they have a sharpe sweete taste, very pleasant when it is ripe, yet is it not so sharpe as the Pine. They are very coole, full of liquor and of easie

[III. v. 955.]

Pines.

digestion, and in time of heate fit to refresh. They take away the rinde which is white, and all that remaines is meate. They grow in a temperate soile, and require watering. And although for the resemblance they call them Concombres, yet are there many of them round, and others of a different fashion: so as they have not the figure of Concombres. I doe not remember to have seene this kinde of fruite in new Spaine, nor at the Ilands, but upon the Lanos of Peru. That which they call the little fruite of Chille, is of the same sort, verie pleasant to eate, and comes neere the taste of Cherries, but in all other things it differs much; for that it is no tree, but an hearbe, which growes little and spreads upon the earth, casting forth this little fruite, the which in colour and graines, resembles almost the Mulberie, when it is white and not ripe, yet is it more rough and bigger then the Mulberie. They say this little fruite is naturally found in the fields of Chille, where I have seene of them. They set it upon Plants and branches, and it growes like any other shrub. Those which they call Prunes, are verily the fruits of trees, and have more resemblance then the rest to our Plumbs. But to returne to Pot-hearbs, I finde not that the Indians had any Gardens of divers Hearbes and Plants, but did onely till the Land in some parts for pulses, which they use, as those which they call Frisolles and Palares, which serve them as our Lentils, Beanes, or Tares: neither have I knowne that these Pulses, or any other kindes that be in Europe, were there before the Spaniards entred, who carried Plants and Pulses from Spaine thither, where they now grow and increase wonderfully, and in some places exceede greatly the fertilitie of these parts. As if we speak of Mellons which grow in the Vallie of Yuca, in Peru, whose roote becomes a stalk that continues many yeares carrying Mellons yeerely, and they trimme it like unto a tree; a thing which I doe not know to be in any part of Spaine. But that is more monstrous of the Calibasses or Indian Pompions, and the greatnesse they have as they grow, especially those which

Pulses, Melons and Pompons carried out of Europe and thriving better there.

are proper to the Countrie, which they call Capallos, the which they eate most commonly in Lent, boiled and trimmed with some other sawce. There are a thousand kindes of Calibasses, some are so deformed in their bignesse, that of the rinde cut in the middest and clensed, they make as it were baskets to put in all their meate for their dinner. Of the lesser they make Vessels to eate and drinke in, and doe trimme them handsomely for manie uses.

These Calibasses seeme the Guinny Gourds carried from the African coast thither.

They have not found at the West Indies anie kinde of Spices, proper or peculiar to them, as Pepper, Cloves, Cinamon, Nutmegs or Ginger, although one of our companie, who had travelled much, and in divers parts, told us, that in the Desarts of the Iland of Jamaique he had found trees where Pepper grew. But they are not yet assured thereof, neither is there anie trade of these spices at the Indies. The Ginger was carried from the Indies to Hispaniola, and it hath multiplied so, as at this day they know not what to doe with the great abundance they have. In the fleete, the yeare 1587. they brought 22053. quintals of Ginger to Seville: but the naturall spice that God hath given to the West Indies, is that we in Castill call Indian Pepper, and at the Indies, Axi, as a generall word taken from the first Land of the Ilands, which they conquered. In the language of Cusco, it is called Uchu, and in that of Mexico, Chili. This plant is well knowne, and therefore I will speake a little, onely we must understand, that in old time it was much esteemed amongst the Indians: that they carried into places where it grew not, as a Marchandise of consequence. It growes not upon cold grounds, as on the Sierre of Peru, but in hot Vallies, where it is often watered. There is of this Axi of divers colours, some is greene, some red, some yellow, and some of a burning colour, which they call Caribe, the which is extreamely sharpe and biting; there is another sort not so sharpe, but is so sweete, as they may eate it alone as any other fruit. There is some of it verie small and pleasing in the mouth, almost like to the smell of Muske,

Of Axi or Indian Pepper. Chap. 20.

Ginger.

and is verie good. That which is sharpe and biting in this Axi, be the veines and the grain onely; the rest is not: for that they eate it greene & dry, whole and beaten, in the pot, and in sawces, being the chiefe sawce, & all the spice they have at the Indies. When this Axi is taken moderately, it helps and comforts the stomack for digestion: but if they take too much, it hath bad effects, for of it selfe it is verie hot, fuming, & pierceth greatly, so as the use thereof is prejudiciall to the health of yong folkes, chiefely to the soule, for that it provokes to lust. [III. v. 956.] They use Salt to temper this Axi, having great force to correct it, and so they moderate one with the other by the contrarietie that is in them. They use also Tomates, which are cold and very wholesome. It is a kinde of graine great and full of juyce, the which gives a good taste to sawce, and they are good to eate. They have generally throughout the Indies of this Indian Pepper, at the Ilands, new Spaine, Peru, and all the rest that is discovered. And as Mays is the generall graine for Bread, so Axi is the most common spice for sawces.

Of the Plane tree. Chap. 21.

The thing wherein was most resemblance, in my opinion, betwixt the Planes at the Indies, and those which the Ancients did celebrate, is the greatnesse of the leaves, for that these have them very great and coole. But in truth there is no more comparison nor resemblance of the one with the other, then there is (as the Proverbe saith) betwixt an Egge and a Chesnut. For first, the ancient plane carries no fruite, at the least, they made no account thereof, but the chiefest reason why they esteemed it, was, for the shadow, for that there was no more Sunne under a Plane than under a roofe. And contrariwise, the reason why they should regard it at the Indies, yea make great accompt thereof, is by reason of this fruite, which is very good; for they have little shade. Moreover, the ancient Plane had the body so bigge, and the boughs so spread, that Plinie reporteth of one Licinius a Romane Captaine, who with eighteene of his companions dined at ease in th' hollow of one of these Planes: and of the

Plin. lib. 2. *c.* 1.

Emperour Caius Caligula, who with eleven of his ghests seated upon the top of another Plane, where he made them a sumptuous banquet. The Indian Planes have neither so great nor hollow bodies, not so broad boughs.

The leaves of the Indian Plane, are of a wonderfull bignesse, and are, in a manner, sufficient to cover a man from the foote to the head. It is a Plant that makes a stocke within the earth, out of the which springs many and sundry siens and sprigges, divided, and not joyned together. These sprigges grow bigge, every one making a small tree apart, and in growing they cast forth these leaves, which are of a fine, greene, smooth, and great as I have said. When it is growne to the height of a stade and a halfe, or two, it puts forth one onely bough of fruite, whereon sometimes there are great numbers of this fruite, and sometimes lesse. I have told upon some of these boughs three hundred, whereof every one was a spanne long more or lesse, and two or three fingers bigge; yet is there much difference herein, betwixt some and others, they take away the rinde, and all the rest is a firme kernell and tender, good to eate, and nourishing. This fruite inclines more to cold then heate. They are accustomed to gather the boughes or clusters, as I have said, being greene, and put them into vessels, where they ripen, being well covered, especially when there is a certaine hearbe mingled with it, which serves for this effect. If they suffer them to ripen on the tree, they have a better taste, and a very good smell, like to Camoisses or sweete Apples. They last almost all the yeare, for that there are alwaies yong ones that grow out of this stocke; so as when one ends, another beginnes to yeelde his fruite, the one is halfe ripe, and the other begins to bud anew, so as one succeedes another, and the fruite continues the whole yeare. In gathering the cluster, they cut the sprigge or stalke, for that it beares but one, and never but once: but as I have said, the stalke remaines, and casts forth new sienes or stalkes, untill it growes old and dies. This Plane continues many yeares, and requires

Plin. lib. 11. *ca.* 16.

much moisture, and a very hot ground. They put ashes at the foote of it, for the better entertaining thereof, and they make small groves and very thicke: the leafe is as broad as a sheete of Paper, or little lesse, and foure times as long.

Of Cacao and Coca. Chap. 22.

Although the Plane be the most profitable, yet that Cacao is most esteemed at Mexico, and the Coca in Peru, in which two trees they have great superstition. The Cacao is a fruite little lesse then Almonds, yet more fat, the which being roasted hath no ill taste. It is so much esteemed amongst the Indians (yea and among the Spaniards) that it is one of the richest and the greatest traffickes of new Spaine: for being a drie fruite, and that keepes long without corruption, they carrie whole Ships loaden from the Province of Guatimalla. The last yeare an English Pirat did burne in the Port of Guatulco in new Spaine, above a hundred thousand charges of Cacao.

Cacao money.

They use it instead of money, for with five Cacaos they buy one thing, with thirtie another, and with a hundred another, without any contradiction; and they use to give it to the poore that beg for almes. The chiefe use of this Cacao, is in a drinke which they call Chocholate, whereof they make great accompt in that Country, foolishly, and without reason; for it is loathsome to such as are not acquainted with it, having a skum or froth that is very unpleasant to taste, if they be not very well conceited thereof. Yet it is a drinke very much esteemed among the Indians, wherewith they feast Noble men as they passe through their Countrie. The tree whereon this fruite growes, is of reasonable bignesse, and well fashioned, it is so tender, that to keepe it from the burning of the Sunne, they plant neere unto it, a great tree, which serves onely to shadow it, and they call it the mother of Cacao. There are places where they are like to the Vines and Olive trees of Spaine. The Province where there is greatest abundance for the trafficke of Marchandise, is Guatimalla. There growes none in Peru, but Coca, wherein they hold another great superstition, which seemes

Coca.

to be fabulous. It is a kinde of Marchandise, by the which all their Markets and Faires are made with great expedition. This Coca whereof they make such account, is a small greene leafe, which groweth upon small trees about a fadome high, and in hot and moist grounds; every foure moneths it casts forth this leafe, which they call Tresmitas or Tremoy; it requires great care in planting, being very tender, and much more to keepe it, when it is gathered. They lay it in order in long and narrow baskets, and so lade their sheepe of the Country, which goe in troopes, with one, two, or three thousand baskets of this marchandise. [III. v. 957.]

They bring it commonly from the Andes and vallies, where there is an extreame heate, and where it raines continually the most part of the yeare: wherein the Indians endure much labour and paine to entertaine it, and often many die; for that they goe from the Sierre and cold places to till and gather them in the Andes. Their use is to carry it in their mouthes, chawing it, and sucking out the juice, but they swallow it not. They say it gives them great courage, and is very pleasing unto them. They willingly imploy their money therein, and use it as money. *Of Maguey Tunal, Cochenille. Anir, and Cotton. Chap. 23.*

Maguey is a tree of wonders, whereof the Notaries or Chapetons (as the Indians call them) are wont to write miracles, in that it yeeldeth Water, Wine, Oyle, Vinegar, Honie, Sirrope, Thred, Needles, and a thousand other things. It is a tree which the Indians esteeme much in new Spaine, and have commonly in their dwellings some one of them for the maintenance of life; it growes in the fields, and hath great and large leaves, at the end whereof is a strong and sharpe point, which serves to fasten little pins, or to sew as a needle: and they draw out of this leafe as it were a kinde of thred which they use. They cut the body which is bigge, when it is tender, wherein is a great hollownesse, by which the substance mounts from the roote, and is a liquor which they drinke like water, being sweete and fresh. This liquor being *Maguey.* *Manifold commodities of the Maguey.*

sodden, turnes like Wine, which growes to Vinegar, suffring it to soure, and boiling it more, it becomes as honie, and boiling it halfe, it serves as sirrope: which is healthfull enough, and of good taste; in my judgement it is better then the sirrope of Raisons. Thus do they boile this liquor, and use it in divers sorts, whereof they draw a good quantitie, for that in some season they draw daily some pots of this liquor. There are also of these trees in Peru, but they are not so profitable as in new Spaine. The wood of this tree is hollow and soft, and serves to keepe fire, like to the match of a harquebuze, and preserves it long: I have seene the Indians use it to that end.

Tunall tree. The Tunall is another famous tree in new Spaine: if wee may call a tree a heape of leaves gathered together one upon another, it is the strangest fashiond tree of all other: for first there growes one leafe out of the ground, then another upon it, and so one upon one, till it commeth to his perfection; but as the leaves grow up, and on the sides, those underneath doe become great, and loose in a manner the forme of leaves, making a body and branches, which are sharpe, pricking, and deformed, so as in some places they doe call it a Thistle. There are Thistles or wilde Tunalls, the which doe carrie no fruite, or else it is very pricking without any profit. There are likewise planted Tunalls which yeelde fruite much esteemed amongst the Indians, the which they call Tunas, and they are much greater then Plumbes, and long. They open the shell which is fat, and within it is meate and small graines, like to those of figges, which be very sweete; they have a good taste, especially the white, which have a pleasing smell, but the red are not usually so good. There is another sort of Tunalls, which they esteeme much more, although it yeeldes no fruit, yet it beares another commoditie and profit, which is of the graine, for that certaine small wormes breede in the leaves of this tree, when it is well husbanded, and are thereunto fastned, covered with a certaine small fine web, which doth com-

passe them in daintily; and this is that Indian Cochenille, so famous, and wherewith they die in graine. They let it drie, and being dried, carrie it into Spaine, which is a great and rich marchandise. The arobe of this Cochenille or graine is worth many ducats. In the fleete, the yeare 1587. they did bring five thousand six hundred seventie seven arobes, which amounted to two hundred fourescore three thousand seven hundred and fiftie peeces, and commonly there comes every yeare as great a wealth.

These Tunalls grow in temperate grounds inclining to cold. In Peru there growes none to this day. I have seene some Plants in Spaine, but they deserve not estimation. I will speake something likewise of the Anir, although it comes not from a tree, but from an hearbe, for that it serveth for the dying of cloth, and is a marchandise which agrees with the graine; it groweth in great abundance in new Spaine, from whence there came in the fleete I mentioned 5263. arobes, or there abouts, which amounted to so many peeces. Cotten likewise growes upon small shrubs, and great trees like to little apples, which doe open and yeelde forth this webbe, which being gathered, they spinne to make stuffes: and the yeare that I spake of, there came 64000. arobes.

I thinke hee meaneth Anill or Indico: of which see To. 1. l. 4. in Fitches Journall.

Cotten.

These Plants we have spoken of, are the most profitable of the Indies, and the most necessarie for the life of man: yet there are many other that are good to eate, among the which the Mameys are esteemed, being in fashion like to great Peaches, and bigger, they have one or two stones within them, and their meate is somewhat hard. There are some sweete, and others somewhat sowre, and have the rinde hard. They make conserves of the meate of this fruite, which is like to Marmelade. The use of this fruite is reasonable good, but the conserves they make thereof, are better. They grow in Ilands. I have not seene any in Peru. It is a great tree, well fashioned, and a reasonable faire leafe. The Guavyavos be other trees which commonly carrie an ill fruite, full of sowre kernels, and are like to little Apples. It is a tree little esteemed

Of Mameys, Guavyavos, and Paltos. Chap. 24.

[III. v. 958.]

upon the firme Land and at the Ilands, for they say it smels like to the Punaises. The taste and savour of this fruite is verie grosse, and the substance unholesome. In Saint Dominique and other Ilands, there are whole Mountaines full of these Guayavos, and they say, there was no such kindes of trees before the Spaniards came there, but that they brought them they know not from whence. This tree hath multiplied infinitely, for that there is no Beast that will eate the kernels or the graine, so as being thus scattered on the earth, being hot and moist, it multiplies in this sort. In Peru, the Guayavos differs from others, for that the fruite is not red, but white, neither hath it any ill smell, but is of a very good taste; and of what sort of Guayavos soever it be, the fruite is as good as the best of Spaine, especially of those which they call Guayavos de Matos, and of other little white Guayvilles. It is a fruite reasonably holesome, and agrees with the stomack, being of a strong digestion, and cold. The Paltas commonly are hote and delicate. The Palto is a great tree, and carries a faire leafe, which hath a fruit like to great Peares: within it hath a great stone, and all the rest is soft meate, so as when they are full ripe, they are as it were Butter, and have a delicate taste. In Peru the Paltas are great, and have a verie hard skale, which may be taken off whole. This fruite is most usuall in Mexico, having a thinne skinne, which may be pilled like an Apple: they hold it for a very holesome meate, and as I have said, it declines a little from heate. These Mamayes, Guayavos, and Paltos, be the Indians Peaches, Apples, and Peares; and yet would I rather choose them of Europe.

Chicopates. The Marmalad is that which they call Capotes, or Chicoçapotes, which have a sweete taste, and neere unto the colour of Marmalade. Some Crollos (for so they called the Spaniards borne at the Indies) say that this fruite passeth all the fruites of Spaine in excellencie: yet am I not of that opinion. Those Chicoçapotes or Capotes, wherein there is little difference, grow in the hotest parts

of new Spaine, neither have I knowledge of any such fruite in the firme Land of Peru. As for the Blanckemanger, it is that Annona or Guanavana, which growes in the firme Land, which is fashioned like unto a Peare, a little sharpe and opened, within it is white, tender and soft like Butter, sweete and of a pleasing taste: It is no white meate, though they call it Blanckemanger.

Of many sorts of fruit Trees, of Cocos, Almonds of the Andes, and Almonds of Chachapoyas. Cha. 26.

There are some grosse Fruites, as those which they call Lucumes (of which fruite they speake in a Proverbe, that it is a counterfet price.) The Guanos, Pacayes, Hubos, and the Nuts which they call Imprisoned: which fruites seeme to many, to be the same kinde of Nuts we have in Spaine. I doe not thinke it good to passe away under silence the Cocos or Indian Palmes, by reason of a verie notable propertie it hath. I call them Palmes, not properly, or that it beares Dates, but that they are trees like to other Palmes. They are high and strong, and the higher they grow, the broader they stretch out their branches. These Cocos yeeld a fruite which they likewise call Cocos, whereof they commonly make vessels to drinke in, and some they say have a vertue against poison, and to cure the paine in the side. The nutte and meate being dried, is good to eate, and comes neere in take to greene Chesnuts. When the Coco is tender upon the tree, the substance within it, is as it were Milke, which they drinke for daintinesse, and to refresh them in time of heate. I have seene of these trees in Saint Jean de Port Ricco, and other parts of the Indies, and they report a wonderfull thing, that every moneth or Moone, this tree casts forth a new branch of this Cocos; so as it yeeldes fruite twelve times in the yeare, as it is written in the Apocalips: and in truth this seemes like unto it, for that all the branches are of different ages, some beginning, others being ripe, and some halfe ripe. These Cocos are commonly of the forme and bignesse of a small Melon. There is of another kinde, which they call Coquillos, the which is a better fruite, whereof there be some in Chille. They are somewhat lesse then Nuts, but more round. There is another

Cocos.

kinde of Cocos, which have not the kernell so oylie, but within they have a great number of small fruits like Almonds, like unto the graines of a Pomgranat.

These Almonds are thrice as bigge as those of Castillo, and resemble them in taste, though they be more sharpe, and likewise moist and oylie. It is a good meate, they use it also in feasting, for lacke of Almonds to make Marchpanes, and such other things. They call them *Almonds.* Almonds of the Andes, for that these Cocos grow abundantly upon the Andes of Peru; they are so strong and hard, as to open them, they must beate them with a great stone, when they fall from the tree. If they chance to hit any one on the head, he hath no more neede of any Surgeon. It is an incredible thing, that within the hollow of these Cocos, which are no bigger than the rest, or little more, there are such a multitude of these Almonds. But as touching Almonds and other fruits, all trees must yeelde to the Almonds of Chachapoyas, which I cannot otherwise call. It is the most pleasing, delicate and wholesome fruite of all that I have seene at the Indies.

Of many and divers flowers, and of some trees which yeelde onely a flower, & how the Indians doe use them. Ch. 67.

The Indians are great lovers of flowers, and in new Spaine more then in any other part of the world, and therefore they are accustomed to make many kindes of Nosegaies, which there they call Suchilles, with such prettie varietie and art, as nothing can be more pleasing. They have a custome amongst them, that the chiefest man offer their Suchillos or nosegayes in honour to Noblemen, and to their ghests; and they presented us with such abundance as wee passed through that Countrey, as wee knew [III. v. 959.] not what to doe with them; and at this day they use the principall flowers of Castile, to that end, for that they grow better there than here, as Gilli-flowers, Roses, Jasmins, Violets, Orange flowers, and other sorts which they have transported out of Spaine. The Rose tree groweth too fast in some places, so as they beare no Roses. *Accidents produce most arts.* It chanced one day that a Rose tree was burned, and the siens which sprowted out, presently bare abundance of Roses, and thereby they learned to prune them, and to

cut off the superfluous branches, so as at this day they yeelde reasonable store of Roses. But besides these kindes of flowers, which have beene transported from hence, there are many others, whose names I doe not know, whereof some are red, blew, yellow, violet and white, with a thousand different colours, which the Indians did use to carry on their heads, as feathers for ornament. True it is, that many of these flowers are onely pleasing to the sight, having no good savour, either they are grosse, or else they have none at all; and yet there be some of an excellent sent. As those which grow upon a tree tearmed by them Floripondio or carry flower, which beares no fruite, but onely these flowers, which are greater than the Lillie, and are like to little Bels, all white, which have within them small threds, as we see in the Lillie: it leaves not all the yeare to beare these flowers, whose smell is wonderfull sweete and agreeable, especially in the coole of the morning. The Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo sent of these trees unto King Phillip, as a thing worthy to be planted in royall Gardens. In new Spaine the Indians esteeme much of a flower, which they call Volosuchil, which signifieth flower of the heart, for that it beares the forme of a heart, and is not much lesse. The flower of Granadille is held for an admirable thing, and they say, it hath in it the markes of the Passion, and that therein they note the nailes, the piller, the whips, and crowne of thornes, and the wounds, wherein they are not altogether without reason, and yet to find out and observe these things, it requires some pietie to cause beleefe: but it is very exquisite and faire to the eye, although it have no smell, &c.

Of Balme.

The balme which comes from the West Indies, is not of the same kinde of right Balme which they bring from Alexandria or Cairo, and in old time was in Judea, which Judea (as Plinie writeth) did of all the world possesse this greatnesse, untill the Emperour Vespasian brought it to Rome and into Italie. At the Indies I have seene the Tree from whence they draw the Balme, which is as

Plin. lib. 12. *c.* 15. *Chap.* 28.

big as a Pomgranat tree, and something neere the fashion: and if my memorie failes me not, it hath nothing common with the Vine, although that Strabo writes, that the ancient tree of Balme, was of the bignesse of a Pomgranat tree. But in their accidents & operations, their liquors are alike, as likewise they be in their admirable smels, & in the cure and healing of wounds in colour and substance, seeing they report of other Balmes that there is some white, vermillion, greene and blacke, the which is likewise seene in that of the Indies. And as they drew forth the ancient in cutting and making incisions in the barke, to cause the liquor to distill out, so doe they with that at the Indies, although it distils in greater abundance. And as in the ancient there is one kinde which is pure, the which they call Opobalsamum, which be the verie teares that distill, so as there is another sort which is not so exquisite, the which they draw from the barke and leaves strained and boiled on the fire, the which they call Xilobalssamum. The like is also in the Indian Balmes; there is one pure that distils from the tree, and others that the Indians draw out by straining and boiling the leaves and wood. The Apostolike Sea hath given libertie to give Creame of Balme at the Indies, and that they should use it in Confirmation and other ceremonies which they use.

Strab. lib. 16. *Geograp.*

Of Amber, and other Oyles, Gummes, and Drugs, which they bring from the Indies Chap. 29.

Next to Balme, Amber holds the second place: it is another liquor which is likewise sweet and medicinall, but more thicke, and turnes into a paste of a hot complexion, and a good perfume. This Amber comes from new Spaine, which hath that advantage above other Provinces in Gummes, Liquors, and juyce of Trees, whereby they have such abundance of matter, for perfume and physicke, as is the Animè, whereof there comes great store, Copal or Suchicopal, which is another kinde, Storax and Incense, which have excellent operations, and have a very good smell fit for fumigations. Likewise the Tacamahaca and Caranna, which are also very medicinall. They bring likewise from this Province oile of Aspicke, which the Physicians and Painters use much, the one for plaisters,

the other to vernish their pictures. They bring also for the Physicians Cassia fistula, the which growes plentifully in Saint Dominique. It is a great Tree, which carries these Canes as his fruit. They brought in the fleet wherein I came from Saint Dominique fortie eight Quintals of Cassia fistula. Salcepareille is not lesse knowne, for a thousand remedies wherein it is used. There came in the same fleet fiftie Quintals from the same Iland. There is much of this Salcepareille at Peru, and most excellent in the Province of Guayaquil, which is under the Line. Many goe to be cured into this Province, and it is the opinion of some, that the pure water onely which they drinke, gives them health, for that it passeth by rootes as I have said, from whence it drawes this vertue, so as there needes no great covering or garments to make a man sweat in that Countrie. The wood of Guayac, which they call Lignum sanctum, or Indian wood, growes abundantly in the same Ilands, and is as heavie as Iron, so as it presently sinkes in the water: hereof they brought in the same fleet three hundred and fiftie Quintals, and they might have brought twentie, yea, a hundred thousand of this wood, if there were use for it. There came in the same fleet, and from the same Iland, one hundred and thirtie Quintals of Bresil wood, the which is fiery red, so well knowne, and much used in dying and other things. There are at the Indies infinite numbers of other aromaticall Woods, Gummes, Oiles, and Drugs, so as it is not possible to name them all, neither doth it now much import. I say onely, that in the time of the Kings Inguas of Cusco, and the Mexicane Kings, there were many great personages expert in curing of diseases with simples, and did goodly cures, having the knowledge of the many vertues and properties of Herbs, Rootes, Woods, and Plants, which grow there, and whereof the Ancients of Europe have had no knowledge. There are a thousand of these simples fit to purge, &c.

Cas. Fistula.

Salceparilla.

Lignum vitæ.

[III. v. 960.]

Auncient Physicians.

Woods are so many and great, that it hath beene needfull (passing through some parts of the Indies, especially

where they newly entred) to make their way, in cutting downe Trees, and pulling up Bushes, so that (as some religious men have written that have tried it) they could not sometimes have passed above a league in a day. One of our brothers (a man worthy of credit) reported unto us, that being strayed in the Mountaines, not knowing which way hee should passe, he fell among such thicke *Strange travil.* Bushes, that hee was forced to goe upon them, without setting foot to the ground, by the space of fifteen whole dayes: and to see the Sunne, or to marke some way in this thicke Forest full of wood, hee was forced to climbe to the top of the highest Trees to discover. He that shall reade the discourse of his travell, how often he was lost, and the wayes hee passed, with the strange adventures that happened unto him, the which I have written briefly, being so worthy the knowledge, and having my selfe travelled a little over the Mountaines at the Indies, were it but the eighteene leagues betwixt Nombre de Dios and Panama, may well judge what great Forests there are. So as having no winter in those parts, to nip them with cold, and the humiditie of the Heavens and Earth being so great, as the Mountaines bring forth infinite Forests, and the Playnes which they call Savanas, great plentie of grasse: there is no want of Pasture for feeding, of Timber for building, nor of Wood for fuell. It is impossible to set downe the differences and formes of so many wilde Trees, for that the names of the greatest part are unknowne.

Cedars in old time so much esteemed, are there very common, both for buildings and ships, and they are of divers sorts, some white, and some red, very odoriferant. There are great store of Bay trees, very pleasant to behold upon the Andes of Peru, upon the Mountaines, in the Ilands of Nicaragua, and in new Spaine. There are also infinite numbers of Palmes and Ceivas, whereof the Indians make their Canoes, which are Boates made of one piece. They bring into Spaine from the Havana, excellent timber. In the Iland of Cuba, there are infinite

numbers of like trees, as Ebene, Caovana, Grenadille, Cedars, and other kindes which I doe not know. There are great Pine trees in new Spaine, though they be not so strong as those in Spaine: they beare no pignous or kernels, but emptie apples. The Oakes as they call them of Guayaquil, is an excellent wood and sweet, when they cut it; yea there are Canes or most high Reeds, of whose boughs or small reedes they doe make Bottles and Pitchers to carry water, and doe likewise use them in their buildings. There is likewise the wood of Mansle or Firre, whereof they make masts for their ships, and they hold them as strong as Iron. Molle is a tree of many vertues, which casteth forth small boughes, whereof the Indians make wine. In Mexico they call it the tree of Peru, for that it came from thence: but it growes also in new Spaine, and better then those in Peru. There are a thousand other Trees, which were a superfluous labour to intreat of, whereof some are of an exceeding greatnesse, I will speake onely of one which is in Tlaco Chavoya, *Great Tree.* three leagues from Guayaca in new Spaine: this tree being measured within, being hollow, was found to have nine fadome, and without, neere to the roote, sixteene, and somewhat higher, twelve. This tree was strooke with lightning from the toppe to the bottome, through the heart, the which caused this hollownesse: they say that before the thunder fell upon it, it was able to shaddow a thousand men, and therefore they did assemble there for their dances and superstitions: yet to this day there doth remaine some boughes and verdure, but not much. They know not what kinde of tree it is, but they say it is a kinde of Cædar. Such as shall finde this strange, let them reade what Plinie reporteth of the Plaine of *Plin. lib.* 12. Lidia, the hollow whereof contained fourescore foot and *c.* 1. one, and seemed rather a Cabbin or a House, then the hollow of a tree, his boughes like a whole wood, the shaddow whereof covered a great part of the field. By that which is written of this Tree, we have no great cause to wonder at the Weaver, who had his dwelling and Loome

in the hollow of a Chesnut tree: and of another Chesnut tree, if it were not the very same, into the hollow whereof there entered eighteene men on Horsebacke, and passed out without disturbing one another. The Indians did commonly use their Idolatries in these Trees, so strange and deformed, even as did the auncient Gentiles, as some Writers of our time doe report.

Of Plants and fruites which have bin carried out of Spain to the Indies. Chap. 31.

The Indians have received more profit, and have bin better recompenced in Plants that have bin brought from Spaine, then in any other Merchandise, for that those few which are carried from the Indies into Spaine, grow little there, and multiply not, and contrariwise the great number that have beene carried from Spaine to the Indies, prosper well and multiply greatly: I know not whether I shall attribute it to the bountie of the Plants that goe from hence, or to the goodnesse of the soyle that is there. Finally, there is at the Indies any good thing that Spaine brings forth: in some places it is better, in some worse, [III. v. 961.] as Wheate, Barley, Hearbes, and all kinds of Pulses, also Lettuce, Coleworts, Radishes, Onions, Garlike, Parsley, Turneps, Parseneps, Becengenes, or Apples of love, Siccorie, Beetes, Spinage, Pease, Beanes, Fetches: and finally, whatsoever groweth here of any profit, so as all that have voyaged thither, have beene curious to carry Seedes of all sorts, and all have growne, although diversly, some more, some lesse. As for those trees that have most abundantly fructified, be Orenge-trees, Limons, Citrons, and other of that sort. In some parts there are at this day, as it were whole Woods and Forrests of Orange trees: tha which seeming strange unto me, I asked who had planted the fields with so many Orange trees? they made me answer, that it did come by chance, for that Oranges being fallen to the ground, and rotten, their seedes did spring, and of those which the water had carried away into divers parts, these Woods grew so thicke: which seemed to mee a very good reason. I have said that this fruite hath generally increased most at the Indies, for that I have not beene in any place but I finde Orange

Natures husbandrie.

trees, for that all their soile is hot and moist, which this tree most desires. There growes not any upon the Sierre or Mountaine, but they carrie them from the vallies or Sea coast. The conserve of Oranges which they doe make at the Ilands, is the best I have seene any where: Peaches, Presses, and Apricockes have greatly multiplied, especially in new Spaine. At Peru there growes few of these kindes of fruites, except Peaches, and much lesse in the Ilands. There growes Apples and Peares, yet but scarcely: there are but few Plumbs, but aboundance of Figges, chiefly in Peru. They finde Quinces in all the Countrie of the Indies, and in new Spaine, in such aboundance, as they gave us fiftie choice ones for halfe a riall. There is great store of Pomegranats, but they are all sweete, for the sharpe are not there esteemed. There are very good Melons in some parts of Peru. Cherries both wilde and tame have not prospered well at the Indies, the which I doe not impute to want of temperature, for that there is of all sorts, but to carelesnesse, or that they have not well observed the temperature. To conclude, I doe not finde that in those parts there wants any daintie fruite. As for grosse fruites, they have no Beillottes nor Chesnuts, neither doe I finde that any have growne there to this day. Almonds grow there, but rarely. They carry from Spaine, for such as are daintie mouthed, both Almonds, Nuts, and Filberds: but I have not knowne they had any Medlers or Services, which imports little.

Of Grapes, Vines, Olives, Mulberries, and Canes of Sugar. Chap. 32.

There growes no Wine nor Grapes in the Ilands, nor firme Land, but in new Spaine, there are some Vines which beare Grapes, and yet make no Wine. The cause is, for that the Grape ripens not well, by reason of the raine that fals in the Moneths of July and August, which hinders their ripening, so as they serve onely to eate. They carry Wine out of Spaine, and from the Canaries, to all parts of the Indies, except Peru and the Realme of Chille. There are some places where the Vines are not watered, neither from heaven nor earth, and yet they

increase in great abundance, as in the Valley of Yca, and in the ditches that they call Villacuzi, in which places they finde ditches, or th' earth sunke downe amongst the dead Sands, which are thorowout the yeare of a wonderfull coolenesse, and yet it raines not there at any time, neither is there any manner of meanes to water it artificially: the reason is, because the soile is spongious, and sucks up the water of the rivers that fall from the Mountaine, which moisten these Sands, or else it is the moistnesse of the Sea, as others suppose, which passing over this Sand, is the cause why it is not barren nor unprofitable, as the Philosopher teaches. The Vines have so increased there, as for this cause onely the tithes of the Churches are multiplied five or six times double within these twentie yeares. And it is strange, that in the Citie of Cusco you shall finde ripe Grapes all the yeare long: the reason is (as they say) for that those Vallies bring forth fruits in divers moneths of the yeare, either for that they cut their Vines in divers seasons, or that this varietie proceedes from the qualitie of the soile: but whatsoever it be, it is most certaine, there are some Vallies which carrie fruite all the yeare. If any one wonder at this, it may be he will wonder much more at that which I shall say, and perchance not beleeve it. There are Trees in Peru, whereof the one part yeeldes fruite one sixe moneths of the yeare, and the other halfe part yeeldes fruite the other six moneths. In Malla which is thirteene leagues from the Citie of Kings, there is a Figge tree, whereof the one halfe which is towards the South, is greene, and yeeldeth his fruite one season of the yeare, that is, when it is summer upon the Sierre, and the other moitie towards the Lanos or Sea coast, is greene, and yeeldes his fruite in the other contrarie season, when it is summer upon the Lanos, which groweth from the divers temperature, and the ayre which commeth from the one part, and the other. The revenue of Wine there is not small, but it goeth not out of the Countrie. But the Silke that is made in new Spaine is transported into other Countries,

Grapes all the yeere.

Strange fructifying.

as to Peru. There were no Mulberrie trees in the Indies, but such as were brought from Spaine, and they grow well, especially in the Province which they call Mistecqua, where there are Silke-wormes, and they put to worke the Silke they gather, whereof they make verie good Taffataes: yet to this day they have made neither Damaske, Sattin, nor Velvet. The Sugar yet is a greater revenue, for they not onely spend it at the Indies, but also they carrie much into Spaine, for the Canes grow exceeding well in manie parts of the Indies. They have built their engins in the Ilands, in Mexico, in Peru, and in other parts, which yeeldeth them a very great revenue.

It was told me, that the engine for Sugar in Nasca, [III. v. 962.] was worth yeerly above thirtie thousand pieces of revenue. That of Chicama joyning to Truxillo, was likewise of great revenue, and those of new Spaine are of no lesse; and it is a strange thing to see what store they consume at the Indies. They brought from the Iland of Saint Dominique, in the fleet wherein I came, eight hundred ninetie eight chests of Sugar, which being (as I did see) shipped at Port Ricco (every chest (in my opinion) weighed eight Arobes, every Arobe weighing five and twentie pounds, which are two hundred weight of Sugar) is the chiefe revenue of these Ilands, so much are men given to the desire of sweet things. There are likewise Olives and Olive trees at the Indies, I say in Mexico and in Peru, yet hath there not beene to this day any Mill for Oile, for that they eate all their Olives, and dresse them well: they finde the charge is greater to make Oile then the profit, and therefore they carry all the Oile they doe spend from Spaine. And here we will end with plants, and will passe to such beasts as be at the Indies.

Olives but no Oile.

§. VI.

Of Beasts and Fowles in the Indies.

Of beasts bearing wool and of Kine. Cap. 33.

IFinde there are three kindes of beasts at the Indies, whereof some have beene carried from Spaine; others are of the same kinde we have in Europe, and yet not carried by the Spaniards; and others are proper to the Indies, whereof there are none in Spaine.

Europæan beasts.

Of the first kinde are Sheepe, Kine, Goats, Swine, Horses, Asses, Dogs, Cats, and other such beasts, for there are of all these kindes at the Indies. The smaller Cattell have greatly multiplyed, and if they could make profit of their woolls by sending them into Europe, it were one of the greatest riches the Indies had, for there the

Store of sheep.

flocks of sheepe have great pastures, where as their feeding failes not. In Peru there is such store of pastures and feedings, as no man hath any proper to himselfe, but every man feedes his troups where he pleaseth. For this reason there is commonly great store of flesh, and very good cheape, and all other things that come from sheepe, as Milke, and Cheese. For a time they lost their woolls, untill that some began to husband it, and to make cloth and coverings, which hath beene a great helpe for the poorer sort of the Countrie, for that the cloth of Castile is very deare there. There are many Clothiers in Peru, but more in new Spaine, yet the cloth that comes from Spaine is farre better, whether the wooll bee more fine, or the workmen more expert. In former times there were men that did possesse threescore and ten, yea a hundred thousand sheepe, and at this day they have not many lesse. If this were in Europe, it were a very great substance, but in that Countrie it is but a meane wealth. In many parts of the Indies, and I thinke in the greatest part, small Cattell doe not increase and profit well, by reason that the grasse is high, and the soile so vicious, that they cannot feede so well as great Cattell.

And therefore there is an infinite number of Kine, whereof there are two kindes. Some are tame and goe in troups, as in the land of Charca, and other Provinces of Peru, as also in all new Spaine: from these tame Kine they draw such profit as they doe in Spaine, that is, the Flesh, Butter, Calves, and Oxen to till the ground. The other kinde is wilde, which live in the Mountains and Forests, and therefore they tame them not, neither have they any master to whom they are proper, both for the roughnesse and thicknesse of the Forest, as also for the great multitude there is, and he that first kills them is the master, as of any wilde beast. These wilde Kine have so multiplied in Saint Dominique, and thereabouts, that they troupe together in the fields and woods by thousands, having no master to whom they appertaine. They hunt these beasts onely for their hides, they goe to the field on horse-backe with their weapons to hough them, coursing the Kine: and when they have strucken any and stayed them, they are their owne, they flay them and carry the hides home, leaving the flesh, which every one neglects for the abundance there is, so as some have testified in this Iland, that in some places the aire hath beene corrupted with the abundance of these stinking carkasses. The hides they bring into Spaine, is one of the best revenues of the Ilands, and of new Spaine. In the fleet the yeere 1587. there came from Saint Dominique 35444. hides, and from new Spaine 64350. which they value at 96532. pieces, so as when they discharge one of these fleets, it is admirable to behold the River of Sevile, and in the Arcenall (where they unlade) so many hides, and so much merchandize. There are also great numbers of Goates, whose chiefe profit is their tallow, besides their Kid-milke and other commodities, for that both rich and poore use this tallow for lights. For as there is a great quantitie, so doe they make very good account of it; yea, more then of oile, but all the tallow they use is onely of the Males. They use their skins for shooes, yet I hold them not so good, as those which are carried from Castile.

Store of Kine.

Wilde herds.

Killed only for the hides.

Almost 100000 *hides transported at once. How rich might Virginia become, if!*

A.D. c. 1588.

Horses. Horses have multiplyed there, and are very excellent in many places; yea in many parts there are Races found as good as the best in Spaine, as well for passing of a Carrier, and for pompe, as also for travell: and therefore they use Horses most commonly, although there bee no [III. v. 963.] want of Moyles, whereof there are many, especially where they make their carriages by land. There is no great number of Asses, having no great use for them, neither for travell nor service. There are some few Camels; I have seene some in Peru, that were brought from the Canaries, and have multiplyed there a little. In Saint Dominique, Dogs have so multiplyed in number and bignesse, as at this day it is the scourge and affliction of that Iland: for they eate the Sheepe, and goe in troupes through the fields. Such that kill them are rewarded like to them that kill Wolves in Spaine. At the first there were no Dogs at the Indies but some beasts like unto little Dogs, the which the Indians call Alco, and therefore they call all Dogs that goe from Spaine, by the same name, by reason of the resemblance that is betwixt them. The Indians doe so love these little Dogs, that they will spare their meat to feed them, so as when they travell in the Country, they carry them with them upon their shoulders, or in their bosoms, and when they are sicke, they keepe them with them, without any use, but onely for companie.

Asses.

Camels.

Dogs multiplyed to noysomnesse.

Indian Dogs.

Of some beasts of Europe which the Spaniards found at the Indies, and how they should passe thither. Cap. 34. Note. It is certaine that they have carried from Spaine all these beasts whereof I have spoken, of which kindes there were none at the Indies, when they were first discovered about a hundred yeeres since; for besides that it may be well approved by witnesses at this day living; It is also a sufficient argument to see that the Indians in their tongue, have no proper wordes to signifie these beasts, but they use the same Spanish names, although they be corrupted: for being ignorant of the thing, they tooke the word common to those places from whence they came. I have found this a good rule, to discerne what things the Indians had before the Spaniards came there, and what they had not: for they gave names to

those they had and knew before, and have given new names to these that are newly come unto them, which commonly are the same Spanish names, although they pronounce them after their manner, as for a Horse, Wine, and Wheat. They found of some sorts of beasts that are in Europe, and were not carried thither by the Spaniards. There are Lions, Tigres, Beares, Boares, Foxes, and other fierce and wilde beasts, whereof we have treated in the first Booke, so as it was not likely they should passe to the Indies by Sea, being impossible to swim the Ocean: and it were a folly to imagine that men had imbarked them with them. It followes therefore that this world joynes with * the new in some part: by which these beasts might passe, and so by little and little multiplyed this world. The Lions which I have seene, are not red, neither have they such haire as they usually paint them with. They are grey, and not so furious as they seeme in pictures. The Indians assemble in troupes to hunt the Lion, and make as it were a circle, which they doe call Chaco, wherewith they inviron them, and after they kill them with stones, staves, and other weapons. These Lions use to climbe trees, where being mounted, the Indians kill them with Lances and Crosse-bowes, but more easily with Harquebuzes. The Tigres are more fierce and cruell, and are more dangerous to meet, because they breake forth and assaile men in treason: They are spotted, as the Historiographers describe them. I have heard some report that these Tigres were very fierce against the Indians, yet would they not adventure at all upon the Spaniards, or very little; and that they would choose an Indian in the middest of many Spaniards, and carry him away.

**But where? our Navigations beyond 80. have shewed open and wide Seas betwixt.*

Lions.

Circles are used in hunting by Persians, Tartars, &c.

Tigres.

The Beares which in Cusco they call Otoioncos, be of the same kinde that ours are, and keepe in the ground. There are few swarmes of Bees, for that their hony-combs are found in Trees, or under the ground, and not in Hives as in Castile. The hony-combs which I have seene in the Province of Charcas, which they call

Beares.

Bees.

Chiguanas, are of a grey colour, having little juyce, and are more like unto sweet straw, then to hony combs. They say the Bees are little, like unto Flies; and that they swarme under the earth. The hony is sharpe and blacke, yet in some places there is better, and the combs better fashioned, as in the Province of Tucuman in Chille, and in Carthagene. I have not seene nor heard speake of wilde Boares, but of Foxes and other wilde beasts that eate their Cattell and Fowle, there are more then their Shepherds would willingly have. Besides these beasts that are furious and hurtfull, there are others that are profitable, and have not beene transported by the Spaniards, as Stags and Deere, whereof there is great abundance in all the Forests. But the greatest part is a kinde of Deere without hornes, at the least, I have never seene nor heard speake of other, and all are without hornes like unto Corcos. It seemes not hard to beleeve, but is almost certaine, that all these beasts for their lightnesse, and being naturally wilde, have passed from one World to another, by some parts where they joyne, seeing that in the great Ilands farre from the mayne land I have not heard that there are any, though I have made diligent inquirie.

Foxes and beasts of spoile.

Deere without hornes.

Of Fowles which are here and are at the Indies, and how they could passe thither. Cap. 35.

We may more easily beleeve the same of birds, and that there are of the same kindes that wee have, as Partridges, Turtles, Pidgeons, Stock-doves, Quailes, and many sorts of Falcons, which they send from new Spaine and Peru, to the Noblemen of Spaine, for they make great account of them. There are also Herons and Eagles of divers kindes; and there is no doubt but these birds and such like, have sooner passed thither then Lions, Tigres, and Stags. There are likewise at the Indies great numbers of Parrots, especially upon the Andes of Peru, and in the Ilands of Port Ricco, and Saint Dominique, where they flie by flocks, as Pidgeons doe here. To conclude, birds with their wings may goe where they will; and truly, many kindes might well passe the Gulfe, seeing it is certaine, as Plinie affirmeth, that there are many

Plin. lib. 10. c. 23.

that passe the Sea, and goe into strange Regions, although I have not read that any Fowle hath passed by flight so great a Gulfe, as is the Indian Ocean, yet hold I it not altogether impossible, seeing the common opinion of Mariners, that you shall finde them two hundred leagues and more from the Land. And as Aristotle doth teach, that birds endure the water easily, having little respiration, as wee see in Sea fowle, which dive and remayne long under the water. Even so wee may say, that the Fowle which be at this present upon the mayne land, and in the Ilands at the Indies, might passe the Sea, resting themselves in some small Ilands, or upon some land which they discovered by a naturall instinct (as Plinie reporteth of some) or peradventure falling into the water, when they were wearie of flying, and after began their flight anew when they had a little rested. As for the Fowles which wee see in the Ilands, where there are no beasts, I beleeve certainly that they passed by one of the foresaid meanes. But for other birds which we finde upon the mayne land, especially those whose flight is short, it is more credible that they came thither as the beasts did, which are of the same kinde that we have in Europe. For at the Indies there are great birds, very heavie, as Estridges, whereof there are many in Peru, which doe use sometimes to terrifie the Indian sheepe as they doe goe with their burthens. [III. v. 964.] *Plin. l.* 10. *c.* 25. *Estridges.*

But leaving these birds that governe themselves without the care of man, but onely for hawking, let us now speake of tame Fowle. I wondred at Hennes, seeing there were some at the Indies before the Spaniards came there, the which is well approved, for they have a proper name of the Countrie, and they call a Hen Gualpa, and the Egge Ponto, and they use the same proverbe we doe, to call a Coward, a Hen. Those that were at the discoverie of the Ilands of Soloman, doe report that they have seene Hennes there like unto ours: wee may conceive that the Hen being so tame a Fowle, and so profitable, men might carry them with them when they passed from *Hennes.*

one place to another, as we see at this day the Indians in their travell carry their Hen with them, or chicken upon the burthen they have on their shoulders: and likewise they carry them easily in their Cages of reedes or wood. Finally, there be at the Indies many kindes of beasts and birds, such as wee have in Europe, as I have specified, and other sorts which I leave to others to discourse of.

How it should be possible that at the Indies there should be any sorts of beasts, whereof the like are no where else. Chap. 36.

It were a matter more difficult, to shew, and prove, what beginning many and sundrie sorts of beasts had, which are found at the Indies, of whose kindes we have none in this Continent. For if the Creator hath made them there, we may not then alleadge nor flie to Noahs Arke, neither was it then necessarie to save all sorts of birds and beasts, if others were to bee created anew. Moreover, we could not affirme, that the creation of the World was made and finished in sixe dayes, if there were yet other new kindes to make, and specially perfit beasts, and no lesse excellent then those that are knowne unto us: If we say then that all these kindes of Creatures were preserved in the Arke of Noah, it followes, that those beasts, of whose kindes wee finde not any but at the Indies, have passed thither from this Continent, as wee have said of other beasts that are knowne unto us. This supposed, I demand how it is possible that none of their kinde should remayne here? and how they are found there, being as it were Travellers and Strangers? Truly it is a question that hath long held me in suspence. I say for example, if the sheepe of Peru, and those which they call Pacos and Guanacos, are not found in any other Regions of the world, who hath carried them thither? or how came they there, seeing there is no shew nor remaynder of them in al this world? If they have not passed from some other Region, how were they formed and brought forth there? It may bee God hath made a new creation of beasts! That which I speak of these Pacos and Guanacos may be said of a thousand different kinds of birds and beasts of the Forest, which have never

beene known, neither in shape nor name; and whereof there is no mention made, neither among the Latines, nor Greekes, nor any other Nations of the world. Wee must then say, that though all beasts came out of the * Arke, yet by a naturall instinct, and the providence of Heaven, divers kinds dispersed themselves into divers Regions, where they found themselves so well, as they would not part; or if they departed, they did not preserve themselves, but in processe of time perished wholly, as we doe see it chance in many things. For if wee shall looke precisely into it, we shall finde that it is not proper and peculiar alone to the Indies, but generall to many other Nations and Provinces of Asia, Europe, and Affrike, where they say there are certaine kindes of

* The same providence which brought all beasts and fowles from all their native diversified residences thorow all the world to the Arke (which no naturall instinct in such antipathies and at once, could doe) and kept them safe in the Arke, did also dispose them to their designed abodes after. For I hold it unchristian with Mercator to say, America was not drowned with the Floud. And the same scruple might bee made for beasts, &c. in other parts; the temper of the Arke, or of the place where the Arke rested, not agreeing naturally to the Zebra, Elephant, River-horse, Crocodile, and many other hotter creatures of Africa; nor to the other peculiar creatures of many other Regions. In things above nature (as is both the historie and mysterie of the Arke) we must flee necessarily to a supernaturall cause. For except wee would imagine the most part of the Sea to have beene lands or Ilands from beyond the cold Magellan to the coldest Purchas plus ultra, that is from 57. South latitude, to above 81. of North latitude, all the Sea is known, and voyages many in this work delivered which excludes al possibilitie of such passages of beasts especially such as cannot endure cold, as our Author imagineth. For men in boats, that might happen accidentally, which voluntarily hath beene attempted by Ours, a little boat comming home from Bermuda to England: and the Dutch open boats from Nova Zembla to Norway: further and longer distances than is needfull from Iland to Iland for crossing from Europe to some parts of America; that I mention not the Carthaginian and Owen Gwyneds voyages, and other casuall tempests, &c. in which by fishing, fishermen might live long at Sea with their wives, and be carried by a higher coworking over-ruling providence to people this new World, which (it is likely) at divers times and by divers meanes received her inhabitants; God which made all men of one bloud, alotting to all Adams sonnes their portions and the severall bounds of their habitation. Act. 17. 20.

[III. v. 965.] Creatures, that are not found in other Regions, at the least if they be any where else, they are knowne to be carried from thence. Seeing then these Creatures came out of the Arke, as for example, the Elephant which wee finde onely in the East Indies, and from thence have beene imparted to other Regions, wee may say as much of these Creatures of Peru, and of others of the Indies, which are not found in any other part of the World.

We may likewise consider well upon this subject, whether these beasts differ in kinde, and essentially from all others, or if this difference be accidentall, which might grow by divers accidents, as wee see in the linages of men, some are white, others blacke, some Giants, others Dwarfes: and in Apes, some have no taile, others have: and in Sheepe, some are bare, others have fleeces; some great and strong with a long necke, as those of Peru; others weake and little, having a short necke, as those of Castile. But to speake directly, who so would by this Discourse shewing onely these accidentall differences, preserve the propagation of beasts at the Indies, and reduce them to those of Europe, hee shall undertake a charge hee will hardly discharge with his honour. For if wee shall judge the kindes of beasts by their properties, those of the Indies are so divers, as it is to call an Egge a Chesnut, to seeke to reduce them to the knowne kindes of Europe.

Of Fowles that are proper to the Indies, and Venison.

See Jobson Tom. 1. l. 9. of such in Guinee.

THere are many kindes of notable Fowles at the Indies, either of the same sort that ours be, or of different. They bring certaine birds from China, that have no feete, and all their bodies are almost feathers. They sit not upon the ground, but hang upon boughs, by strings or feathers which they have, and so rest themselves like Flies or ayrie things. In Peru there are birds

Tomineios. which they call Tomineios, so small, that often-times I

have doubted seeing them flie, whether they were Bees or Butter-flies; but in truth they are birds. Contrariwise, those which they call Condores, be of an exceeding greatnesse, and of such a force, that not only they will open a sheep and eate it, but also a whole calfe. Those which they call Auras, and others Poullazes (which in my opinion are of the kinde of Ravens) are of a strange lightnesse, and have a very quicke sight, being very fit to clense Cities, for that they leave no Carrion nor dead thing. They passe the night on Trees or upon Rocks, and in the morning they come to the Cities and Townes, sitting on the tops of the highest buildings, where they attend their prey. Their yong have white feathers, as they report of Ravens, and so change into blacke.

Condores.

Ravens.

The Guacamayac be birds bigger then Parrets, and resemble them something; they are esteemed for the varietie of their feathers, which be very faire and pleasing. In new Spaine there are abundance of birds with excellent feathers, so as there bee not any found in Europe that comes neere them, as wee may see by the Images of feathers they bring from thence, the which are (with great reason) much valued and esteemed, giving cause of admiration, that with the feathers of birds, they should make so excellent a worke, and so perfectly equall, as they seeme properly to be the true colours of a Painter, and have so lively and pleasing a regard, as the Painter cannot exceede it with his pencill and colours. Some Indians which are good and expert workmen in this Art, will represent perfectly in feathers, whatsoever they see drawne with the pencill, so as the Painters of Spaine, have in this point, no advantage over them. Don Philip the Prince of Spaine his Schoole-master, did give unto him three figures or portraitures made of feathers, as it were to put in a Breviarie. His Highnesse did shew them to King Philip his father, the which his Majestie beholding attentively, said, that he had never seene in so small a worke, a thing of so great excellency and perfection. One day as they presented to Pope Sixtus

Feather pictures.

Quintus, another square bigger then it, wherein was the figure of Saint Francis, and that they had told him it was made of feathers by the Indians, he desired to make triall thereof, touching the table with his fingers, to see if it were of feathers; for that it seemed strange, to see them so properly fitted, that the eye could not judge nor discerne whether they were naturall colours of feathers, or artificiall done with the pencill. It is a goodly thing to see the lustre which a greene, an orange tawnie like gold, and other fine colours doe cast, and beholding them another way they seeme dead colours. They make the best and goodliest figures of feathers in the province of Mechovacan, and in the village of Pascaro. The manner is with small delicate Pinsors they pull the feathers from the dead fowles, and with a fine paste they cunningly joyne them together. They take the small and delicate feathers of those birds, which in Peru they call Tomineyos, or others like unto them, which have the most perfect colours in their feathers. The Indians (besides these Images) did use feathers in many other most excellent workes, especially for the ornament of Kings and Noblemen, their Temples and Idols.

There are also other great birds, which have excellent and fine feathers, whereof they make plumes of sundrie colours, especially when they goe to warre, inriching them with gold and silver very artificially, which was a matter of great price. They have the same birds still, but they are not so curious, neither doe they make so many gentill devices as they were wont. There are other birds at the Indies, contrarie to these of so rich feathers, [III. v. 966.] the which (besides that they are ill-favoured) serve to no other use but for dung, and yet perchance they are of no lesse profit. I have considered this, wondering at the providence of the Creator, who hath so appointed, that all Creatures should serve Man. In some Ilands or Phares, which are joyning to the coast of Peru, we see the tops of the Mountaines all white, and to sight, you would take it for Snow, or for some white Land,

The like is in the East Indies.

but they are heapes of dung of Sea fowle which goe continually thither: and there is so great abundance, as it riseth many Elles, yea, many Lances in height, which seemes but a fable. They goe with boates to these Ilands, onely for the dung, for there is no other profit in them. And this dung is so commodious and profitable, as it makes the earth yeeld great abundance of fruit. They call this dung Guano, whereof the Valley hath taken the name, which they call Limaguana, in the valleys of Peru, where they use this dung, and it is the most fertile of all that Country. The Quinces, Pomegranets, and other fruits there, exceed all other in bountie and greatnesse; and they say, the reason is, for that the water wherewith they water it, passeth by a Land compassed with this dung.

Of beasts for the Chases. Chap. 38.

Besides the Beasts of Chase, whereof wee have spoken, There are beasts called Sainos, made like small Hogs, which have this singular to themselves, to have their Navill upon the ridge of their backs: these goe by troupes through the Woods, they are cruell and nothing fearfull, but contrariwise they assaile, and have their tallents sharpe as Rasors, wherewith they make dangerous wounds and incisions, if such as hunt them put not themselves in safetie. Such as hunt them (for the more safer killing of them) climbe up into Trees, whither the Sainos or Hogs come presently in troupes, biting the Tree when they cannot hurt the man, and then with their Lances they kill what they will. They are very good to eate, but they must of necessitie cut off the round piece where the Navill growes upon the backe; for otherwise, within a day they corrupt. There is another kinde of little beast like to sucking Pigges, and they call them Guadatinaias. I am in doubt whether there were any Swine at the Indies, before the Spaniards came thither, like to these in Spaine, for that in the discoverie of the Ilands of Soloman, it is said, they found * Hennes and Swine of Spaine. But howsoever it be, it is most certaine, that this Cattell hath greatly multiplyed at the Indies. They eate the flesh fresh, and hold it to

**These might come from the East parts thither by means of those Ilands which you see in Schoutens voyage.*

bee as wholesome and as good, as if it were of Mutton; as in Carthagene in some parts, they are become wilde and cruell, the which they hunt like wilde Boares, as wee see in Saint Dominique, and other Ilands where the beasts live in the Forests. In some places they feede them with the graine of Mays, and they grow wonderfully fat, to have the grease, which they use for want of Oile; in some places they make Gamons, as in Tolluca of new Spaine, and in Paria at Peru. Returning then to such beasts as are peculiar there, even as the Sainos are like *Dantes.* unto Swine, though somewhat lesse; even so the Dantes resemble small Kine, but more unto Mules, having no hornes. The Hides of these beasts are much esteemed for jerkins and other coverings, they are so hard as they resist any blow whatsoever. And as the Dantes be defended by the hardnesse of their Hides, so those which *Armadillos.* they call Armadillos are by the multitude of their scales, which open and shut as they please like to a Curasse. There bee little beasts which goe through the Woods, called Armadillos, by reason of the defence they have hiding themselves within their scales, and opening when they list: I have eaten of them, and doe not hold it for *Yguanas.* a meate of any great worth; but the flesh of the Yguanas is a better meate, but more horrible to the eye: for they are like to the very Lizardes of Spaine, although they bee of a doubtfull kinde, for that they goe to the Water, and comming to Land they climbe the Trees upon the bankes; and as they cast themselves from the Trees into the water, the Boates watch underneath to receive them. The *Chinchilles.* Chinchilles is an other kinde of small beasts, like Squirrels, they have a wonderfull smoothe and soft skin, which they weare as a healthfull thing to comfort the stomacke, and those parts that have neede of a moderate heate; they make Coverings and Rugs of the haire of these Chinchilles, which are found on the Sierre of Peru, where there is likewise a small beast very common, which *Cuyes.* they call Cuyes, and which the Indians hold for a very good meate, and they are accustomed often to offer these

Cuyes in their sacrifices. They are like small Conies, and have their borrowes in the ground, and in some places they have undermined all the Land: some are grey, some white, and some speckled. There are other small Animals which they call Viscachas, and are like to *Viscachas.* Hares, although they bee bigger, they hunt them and eate the flesh. Of common Hares there are great store in some parts. There are also Conies in the Realme of Quitto, but the good are come from Spaine. There is another strange beast, the which for his great heavinesse, and slownesse in mooving, they call Perico-ligero, or the little light Dogge, hee hath three nailes to every hand, and *Light-Dogge.* mooves both hand and feete, as it were by compasse and very heavily: it is in face like to a Monkey, and hath a shrill crie; it climeth Trees, and eates Ants.

Throughout all the Mountaines, either of these Ilands of the firme Land, or of the Andes, there are infinite numbers of Micos or Monkeys, which are a kinde of *Of Micos or Indian Monkeys. Chap.* 39. Apes, but very different, in that they have a taile, yea a very long one. And amongst them there are some kindes which are thrice, yea foure times bigger then the ordinarie; some are all blacke, some bay, some grey, and some spotted. Their agilitie and manner of doing is admirable, for that they seeme to have reason and dis- [III. v. 967.] course to goe upon Trees, wherein they seeme to imitate Birds. Going from Nombre de Dios to Panama, I did see in Capira, one of these Monkeys leape from one *Lustie leape.* Tree to an other, which was on the other side of a River, *Strange sight.* making me much to wonder. They leape where they list, winding their tailes about a branch to shake it: and when they will leape further then they can at once, they use a pretie device, tying themselves by the tailes one of another, and by this meanes make as it were a chaine of many: then doe they lanch themselves forth, and the first holpen by the force of the rest, takes hold where he list, and so hangs to a bough, and helpes all the rest, till they be gotten up. It were long to report the fooleries, tricks, traverses, and pleasant sports they make when they

are taught, which seeme not to come from bruit beasts, but from a manlike understanding. I saw one in Carthagene in the Governours house, so taught, as the things he did seemed incredible: they sent him to the Taverne for wine, putting the pot in one hand, and the money in the other; and they could not possibly get the money out of his hand, before he had his pot full of wine. If any children met him in the street, and threw any stones at him, hee would set his pot downe on the one side, and cast stones against the children till hee had assured his way, then would hee returne to carry home his pot. And which is more, although he were a good Bibber of wine (as I have oftentimes seene him drinke, when his Master hath given it him) yet would hee never touch it untill leave was given him. They told me moreover, that if he saw any women painted, he would fall upon them, pull off their attire, and would seeke to bite them.

Monkey learned.

Zealous.

Of Vicugnes, and Tarugnes of Peru. Chap. 40.

Aristot. lib. 3. de partib. animal. c. 2. lib. 10. c. 72.

Amongst the most remarkable things at the Indies of Peru, be the Vicugnes, and sheepe of the Countrie, as they call them, which are tractable beasts and of great profit; the Vicugnes are wilde, and the Sheepe are tame. Some thinke that the Vicugnes are those which Aristotle, Plinie, and other Authors call Capreas, which are wilde Goates, and in truth they have some resemblance, for the lightnesse they have in the Woods and Mountaines, but yet they are no Goates, for the Vicugnes have no hornes, as those have, whereof Aristotle makes mention; neither are they the Goates of the East Indies, from whom they draw the Bezar stone; for if they be of that kinde, it were a diverse one, as in the race of Dogs, the Mastife is diverse from the Grey-hound. The Vicugnes of Peru are not those beasts which carry the Bezar stone, in the Province of new Spaine, which there they call Bezaars, for that they are a kinde of Stags and Venison; yet doe I not know in any part of the World there bee any of these beasts, but in Peru, and in Chille, which are Countries joyning one to another. These Vicugnes are greater then Goates, and lesse then Calves. Their haire is of the colour

of dried Roses, somewhat cleerer; they have no hornes like Stags and Goates. They feede upon the highest tops of the Mountaines, which they call Pugnas. The Snow nor Frost doth not offend them, but contrariwise they seeme to delight in it. They goe in troupes, and runne most lightly; when they meete with any Travellers or Beasts, they flie away, seeming very fearefull, and in flying they drive their yong ones before them. They doe not finde that they multiply much: and therefore the Kings Inguas did defend the hunting of Vicugnes; if it were not for their feasts, or by their commandement. Some complaine, that since the Spaniards entred there, they have given too much libertie to hunt the Vicugnes, and by this meanes they are much diminished. The manner the Indians use in their hunting, they assemble many men together, to the number of a thousand or two thousand, yea more, and invironing a great circuit of wood, they hunt their game untill they have compassed it in on all parts, and by this meanes they commonly take three or foure hundred, and so choosing what they list, they let goe the rest, especially the Females for breede. They are accustomed to sheere these beasts, and of their fleece to make Coverings and Rugges of great value, for that this wooll is like to white silke, which lasts long: and as the colour is naturall and not dyed, so is it perpetuall. The stuffes that are made of this wooll, are very fresh and good in Summer, and they hold them profitable for the inflammation of the reines, and other parts, tempering the excessive heate. This wooll hath the like vertue when it is made in Quilts, and therefore some use it to that end, for the triall they have made thereof. They say moreover, that this wooll or coverings made thereof, is physicall for other indispositions, as for the gowt: yet doe I not know that they have made any certaine triall thereof. The flesh of these Vicugnes is not good, although the Indians eate it, and drie it. For the effects of physicke, I will say what I have seene upon the Sierre of Peru, comming one night into a Tambo or Inne, being

Indian hunting.

much afflicted with paine in mine eyes, thinking they would fall out (the which doth commonly happen in those parts) for that they passe through places covered with snow, which is the cause of this accident. Being troubled with this paine, and out of patience, there came an Indian woman which said to me, Father, lay this to thine eyes, and thou shalt bee cured. It was a piece of the flesh of Vicugnes newly killed and all bloudie. I used this medicine, and presently the paine ceased, and soone after went quite away. Besides these Chacos which is the most common manner of hunting at the Indies, they have used another more private to take them, which is, that comming neere, they doe cast certaine lines with plummets of lead, which intangle their legges, so as they cannot runne, and by this meanes they take the Vicugne. The chiefe reason why this beast is esteemed, is, by reason of the Bezars stone they finde in them, whereof wee will intreate hereafter. There is another kinde of beasts, which they call Tarugues, which likewise are wilde, and more nimble then the Vicugnes. They are greater of body, and more hot. They have soft eares and hanging: they goe not in troupes as the Vicugnes. I have not seene them but alone, and most commonly in high places. They also draw Bezars stones from these Tarugues, which are greater, and have more operation and vertue.

Experiment for the eyes.

[III. v. 968.] *Bezar stone.*

Tarugues.

Of Pacos, Guanacos, and Indian Muttons. Chap. 41.

There is nothing at Peru of greater riches and profit then the Cattell of the Country, which our men call Indian Sheepe, and the Indians in their generall language call them Lama. For all things well considered, it is a beast of the greatest profit and least charge of any that I know: from them they draw meate and clothing, as from the sheepe of Spaine. Moreover, they have the benefit to carry all things they have need of, using them to beare their burthens: and they have no need either of shooes or saddles, nor yet of oates, but he serveth his Master for nought, feeding on the grasse he findes in the fields; so as God hath furnished them of Sheepe and Mares, and all in one beast. And as it is a poore Nation, so would

hee in this point free them from charge, for that there is much pasture upon the Sierre: and this kinde of Cattell hath no need of any other charge. There are two kindes of these Sheepe or Lamas, the one they call Pacos, or sheepe bearing wooll, and the others are bare, and have little wooll, so are they better for burthen; they are bigger then great Sheepe, and lesse then Calves, they have a very long necke, like to a Camel, whereof they have good need: for being high of stature, they have need of a long necke, else should they be deformed. They are of divers colours, some all white, others all blacke, some grey and some spotted, which they call Moromoro. The Indians had great superstitions in choosing the beasts for sacrifices, of what colour they should bee, according to the diversitie of Seasons and Sacrifices. Their flesh is good, although it be hard, but that of their Lambs is the better, and the most delicate that can be eaten: yet they eate not many, for that the chiefe fruit and profit they yeeld, is their wooll, to make clothes, and their service to carry burdens. The Indians make stuffes of this wooll wherewith they clothe themselves: the one is grosse and common, which they call Hanaca, and the other fine and delicate, which they call Cumbi, they make Carpets and Coverings, and other exquisite workes, which last long, and have a very faire lustre, like halfe silke: and that which is most rare, is their manner of weaving their workes, being both sides alike, so as you shall not finde any end in a whole piece. The Ingua King of Peru had many chiefe workmen, to make this worke of Cumbi: and the which, for the most part, were resident in the Province of Capachica, joyning to the great Lake of Titicaca. They die this wooll into divers fine colours, with sundrie kindes of herbs, whereof they make many sorts of workes both course and fine. All the Indians, both men and women, worke in the Sierre, and have their Loomes in their houses, having no need to buy any stuffes for their necessarie uses. Of the flesh of these sheepe they make Cuschargui, or dryed flesh, the which will last very long, whereof they make great

Two kindes.

account. They are accustomed to drive troupes of these sheepe with burthens, and to goe in bands, three hundred, five hundred, yea a thousand in a companie, with Wine, Mays, Coca, Chuno, Quick-silver, and all other kindes of merchandise, and of Silver, which is the best of all. They carry barres of Silver from Potozi to Ariqua, which is three score and ten leagues. I have often wondered to see these troupes of sheepe laden with a thousand or two thousand barres of Silver, and much more, which is above three hundred thousand ducats, without any other guard or resort then some Indians, which serve onely to guide these sheepe, and to lade and unlade them, or at the most, some few Spaniards: and they sleepe all night in the middest of the fields, without other guard: and yet in so long a way and so weake a guard, they never finde want or losse of any thing in so great a treasure of Silver, so safe is the way in Peru. The burthen which one of these sheepe doth commonly carry, is of foure or sixe Arrobes: when their voyage is long they goe not above two, three, or foure leagues at the most on a day. Those that guide those troupes, have their ordinarie lodgings, where they are assured to have water and pasture, and there they unlade and set up their Tents, making fire, and dressing their meates, which is not painfull, although it be a flegmatike and slow manner of travell. When there is but one dayes journey, one of these sheepe will beare eight Arrobes in weight, or more, and beares this burthen eight or ten leagues in a day, as the poore Souldiers were wont to doe, when they marched through Peru. This kinde of Cattell delights most in a cold aire, and for this cause they live upon the Sierre, and die in the Lanos, by reason of the heate. Sometimes these sheepe are all covered with Ice and frost, and yet they continue sound and well. The bare sheepe are pleasant to behold, for they will stay upon the way, raysing up their necks, and will looke upon any one very wistly, and so they remaine a long time, without mooving or any shew of feare, which giveth occasion of laughter, seeing

Sixe Arobes is a hundred and fiftie pounds weight.

them thus to stand. And yet sometimes they doe grow amazed sodainly, and runne away with their burthens, even to the highest Rocks, so as not being able to come unto them, they are constrayned to kill them with an Harquebuze, lest they should lose their barres of Silver, which they sometimes carry. The Pacos will grow reastie under their burthens, lying down, and will endure to be cut in a thousand pieces before they will rise when this humor takes them: wherof the proverb growes in Peru, to say that one is reastie, to signifie, he is obstinate; for that when [III. v. 969.] any of these beasts is moodie, it is with excesse: the remedie they have is, to stay and sit downe by the Paco, making much on him, untill the fit be past, and that he rise: and sometimes they are forced to stay two or three houres. They have a disease like to scabs, which they call Carache, whereof they commonly die. The Ancients had a remedie, to burie them quicke that had the Carache, lest they should infect the rest, being a very contagious disease, and goes from one to another. An Indian that hath one or two of these sheepe, is not reputed poore, for one of them is worth sixe or seven pieces of assay, and more, according to the time and places.

Of the Bezaars stone. Chap. 42.

The Bezaars stone is found in all these beasts before mentioned, which are proper to Peru, whereof some Authors of our time have written whole bookes, which they may reade that desire to have a more particular knowledge. For the present subject it shall be sufficient to say, that this stone which they call Bezaar, is found in the stomacke and belly of this beast, sometimes one alone, sometimes two, three, and foure. They are very different in forme, greatnesse and colour, for that some are small like Filberds, and lesse; others like Walnuts; some like Pidgeons egges, and others as bigge as a Hens egge: and I have seene some as bigge as an Orange; in forme some are round, others in fashion like to Lentils, and many other formes. For their colour, some are blacke, some white, some grey, darke greene, and others, as if they had beene gilded. It is no certaine rule to judge

the best and most fine by the colour or forme. All these stones are made and fashioned of divers films and skins one upon another. In the Province of Xaura and other Provinces of Peru, they finde these stones in divers kindes of beasts, both wilde and tame, as in the Guanacos, Pacos, Vicugnes, and Tarugues, some adde an other kinde, which they say are wilde Goates, which the Indians call Cypris. These other kindes of beasts are very well known in Peru, whereof we have alreadie discoursed. The Guanacos or Countrie sheepe, or Pacos, have commonly the lesser stones, and blacke, neither are they so much approved for the use of physicke. They draw the greatest Bezaar stones from the Vicugnes, and they are grey, or white, or of a darke greene, which are held for the better. They esteeme those of the Tarugues for the most excellent, whereof there are some reasonable bigge: they are commonly white, inclining to grey; and they have the filmes commonly bigger and thicker then the rest.

They finde the Bezaar stone equally both in Male and Female. All beasts that ingender it, chaw the cuid, and commonly feede upon the Snow and Rocks. The Indians report and teach by tradition from their Fathers and Ancients, that in the Province of Xaura, and in other Provinces of Peru, there are many herbs and venemous beasts, which poison the water and the pastures where they eate and drinke, and where they breathe: amiddest which venemous herbs there is one very well knowne of the Vicugne, by a naturall instinct, and of other beasts that ingender the Bezaar stone, which eate this herbe, and by meanes thereof they preserve themselves from the poisoned waters and pastures: and they say, that of this herbe the stone is compounded in the stomacke, whence it drawes all the vertue against poison, and other wonderfull effects. This is the opinion and tradition of the Indians, discovered by men of great experience in the Kingdome of Peru, which agrees with reason, and with
Plin. l. 10. *c.* 72. that which Plinie reports of the Mountaines Goats, which are nourished and fed upon poison without suffering any

harme. The Indians being demanded, why the Sheepe, Kine, Goats, and Calves, such as are in Castile, have not the Bezaar stone, seeing that they feede on the same Rocks: their answere is, That they beleeve not, that those beasts of Castile eate of that herbe, or that they have found the Bezaar stone in Stags and fallow Deere. This seemes to agree with our knowledge, for that in new Spaine they finde the Bezaar stone, although there be no Vicugnes, Pacos, Tarugues, nor Guanacos, but onely Stags, in some of which they finde these stones.

One thing is worthy admiration, that they grow and are fashioned upon very strange things, as upon the tagge of a Point, upon a Pin, or a piece of Wood, which they finde in the centre of this stone, and yet doe they not hold it false, for that the beast might swallow it, and the stone thicken upon it, and growes one upon another, and so it increaseth. I did see in Peru, two stones fashioned upon Pignons of Castile, which made us to wonder much, for that in all Peru, wee had not seene any Pines or Pignons of Castile, if they were not brought from Spaine, which seemes to mee very extraordinarie. This little may suffice touching the Bezaars stone. They bring other physicall stones from the Indies, as the stone of Hyiada, or of Rate, the bloud stone, the stones of Milke, and of the Sea. Those which they call Cornerinas, for the Heart, whereof there is no neede to speake, having nothing common with the subject of beasts, whereof wee have intreated: which gives us to understand how the great Master and Author of all, hath imparted his benefits and wonderfull secrets, to all parts of the World; for the which he is to be glorified for ever.

READer, I have here added this worke, for the better and more particular knowledge of the Naturall Historie of the West Indies. This Authour Gonzalo Ferdinando de Oviedo did first write a Summarie to Charles the fifth (out of which the most part of this is taken) An. 1525. and after that writ his Generall Historie, [III. v. 970.]

enlarging what he had written before this Summarie; and in the dividing it into three Parts: the first of which contayning principally the Spanish acts and Naturall observations in the Ilands, in twentie Bookes, wee have in Ramusios third Tome of Voyages: the second (in which hee writ of the Continent of New Spaine,) and the third of Peru and the Southerne America, with above foure hundred pictures of the Plants, Beasts, and other Creatures of those parts, were never published; to the great losse of naturall knowledge of those parts. As for the Spanish acts we have them sufficiently written by others. But Acosta and Oviedo have best deserved of the studious of Nature, that is, of the knowledge of God in his workes. In which respect I have added many things omitted by Master Eden, and Master Willes in the former publication, both examining this, and translating the rest from Ramusios Italian edition.

Chap. III.

Extracts of Gonzalo Ferdinando De Oviedo his Summarie and Generall Historie of the Indies.

Of the mynes of gold, and the manner of working in them.

THis particular of the mynes of Gold, is a thing greatly to be noted, and I may much better speake hereof then any other man, forasmuch as there are now twelve yeeres past since I served in the place of the Surveyor of the melting shops, pertayning to the gold mynes of the firme Land, and was the Governor of the mynes of the Catholike King Don Ferdinando, after whose departure from this life, I served long in the same roome in the Name of your Majestie. The myne or veine which ought to be followed, ought to be in a place which they stand to save

much of the charges of the Labourers, and for the administration of other necessarie things, that the charges may bee recompenced with gaynes. The greatest part of the wrought gold which the Indians have, is base, and holdeth somewhat of Copper: of this they make Bracelets and Chaines, and in the same they close their Jewels which their Women are accustomed to weare, and esteemed more then all the riches of the World. The manner how gold is gathered, is this, either of such as is found in Zavana, that is to say, in the Plaines and Rivers of the Champaine country being without Trees, whether the Earth be with grasse or without, or of such as is sometimes found on the Land without the Rivers in places where Trees grow, so that to come by the same, it shall be requisite to cut downe many and great Trees. But after which soever of these two manners it be found, either in the Rivers or Breaches of waters, or else in the earth, I will shew how it is found in both these places, and how it is separate and purged. Therefore when the myne or veine is discovered, this chanceth by searching and proving in such places as by certaine signes and tokens doe appeare to skilfull men apt for the generation of gold, and to hold gold: and when they have found it, they follow the myne, and labour it, whether it be in the River, or in the Playne, as I have said. And if it be found on the Playne, first they make the place very cleane where they intend to digge, then they digge eight or ten foot in length, and as much in breadth: but they goe no deeper then a span or two, or more, as shall seeme best to the Master of the myne, digging equally, then they wash all the earth which they have taken out of the said space, and if herein they finde any gold they follow it, and if not, they digge a span deeper, and wash the earth as they did before: and if then also they finde nothing, they continue in digging and washing the earth as before, untill they come to the hard rocke or stone: and if in fine they finde no gold there, they follow no further to seeke gold in that place, but goe to another part. And

Gold of Indians base.

Manner of mynes and searching for gold.

Gold in mynes.

it is to be understood, that when they have found the myne, they follow it in digging, in the same measure in levell and depth, untill they have made an end of all the myne which that place contayneth, if it appeare to be rich. *Spanish customes for usage of mynes.* This myne ought to consist of certaine feet or pases in length or breadth, according to certaine orders determined, and within that compasse of earth, it is not lawfull for any other to digge for gold: And where as endeth the myne of him that first found the gold, immediatly it is lawfull for any other man that will, with a staffe to assigne himselfe a place by the side of the same, inclosing it with stakes or pales as his owne. These mynes of Zavana (that is, such as are found in the Playnes) ought ever to bee *Water a good neighbour.* sought neere to some River or Brooke, or Spring of water, or Dike, or standing Poole, to the end that the gold may be washed, for the which purpose they use the labour of certaine Indians, as they doe other in digging of the myne. And when they have digged out the myne, they fill certaine Trayes with that earth, which other Indians have the charge immediatly to receive at their hands, and to carry those Trayes of earth to the water, where it may be washed: Yet doe not they that bring it wash it, but deliver it to other, putting it out of their owne Trayes into theirs, which they have readie in their hands to receive it. These *Women gold-washers.* Washers for the most part are the Indian women, because this worke is of lesse paine and travell then any other. These women when they wash, are accustomed to sit by the water side, with their legges in the water even up to [III. v. 971.] the knees, or lesse, as the place serveth their purpose: and thus holding the Trayes with earth in their hands by the handles thereof, and putting the same into the water, they moove them round about, after the manner of sifting, with a certaine aptnesse, in such sort that there entreth no more water into the Trayes then serveth their turne, and with the selfe same apt moving of their Trayes in the water, they ever avoid the foule water with the earth out of the one side of the Vessell, and receive in cleane water on the other side thereof, so that by this means

by little and little, the water washeth the earth as the lighter substance of the Trayes, and the Gold as the heavier matter resteth in the bottome of the same, being round and hollow in the middest like unto a Barbars Basen. And when all the earth is avoided, and the Gold gathered together in the bottome of the Tray, they put it a part, and returne to take more earth, which they wash continually as before. Furthermore it is to be noted, that for every two Indians that wash, it is requisite that two other serve them to bring earth from the Mine, and other two to breake the same small, and fill their Trayes therewith. Also beside these Labourers, it is necessarie that there be other people in the place where they worke and rest in the night: these are such as make their bread, and provide for victuals, and other necessaries. So that to conclude, there are in all, five persons ordinarily assigned to every Tray of washers.

Other Labourers.

Five to a tray.

There is another manner of working the Mines, in Rivers or Brookes of running waters: and this is, that in avoyding the water of his course, after that the beds of the Rivers are dry and utterly emptied, they find Gold among the breaches, clifts, and rifts of stones, and among all that is in the bottome of the Channell, and where naturally the River runneth of greatest force: So that it chanceth sometime, that when the bed of the River is good and rich, they find in it great quantitie of Gold. And therefore your Majestie ought to understand for a generall rule, as it appeareth in fact, that all Gold is ingendred in the tops and highest places of the Mountaines, and in continuance of time is by little and little brought downe to the Vales and Plaines by showres of raine, and the fals of Springs, Rivers, and Brookes, having their originall in the Mountaines, and descending from the same, notwithstanding it is oftentimes found in the Plaines farre from the Mountaines. But when it chanceth to be found in great quantity, it is for the most part among the Mountaines, and in the Rivers, or their branches, more then in any other part of the Plaine: and in these two

Gold in Rivers or poulder.

Gold engendred on hill tops.

manners it is commonly found most abundantly. And for the better proofe that Gold is ingendred on high, and is brought downe into the low places, I have one great token thereof, which causeth me to beleeve it for certaine: and this is, to consider that coles never putrifie nor corrupt under the ground, if they be made of strong wood. *His reason.* Whereby it chanceth, that digging the earth by the foulds or indented places of the Mountaines, or on the sides, and breaking a Mine in the earth, where it had beene broken before, and having now digged one or two or three Poles in measure, the Miners found certaine coles of wood under the same levell where they found Gold, and this I say in the earth which was taken for a Virgin, that is to say, such as had not before beene opened for any Mine: the which coles could not naturally bee ingendred there, or enter in by any meanes, but when the superficiall part of the earth was equall with the levell where the coles were found, it is like that the coles were left there by some occasion of fire, and that they fastened there in time, and that afterward in long continuance of time, they were by little and little covered with the earth, which the often showres of raine washed from the Mountaines, so that by the course of yeeres the earth overgrew the coles unto the said levell and measure, which had before time beene the superficiall part of the earth, where the coles and Gold were found together: whereby it may appeare that the Gold was no more ingendred there then were the coles, but brought thither from the Mountaynes by the falls of waters as we have said, forasmuch as the Mountaines are the Matrices and bowels of all rich Metals. Further and beside this, I say that in how much more the Gold is gone farre from the naturall place of his generation to the place where it is found, it is so much the more purified and fined, and of a better caract, and the neerer that it is found to his proper Mine or veine where it is ingendred, it is so much the baser, fouler, and more crude, and of a baser alay and caract, and doth waste so much the more in melting, and remayneth more brickle.

Some may thinke that coles, shels & other ludibriæ naturæ, naturally grow there.

Sometimes there are found graines of Gold of great quantitie, and of great weight above the earth, and sometimes also under the earth: And the greatest of all other that was found to this day in the Indies, was that which was lost in the Sea about the Iland Beata, which weighed three thousand and two hundred of Castellans of Gold, which are in value foure thousand a hundred thirtie and eight Ducats of Gold, which weigh one Arrova and seven pound, or thirtie and two pound, after twelve ounces to the pound, which make threescore and foure Markes of Gold. And I saw in the yeere 1515. in the hands of Michael Passamonte Treasurer to your Majestie, two graines, of the which one weighed seven pounds, which are fourteene Markes, and are in value about three score and five Ducats of Gold every Marke: the other was of ten Marks, which are five pounds of like value, and of very good Gold of two and twentie caracts, and better: There are also found many other great graines, although not equall unto these in bignesse. And forasmuch as I have spoken of Gold, I have thought good to declare somewhat how the Indians can very excellently gild such Vessels of Copper and base Gold as they make: for they can give them so faire and flourishing a colour, that all the masse which they gilt, appeareth as though it were Gold of two and twentie caracts, and better. This colour they give with a certaine hearbe, as though it were wrought by the art of any Gold-smith of Spaine or Italie, and would of them be esteemed as a thing of great riches and a secret manner of gilding. For the desire that our men have to Gold, they nothing esteeme the Copper, although there might great commoditie and profit be had thereby, and also by other Metals, which they nothing regard, except Silver, which is found abundantly in that part of the firme Land which is called New Spaine.

Gold in graines.

One huge piece of gold.

A Marke is a pound of 8. ounces summa, 16. pound weight eight ounces, after 12. ounces to the pound.

Indian gilding.

[III. v. 972.]

[Of the

Of the manner of fishing for Pearles.

THe Indians exercise this kind of fishing for the most part in the Coasts of the North in Cubagua and Cumana, and many of them which dwell in the Houses of certaine particular Lords in the Ilands of San Dominico and Sancti Johannis, resort to the Iland of Cubagua, for this purpose. Their custome is to goe five, sixe, or seven, or more in one of their Canoas or Barkes, earely in the morning to some place in the Sea thereabout, where it appeareth unto them that there should be great plentie of those shell fishes (which some call Muscles, and some Oysters) wherein Pearles are ingendred, and there they plunge themselves under the water, even unto the bottome, saving one that remayneth in the Canoa or Boat, which hee keepeth still in one place as neere as he can, looking for their returne out of the water: And when one of them hath beene a good while under the water, he riseth up, and commeth swimming to the Boat, entring into the same, and leaving there all the Oysters which he hath taken and brought with him (for in these are the Pearles found) and when he hath there rested himselfe a while, and eaten part of the Oysters, he returneth againe to the water, where hee remayneth as long as hee can endure, and then riseth againe, and swimmeth to the Boat with his prey, where hee resteth him as before, and thus continueth course by course, as doe all the other in like manner, being all most expert Swimmers and Divers: and when the night draweth neere, they returne to the Iland to their houses, and present all the Oysters to the Master or Steward of the house of their Lord, who hath the charge of the said Indians, and when he hath given them somewhat to eate, he layeth up the Oysters in safe custodie, untill he have a great quantitie thereof, then he causeth the same Fishermen to open them, and they find in every of them Pearles, other great or small, two, or three, or foure, and sometimes five or sixe, and many small graines,

according to the liberalitie of nature. They save the Pearles both small and great which they have found, and either eate the Oysters if they will, or cast them away, having so great a quantitie thereof, that they in manner abhorre them. These Oysters are of hard flesh, and not so pleasant in eating as are ours of Spaine. This Iland of Cubagua, where this manner of fishing is exercised, is in the North Coast, and is no bigger then the Iland of Zeland. Oftentimes the Sea increaseth greatly, and much more then the Fishers for Pearles would, because whereas the place is very deepe, a man cannot naturally rest at the bottom, by reason of the abundance of airie substance which is in him, as I have oftentimes proved. For although he may by violence and force descend to the bottome, yet are his feet lifted up againe, so that hee can continue no time there: and therefore where the Sea is very deepe, these Indian Fishers use to tye two great stones about them with a coard, on each side one, by the weight whereof they descend to the bottome, and remayne there untill them listeth to rise againe, at which time they unlose the stones, and rise up at their pleasure. But this their aptnesse and agilitie in swimming, is not the thing that causeth men most to marvell: but rather to consider how many of them can stand in the bottome of the water for the space of one whole houre, and some more or lesse, according as one is more apt hereunto then an other. An other thing there is which seemeth to me very strange: and this is, that whereas I have oftentimes demanded of some of these Lords of the Indians, if the place where they are accustomed to fish for Pearles, being but little and narrow, will not in short time be utterly without Oysters, if they consume them so fast: They all answered mee, that although they be consumed in one part, yet if they goe a fishing in an other part, or an other Coast of the Iland, or at an other contrary wind, and continue fishing there also untill the Oysters bee likewise consumed, and then returne againe to the first place, or any other place where they fished before, and emptied the same in

Men continue an houre under water.

Naturall succession.

like manner, they find them againe as full of Oysters as though they had never beene fished. Whereby we may judge, that these Oysters either remove from one place to an other, as doe other fishes, or else that they are ingendred and increase in certaine ordinarie places. Th. Iland of Cumana and Cubagua, where they fish for these Pearles, is in the twelfth degree of the part of the said Coast which inclineth toward the North. Likewise Pearles are found and gathered in the South Sea, called Mare del Sur, and the Pearles of this Sea are very bigge, yet not so bigge as they of the Iland of Pearles, called de las Perlas, or Margarita, which the Indians call Terarequi, lying in the Gulfe of Saint Michael, where greater Pearles are found, and of greater price, then in any other Coast of the North Sea, in Cumana, or any other part. I speake this as a true testimonie of sight, having beene long in that South Sea, and making curious inquisition to be certainly informed of all that pertayneth to the fishing of Pearles. From this Iland of Terarequi, there was brought a Pearle of the fashion of a Peare, weighing thirtie and one Caracts, which Petrus Arias had among a thousand and so many pounds weight of other Pearles, which he had when Captaine Gaspar Morales (before Petrus Arias) passed to the said Iland in the yeare 1515. which Pearle was of great price. From the said Iland also, came a great and very round Pearle, which I brought out of the Sea, this was as bigge as a small pellet of a Stone-bow, and of the weight of twentie and sixe Caracts: I bought it in the Citie of Panama, in the Sea of Sur, and paid for it sixe hundred and fiftie times the weight thereof of good Gold, and had it three yeeres in my custodie, and after my returne into Spaine, sold it to the Earle of Nansao Marquesse of Zenete, great Chamberlaine to your Majestie, who gave it to the Marquesse his Wife, the Ladie Mentia of Mendoza. I thinke verily that this Pearle was the greatest, fairest, and roundest that hath beene seene in those parts. For your Majestie ought to understand, that in the Coast of the Sea of Sur, there are found a hundred

Of this read more largely in the Decads.

Huge Pearle. [III. v. 973.]

By the computation of Venice, foure graines make a Caract.

great Pearles round after the fashion of a Peare, to one that is perfectly round and great. *Peare-pearles.*

Of the familiaritie which certayne of the Indians have with the Devill, and how they receive answere of him of things to come, and other Superstitions.

WHen the Indians beginne their battaile, or goe to any combate, or attempt any other great mater, they have certaine elect men, whom they reverently esteeme, and call them Tequinas, which in their tongue is as much to say as Masters: notwithstanding that they call every man, that is cunning in any Science, by the same name, as Fishers, Fowlers, Hunters, or makers of Nets. These Tequinas therefore, they call the Masters of their Answeres, because they speake with Tuyra, that is, the Devill, and bring them answere what he saith, either as touching such things as they have to doe, or shall chance to them the day following, or many dayes to come. For the Devill, being so ancient an Astronomer, knoweth the times of things, and seeth how they are naturally directed and inclined, and maketh them beleeve that they come so to passe by his ordinance, as though he were the Lord and moover of all that is and shall be, and that he giveth the day light, and raine, causeth tempest, and ruleth the stations of times, giving life, or taking away life, at his pleasure: By reason whereof, the Indians being deceived of him, and seeing also such effects to come certainly to passe as he hath told them before, beleeve him in all other things, and honour him in many places with Sacrifices of the bloud and lives of men, and odoriferous Spices: And when God disposeth the contrary to that which the Devill hath spoken in Oracle, whereby he is prooved a Lyer, hee causeth the Tequinas to perswade the people that he hath changed his mind and sentence for some of their sins, or deviseth some such lye as liketh him best, being a skilfull Master in such subtill and craftie devices, to deceive the *Devils Imposture.*

simple and ignorant people, which hath small defence against so mightie and craftie an Adversarie. And as they call the Devill Tuyra, so doe they in many places call the Christians by the same name, thinking that they greatly honour them thereby, as indeed it is a name very fit and agreeable to many of them, having laid apart all honestie and vertue, living more like Dragons then men, among these simple people.

Before the Inhabitants of the Iland of Hispaniola had received the Christian Faith, there was among them a Sect of men, which lived solitarily in the Desarts and Woods, and led their life in Silence and Abstinence, more streightly then ever did the Philosophers of Pythagoras Sect, abstaining in like manner from the eating of all things that live by bloud, contented onely with such Fruites, Herbes, and Rootes, as the Deserts and Woods ministred unto them to eate: The Professors of this Sect were called Piaces. They gave themselves to the knowledge of naturall things, and used certaine secret Magicall Operations and Superstitions, whereby they had familiaritie with Spirits, which they allured into their owne bodies, at such times as they would take upon them to tell of things to come, which they did in manner as followeth. When any of the Kings had occasion to call any of them out of the Desarts for this purpose, their custome was to send them a portion of their fine Bread of Cazabi or Maiz, and with humble request and suite to desire them to tell them of such things as they would demand. After the request granted, and the place and day appointed, the Piaces commeth with two of his Disciples wayting on him, whereof the one bringeth with him a Vessell of a secret Water, and the other a little Silver Bell. When hee commeth to the place, hee sitteth downe on a round seate made for him of purpose, where having his Disciples the one standing on the one hand, and the other on the other, even in the presence of the King and certaine of his Nobles (for the common people are not admitted to these Mysteries) and turning his face toward the Desart, he beginneth his

Pythagorean Places.

Indian conjurings or consultations.

Inchantment, and calleth the Spirit with loude voyce by certaine names, which no man understandeth but hee and his Disciples. After hee hath done thus a while, if the Spirit yet deferre his comming, hee drinketh of the said Water, and therewith waxeth hot and furious, and inverteth and turneth his Inchantment, and letteth himselfe bloud with a thorne, marvellously turmoiling himselfe, as we read of the furious Sybils, not ceasing untill the spirit be come: who at his comming entreth [III. v. 974.] into him, and overthroweth him, as it were a Greyhound should overturne a Squerell, then for a space, he seemeth to lye as though he were in great paine, or in a rapte, wonderfully tormenting himselfe, during which agonie, the other Disciple shaketh the Silver Bell continually. Thus when the agonie is past, and he lyeth quietly (yet without any sence or feeling) the King, or some other in his stead, demandeth of him what he desired to know: and the spirit answered him by the mouth of the rapte Piaces, with a direct and perfect answere to all points: Insomuch that on a time certaine Spaniards being present at these mysteries with one of the Kings, and in the Spanish tongue demanding the Piaces of their Ships which they looked for out of Spaine, the spirit answered in the Indian tongue, and told them what day and houre the Ships departed from Spaine, how many they were, and what they brought, without failing in any point. If he be also demanded of the eclipse of the Sunne or Moone (which they greatly feare and abhorre) he giveth a perfect answer, and the like of tempests, famine, plentie, warre or peace, and such other things. When all the demands are finished, his Disciples call him aloud, ringing the Silver Bell at his eare, and blowing a certaine powder into his nostrils, whereby he is raised as it were from a dead sleepe, being yet somewhat heavy headed and faint a good while after: Thus being againe rewarded of the King with more bread, he departeth againe to the desarts with his Disciples. But since the Christian faith hath beene dispersed throughout the Iland, these divellish practises have ceased, and they of the mem-

Eclipses and Prognostications.

bers of the Divell, are made the members of Christ by Baptisme, forsaking the Divell and his works, with the vaine curiosity of desire of knowledge of things to come, whereof for the most part it is better to be ignorant, then with vexation to know that which cannot be avoided.

Reason why men kill themselves to serve their Masters in the other world.

Furthermore, in manie places of the firme Land, when any of the Kings dye, all his houshold servants, aswell women as men, which have continually served him, kill themselves, beleeving as they are taught by the Divell Tuyra, that they that kill themselves when the King dyeth, goe with him to heaven, and serve him in the same place and office as they did before on the earth while he lived: and that all that refuse so to doe, when after they dye by their naturall death or otherwise, their soules to die with their bodies, and to be dissolved into ayre, and become nothing, as doe the soules of Hogges, Birds, Fishes, or other bruite beasts: and that onely the other may enjoy the priviledge of immortalitie for ever, to serve the King in heaven. And of this false opinion commeth it, that they which sowe corne, or set rootes for the Kings bread, and gather the same, are accustomed to kill themselves, that they may enjoy this priviledge in heaven, and for the same purpose, cause a portion of the graine of Maiz, and a bundle of Jucca (whereof their bread is made) to be buried with them in their graves, that the same may serve them in heaven, if perhaps there should lacke seedes to sowe, and therefore they take this with them, to begin withall, untill Tuyra (who maketh them all these faire promises) provide them of greater quantitie. This have I my selfe seene in the top of the Mountaines of Guaturo, where having in prison the King of that Province (who rebelled from the obedience of your Majestie) and demanding of him to whom pertained those Sepultures or graves which I saw in his house: he answered, that they were of certaine Indians which slew themselves at the death of his Father. And because they are oftentimes accustomed to bury great quantities of wrought gold with them, I caused two graves to be opened, wherein was nothing

found but a vessell full of the graine of Maiz, and a bundle of Jucca, as I have said. And demanding the cause hereof, of the King and the other Indians: they answered, that they that were buried there, were the labourers of the ground, and men skilfull in sowing of seedes, and making of bread, and servants to the Kings father, and to the end that their soules should not dye with their bodies, they slue themselves at the death of the King their Master, to live with him in heaven, and to the intent that they might serve him there in the same office, they reserved that Maiz and Jucca, to sowe it in heaven. Whereunto I answered them in this manner, Behold how you Tuyra deceiveth you, and how all that he teacheth you is false. You see how in so long a time since they are dead, they have not yet taken away this Maiz and Jucca, which is now putrified and worth nothing, and not like to be sowen in heaven. To this the King replied, saying, In that they have not taken it away, nor sowen it in heaven, the cause is, that they chanced to finde enough there, by reason whereof they had no neede of this. To this errour many things were said, which seemed of little force to remove him from his false opinion, and especially any such as at that age are occupied of the Divell, whom they paint of the selfe same forme and colour, as he appeared unto them in divers shapes and formes. They make also Images of Gold, Copper, and Wood, to the same similitudes, in terrible shapes, and so variable as the Painters are accustomed to paint them at the feete of Saint Michael the Archangell, or in any other place, where they paint them of most torrible portrature. Likewise when the divell greatly intendeth to feare them, he threatneth to send them great tempests, which they call, Furacanas or Haurachanas, and are so vehement, that they overthrow many houses, and great trees. And I have seene in Mountaines, full of many and great trees, that for the space of three quarters of a league the Mountaine hath beene subverted, and

Images of the Divell.

Tempests.

the tree overthrowne, and plucked out of the earth with the rootes.

The gulfe of Uraba is distant from the Equinoctiall line, from an hundred and twentie, to a hundred and [III. v. 975.] thirty leagues, and three quarters of a league, after that accompt of seventeen leagues and a halfe for everie degree from Pole to Pole: & thus for a little more or lesse, goeth all the coast. By reason wherof, in the Citie of Sancta Maria, Antiqua, in Dariena, and in all that course of the foresaid gulfe of Uraba, at all times of the yeere the daies and nights are in manner of equall length: and if there be any difference betweene them by reason of this small distance from the Equinoctiall, it is so little, that in foure and twentie houres, making a naturall day, it cannot be perceived but by the judgement of speculative men, and such as understand the sphere. From hence the North Starre is seene verie low.

Of divers particular things, as Wormes, Serpents, Beasts, Foules, Trees, &c.

I Will first speake of certaine little and troublesome Beasts, which may seeme to be engendred of nature to molest and vexe men, to shew them and give them to understand, how small and vile a thing may offend & disquiet them, to the end that they may remember the principall end for the which they were created, that is, to know their maker. In manie parts of the firme Land, by the which as wel the Christians as the Indians do travaile, there are such marishes & waters in the way, that they are faine to go without breeches among the hearbs *Small Wormes troublesome.* & weeds, by reason wherof, certain small beasts or wormes (which they call Garapates) much like unto Ticks, cleave fast to their legs. These worms are as little as the pouder of beaten Salt, & cleave so fast, that they can by no meanes be taken away, except the place be nointed with oyle: & after that the legs be nointed a while with oyle, or the other parts where these little Tickes are fastened, they

scrape the place with a Knife, & so take them away. But the Indians which have no oyle, smoake them, and burne them with fire, and abide great paines in taking them away by this means. Of other little Beasts which trouble men, and are engendred in their heads or other parts of their bodies, I say that the Christian men which travaile into these parts, have them but seldome times, and that not past one or two, and this also very seldome: For passing by the line of the Diameter where the compasse maketh difference of sailing by the winde called Greco (that is, North-east) and Magistral (that is, South-west) which is in the course of the Ilands of Azori, they saile but a little way following our voiage by the West, but that all the Lice which the Christians carrie with them, or are engendred in their heads, or other places of their bodies, die and utterly consume by little and little, and are not engendred in India, except in the heads of little children in those parts, as well among the children of the Christians which are borne there, as also among the naturall Indians, who have them commonly in their heads, and sometimes in other parts of their bodies, and especially they of the Province of Cueva, which is a region containing more then a hundred leagues in length, and embraseth the one and the other coast of the North Sea, and of the East. When these Indians are infected with this filthinesse, they dresse and cleanse one another: And they that exercise this, are for the most part women, who eate all that they take, and have herein such dexterity by reason of their exercise, that our men cannot lightly attaine thereunto. There is also another thing greatly to be considered: and this is, how the Christian men, being there cleane from this filthinesse of India, as well in their heads as the rest of their bodies, yet when they returne to come againe into Europe, and begin to arrive in that place of the Ocean Sea where we said before that these Lice died and forsooke them, sodainely in their repassing by the same clime (as though these Lice had tarried for them in that place) they can by no meanes

Lice forsake them.

Lice finde them againe. avoide them for the space of certaine daies, although they change their shirts two or three times in a day. These Lice are at the first as little as Nits, and grow by little and little, untill they be of the bignesse that they are in Spaine. This have I oftentimes proved, having now foure times passed the Ocean Sea by this voiage. Beside these wormes and vermin wherof we have spoken, there is another little mischievous worm, which we may number among the kindes of Fleas, this Pestilence the Indians *Nigua.* call Nigua, and is much lesse then a Flea: it pearceth the flesh of a man, and so lancheth or cutteth the same (while in the meane time it can neither be seene nor taken) that from some it hath cut off their hands, and from other their feete, untill the remedy was found to annoint the place with Oyle and scrape it with a Rasor. In the firme Land *Vipers.* in golden Castile or Beragua, there are many Vipers like unto them of Spaine: they that are bitten of them, dye in short space, for few live to the fourth day, except present remedy. Of these, some are of lesse kinde then other, and have their taile somewhat round, and leape in the aire to assaile men; and for this cause, some call this kinde of Vipers Tyro: their biting is most venemous, and for the most part incurable. One of them chanced to bite an Indian Maide which served me in my house, to whom I caused the Surgians to minister their ordinary cure, but they could doe her no good, nor yet get one drop of blood out of her, but onely a yellow water, so that she died the third day for lacke of remedie, as the like hath chanced to divers others. This Maide was of the age of foureteene yeares, and spake the Spanish tongue as if she had beene borne in Castile: she said that the Viper which bit her, on the foot, was two spans long, or little lesse: and that to bite her, she leapt in the aire for the space of more then six paces, as I have heard the like of other credible persons.

[III. v. 976.] *Adders.* I have also seene in the firme Land a kinde of Adders, very small, and of seven or eight foot long; these are so red, that in the night they appeare like burning coles, and

in the day seeme as red as blood, these are also venemous, but not so much as the Vipers. There are other much lesse and shorter, and blacker: these come out of the Rivers, and wander sometimes farre on the Land, and are likewise venemous. There are also other Adders of a russet colour: these are somewhat bigger then the Viper, and are hurtfull and venemous. There are likewise another sort of many colours, and very long: of these I saw one in the yeare of Christ 1515. in the Iland of Hispaniola, neere unto the Sea coasts, at the foote of the Mountaines called Pedernales. When this Adder was slain, I measured her, & found her to be more then twenty foot long, and somewhat more then a mans fist in bignesse: and although she had three or foure deadly wounds with a Sword, yet dyed she not, nor stunke the same day, in so much that her blood continued warme all that time. There are also in the Marishes and desarts of the firme Land many other kindes of Lysarts, Dragons, and divers other kindes of Serpents, whereof I intend not here to speak much, because I have more particularly entreated of these things in my generall historie of the West Indies. *Dragons.*

There are also Spiders of marveilous bignesse, and I have seene some with bodie and legges bigger then a mans hand extended every way, and I once saw one of such bignesse, that onely her body was as bigge as a Sparrow, and full of that Laune whereof they make their webbes: this was of a darke russet colour, with eyes greater then the eyes of a Sparrow, they are venemous, and of terrible shape to behold. There are also Scorpions, and divers other such venomous wormes. Furthermore in the firme Land, there are many Toades, being verie noious and hurtfull by reason of their great multitude, they are not venemous, they are seene in great abundance in Dareena, where they are so big that when they die in the time of drought, the bones of some of them (and especially the ribs) are of such greatnesse, that they appeare to be the bones of Cats, or of some other beasts of the same bignesse. But as the waters diminish, & the moisture *Spiders huge.* *Toades.*

consumeth in the time of drought (as I have said) they also consume therewith, untill the yeare next following when the raine and moisture encrease, at which time they *Their renuing.* are seene againe. Neverthelesse, at this present there is no such quantitie of them, as was wont to be, by reason that as the Land is better cultured by the Christians, as well by the felling of Woods and Shrubs, as also by the Pasture of Kine, Horses, and other beasts, so is it apparant that this poison diminisheth daily, whereby that region becommeth more holesome and pleasant. These Toades *Singing.* sing after three or foure sort, for some of them sing pleasantly, other like ours of Spaine, some also whistle, and other some make another manner of noise: they are likewise of divers colours, as some greene, some russet or gray, and some almost blacke, but of all sorts they are great and filthie, and noious by reason of their great multitude, yet are they not venemous, as I have said.

Crabs or rather Tortoises. There are also a strange kinde of Crabbes, which come forth of certaine holes of the earth, that they themselves make: the head and bodie of these make one round thing, much like to the hood of a Faulcon, having foure feete comming out of the one side, and as manie out of the other: they have also two mouthes, like unto a paire of small Pincers, the one bigger then the other, wherewith they bite, but doe no great hurt, because they are not venemous: their skin and bodie is smooth, and thinne, as is the skinne of a man, saving that it is somewhat harder; their colour is russet, or white, or blew, and walke sidelong, they are verie good to be eaten, in so much that the Christians travailing by the firme Land, have beene greatly nourished by them, because they are found in manner everie where: in shape and forme they are much like unto the Crabbe which we paint for the signe Cancer, and like unto those which are found in Spaine in Andalusia in the River Guadalchiber, where it entreth into the Sea, and in the Sea coasts there about, saving that these are of the water, and the other of the land: they are sometimes hurtfull, so that they that eate of them dye, but this

chanceth onely when they have eaten any venomous thing, or of the venemous apples wherewith the Caniball archers poison their arrowes, whereof I will speake hereafter, and for this cause the Christians take heede how they eate of these Crabbes, if they finde them neere unto the said apple trees. Furthermore in these Indies, as well in the firme land, as in the Ilands, there is found a kinde of Serpents, which they call Yuanas, which some call Juannas, these are terrible and fearefull to sight, and yet not hurtfull, they are verie delicate to be eaten, and it is not yet knowne whether they be beasts of the land, or fishes, because they live in the water, and wander in the woods, and on the land: they have foure feet, and are commonly bigger then Connies, and in some places bigger then Otters, with tailes like Lysarts or Eutes: their skinne is spotted, and of the same kinde of smoothnesse or barenesse, although of divers colours: upon the ridge of their backes, they have manie long prickes, their teeth are very sharpe, and especially their fangs or dogge teeth, their throates are long and large, reaching from their beards to their brests, of the like skinne to the residue of their bodies: they are dumbe, and have no voice, or make any noise, or crie, although they be kept tied to the foote of a chest, or any other thing, for the space of twentie or five and twentie daies, without any thing to eate or drinke, except they give them now and then a little of the bread of Cazavi, or some such other thing: they have foure feete, and their fore-feete as long as a mans finger, with clawes like the clawes of a bird, but weaker, and such as cannot grasple or take hold of any thing: they are much better to be [III. v. 977.] eaten then to behold, for few that see them, will have desire to eate of them, by reason of their horrible shape, except such as have beene accustomed to the beasts of these regions, which are more horrible and fearefull, as this is not, but onely in apparence: their flesh is of much better taste then the flesh of Connies, and more holesome for it hurteth none but onely such as have had the French poxe, in so much, that if they have beene touched of that

Serpents called Juanni.

Note.

infirmitie, although they have beene whole of long time, neverthelesse they feele hurt, and complaine of the eating of these Juannas, as hath beene oftentimes proved by experience.

Small Birds. Tomineios. There are found in the firme land certaine birds, so little, that the whole bodie of one of them is no bigger then the top of the biggest finger of a mans hand, and yet is the bare body without the feathers not halfe so bigge: This Bird, beside her littlenesse, is of such velositie and swiftnesse in flying, that who so seeth her flying in the aire, cannot see her flap or beate her wings after any other sort then doe the Dorres, or humble Bees, or Beetels, so that there is no man that seeth her flye, that would thinke her to be any other then a Dorre: they make their nests according to the proportion of their bignesse, and I have seene that one of these Birds with her nest put in a paire of gold weights altogether, hath waide no more then 2. Tomini, which are in poise 24 graines, with the feathers, without the which she should have waied somewhat lesse. And doubtlesse, when I consider the finenesse of the clawes and feete of these Birds, I know not whereunto I may better liken them, then to the little birds which the lymners of bookes are accustomed to paint on the margent of Church Bookes, and other Bookes of Divine Service. Their Feathers are of manie faire colours, as golden, yellow, and greene, beside other variable colours: their beake is verie long for the proportion of their bodies, and as fine and subtile as a sowing needle: they are verie hardy, so that when they see a man clime the tree where they have their nests, they flye at his face, and strike him in the eyes, comming, going, and returning with such swiftnesse, that no man would lightly beleeve it, that hath not seene it: and certainly these birds are so little, that I durst not have made mention hereof, if it were not that divers others which have seene them as well as I, can beare witnesse of my saying: they make their nests of flocks and cotten, whereof there is great

plentie in these regions, and serveth well for their purpose. But as touching the Birds, Foules, and Beasts of these Indies, because they are innumerable, both little and great, I intend not to speake much here, because I have spoken more largely hereof in my generall Historie of the Indies. There is another kinde of Beasts seene in the firme Land, which seemeth very strange and marveilous to the Christian men to behold, and much differing from all other Beasts which have beene seene in other parts of the world: these Beasts are called Bardati, and are foure footed, having their taile and all the rest of their bodies covered onely with a skin like the coperture of a barbed horse, or the checkered skin of a Lisart or Crocodile, of colour betweene white and russet, inclining somewhat more to white. This Beast is of forme and shape much like to a barbed horse, with his barbes and flankets in all points, and from under that which is the barbe and coperture, the taile commeth forth, and the feete in their place, the necke also and the eares in their parts, and in fine all things in like sort as in a barbed courser: they are of the bignesse of one of these common Dogges, they are not hurtfull, they are filthie, and have their habitation in certaine hillockes of the earth, where digging with their feete, they make their dens verie deepe, and the holes thereof, in like manner as doe Connies: they are very excellent to be eaten, and are taken with nets, and some also killed with Cros-bowes: they are likewise taken oftentimes when the Husbandmen burne the stubble in sowing time, or to renew the herbage for Kine and other Beasts. I have oftentimes eaten of their flesh, which seemeth to me of better taste then Kiddes flesh, and holesome to be eaten. And if these Beasts had ever beene seene in these parts of the world, where the first barbed Horses had their originall, no man would judge but that the forme and fashion of the coperture of Horses furnished for the warres, was first devised by the sight of these Beasts.

Bardati or Armadillos; a kinde of Mole.

There is also in the firme Land another beast, called *Beares.*

Orso Formigaro, that is, the Ante-beare. This beast in haire and colour, is much like to the Beare of Spaine, and in manner of the same making, save that he hath a much longer snout, and is of evill sight: they are oftentimes taken only with staves, without any other weapon, and are not hurtfull, they are also taken with Dogges, because they are not naturally armed, although they bite somewhat, they are found for the most part about and neere to the hillockes where are great abundance of Antes. For in these Regions is ingendred a certaine kind of Antes, very little and blacke, in the Fields and Plaines whereas grow no Trees, where by the instinct of Nature these Antes separate themselves to ingender farre from the Woods for feare of these Beares, the which because they are fearefull, vile, and unarmed (as I have said) they keepe ever in places full of Trees, untill very famine and necessitie, or the great desire that they have to feede on these Antes, cause them to come out of the Woods to hunt for them: these Antes make a hillocke of earth to the height of a man, or somewhat more or lesse, and as bigge as a great Chest, and sometimes as bigge as a But or a Hogshead, and as hard as a stone, so that they seeme as though they were stones, set up to limit the ends and confines of certaine Lands. Within these hillockes, made of most hard earth, are innumerable and infinite little Ants, the which may be gathered by bushels when the hillock is broken: the which when it is sometimes moysted by raine, and then dried againe by the heat of the Sunne, it breaketh, and hath certaine small rifts, as little and subtill as the edge of a Knife, and it seemeth that Nature hath given sense to these Antes to find such a matter of earth, wherewith they may make the said hillocke of such hardnesse, that it may seeme a strong pavement made of lime and stone: and whereas I have prooved and caused some of them to be broken, I have found them of such hardnesse, as if I had not seene, I could not have beleeved, insomuch that they could scarsly be broken with Pikes of Iron, so strong Fortresses

Antes.

[III. v. 978.]

Jobson mentions the like neere Gambia.

doe these little beasts make for their safegard against their adversarie the Beare, who is chiefly nourished by them, and given them as an enemie, according to the common Proverbe which saith, Non e alcuna persona si libera, a chimanchi il suo Bargello, that is, There is no man so free, that hath not his Persecutor or privie Enemie. And here when I consider the marvellous providence which Nature hath given to these little bodies, I call to remembrance the wittie Sentence of Plinie, where speaking of such little beasts, he saith thus, Why doe we marvell at the Towre-bearing shoulders of Elephants, and not rather where Nature hath placed so many senses and such industry in such little bodies? Where is Hearing, Smelling, Seeing, and Feeling, yea, where are the Veines and Arteries (without which no beast can live or move) in these so little bodies, wherof some are so small that their whole bodies can scarsly bee seene of our eyes: What shall we then say of the parts of the same? Yet even among these there are many of such sagacitie and industry, as the like is not seene in beasts of greater quantitie, no nor yet in man, &c.

Great wonders in least creatures.

But to returne to the Historie. This Enemy which nature hath given to these little Beasts, useth this manner to assaile them: When he resorteth to the Hillocke where the Antes lye hid as in their fortresse, he putteth his tongue to one of the rifts whereof we have spoken, beeing as subtill as the edge of a Sword, and therewith continuall licking, maketh the place moist, the foame and froth of his mouth being of such propertie, that by continuall licking the place, it inlargeth the rift in such sort by little and little, that at the length he easily putteth in his tongue, which he hath very long and thinne, and much disproportionate to his bodie, and when he hath thus made free passage for his tongue in the hillocke, to put it easily in and out at his pleasure, then he thrusteth it into the hole as farre as he can reach, and so letteth it rest a good space, untill a great quantitie of the Antes (whose nature rejoyceth in heat and moysture)

have laden his tongue, and as many as he can containe in the hollownesse thereof, at which time hee suddenly draweth it into his mouth, and eateth them, and returneth againe to the same practice immediatly, untill hee have eaten as many as him listeth, or as long as hee can reach any with his tongue. The flesh of this Beast, is filthy and unsavourie, but by reason of the extreame shifts and necessitie that the Christian men were put to at their first comming into these parts, they were inforced to proove all things, and so fell to the eating of these Beasts: but when they had found more delicate meates, they fell into hatred with this. These Antes have the appearance of the place of their entrance into the hillocke, under the ground, and this at so little a hole, that it could hardly bee found, if certaine of them were not seene to passe in and out: but by this way the Beares could have no such power to hurt them as above at the said rifts, as I have said.

A strange beast which seemeth a kind of Camelion.

There is another strange beast, which by a name of contrary effect, the Spaniards call Cagnuolo leggiero, that is, The Light Dogge, whereas it is one of the slowest beasts in the World, and so heavie and dull in mooving, that it can scarsly goe fiftie pases in a whole day: these beasts are in the firme Land, and are very strange to behold for the disproportion that they have to all other beasts: they are about two spans in length when they are growne to their full bignesse, but when they are very young, they are somewhat more grosse, then long: they have foure subtill feet, and in every of them foure clawes like unto Birds, and joyned together, yet are neither their clawes or their feet able to susteine their bodies from the ground, by reason whereof, and by the heavinesse of their bodies, they draw their bellies on the ground: their neckes are high and streight, and all equall like the pestle of a Morter, which is altogether equall even unto the top, without making any proportion or similitude of a head, or any difference except in the noddle, and in the tops of their neckes: they have very

round faces much like unto Owles, and have a marke of their owne haire after the manner of a Circle, which maketh their faces seeme somewhat more long then large: they have small eyes and round, & nostrils like unto Monkeyes: they have little mouthes, and moove their neckes from one side to another, as though they were astonished: their chiefe desire and delight is to cleave and sticke fast unto Trees, or some other thing whereby they may climbe aloft, and therefore for the most part, these beasts are found upon Trees, whereunto cleaving fast, they mount up by little and little, staying themselves by their long clawes: the colour of their haire is betweene russet and white, and of the proper colour of the haire of a Wesell: they have no tayles, and their voice is much differing from other beasts, for they sing onely in the night, and that continually from time to time, singing ever sixe notes one higher then another, so falling with the same, that the first note is the highest, and the other is a baser tune, as if a man should say, La, sol, fa, mi, re, ut, so this beast saith, Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha. And doubtlesse, it seemeth to [III. v. 979.] me, that as I have said in the Chapter of the beast called Bardati, that those beasts might be the originall and document to imbarbe Horses: even so, the first invention of Musicke might seeme by the hearing of this beast, to have the first principles of that Science, rather then by any other thing in the World. But now to returne to the Historie. I say that in a short space after this Beast hath sung, and hath paused a while, shee returneth againe to the selfe-same Song, and doth this onely in the night, and not in the day: By reason whereof, and also because of her evill sight, I thinke her to be a night Beast, and the friend of darknesse. Sometimes the Christian men find these Beasts, and bring them home to their houses, where also they creepe all about with their naturall slownesse, insomuch that neither for threatning or pricking they will moove any faster then their naturall and accustomed pace. And if they finde any Trees, they

creepe thither immediately, and mount to the top of the highest branch thereof, where they remayne continually for the space of eight, or ten, or twentie dayes, without eating of any thing, as farre as any man can judge. And whereas I my selfe have kept them in my house, I could never perceive other but that they live onely of Aire: and of the same opinion, are in manner all men of those Regions, because they have never seene them eate any thing, but ever turne their heads and mouthes toward that part where the wind bloweth most, whereby may be considered that they take most pleasure in the Ayre. They bite not, nor yet can bite, having very little mouthes: they are not venemous or noyous any way, but altogether brutish, and utterly unprofitable, and without commoditie yet knowne to men, saving onely to moove their minds to contemplate the infinite power of God, who delighteth in the varietie of creatures, whereby appeareth the power of his incomprehensible wisdome and majestie, so farre to exceed the capacitie of mans understanding.

Foules and Birds. Alcatraz.

In these Regions there are likewise found certaine Fowles or Birds, which the Indians call Alcatraz: these are much bigger then Geese, the greatest part of their feathers are of russet colour, and in some parts yellow, their bils or beakes are of two spannes in length, and very large neere to the head, and growing small toward the point, they have great and large throates, and are much like to a Fowle which I saw in Flanders, in Brussels in your Majesties Palace, which the Flemmings call Haina: And I remember that when your Majestie dined one day in your great Hall, there was brought to your Majesties presence a Caldron of water with certaine fishes alive, which the said fowle did eat up whole, and I think verily that that fowle was a fowle of the Sea, because she had feet like fowles of the water, as have also these Alcatrazi, which are likewise fowles of the Sea, and of such greatnesse, that I have seene a whole coate of a man put into the throats of one of them in Panama, in the yeere

1521. And forasmuch as in that Coast of Panama, there passeth and flyeth a great multitude of these Alcatrazi, being a thing very notable, I will declare the manner hereof, as not onely I, but also divers other now present in your Majesties Court have oftentimes seene. Your Majestie shall therefore understand, that in this place (as I have said before) the Sea of Sur riseth and falleth two leagues and more from sixe houres to sixe houre: so that when it increaseth, the water of the Sea arriveth so neere to the houses of Panama, as doth our Sea (called Mare Mediterraneum) in Barzalona, or in Naples: and when the said increasing of the Sea commeth, there commeth also therewith such a multitude of small fishes called Sardines, that it is so marvellous a thing to behold, that no man would beleeve it that hath not seene it. Insomuch that the Cacique (that is) the King of that Land, at such time as I dwelt there, was bound daily, as he was commanded by your Majesties Governour, to bring ordinarily three Canoas or Barkes full of the said Sardines, and to unlade the same in the Market place, which were afterwards by the Ruler of the Citie divided among the Christian men, without any cost or charge to any of them: Insomuch that if the people had beene a much greater multitude then they were, and as many as are at this present in Toledo, or more, and had none other thing to live by, they might have beene sufficiently susteined by these Sardines, beside the overplus which should have remayned. But to returne to the fowles, whereof wee have spoken. As the Sea commeth, and the Sardines with the same, even so likewise come the said Alcatrazzi therewith, and flye continually over it in such a multitude, that they appeare to cover the upper part or floore of the water, and thus continue in mounting and falling from the ayre to the water, and from the water to the ayre, during all the time of their fishing: and assoone as they have taken any of these Sardines, they flye above the waters, and eate them incontinently, and suddenly returne againe to the water for more, con-

Panama.

Pilchards.

tinuing thus course by course without ceasing: in like manner when the Sea falleth, they follow their fishing as I have said. There goeth also in the company of these fowles another kind of fowles, called Coda inforcata, (that is) the forked tayle, whereof I have made mention before, and assoone as the Alcatraz mounteth from the water with her prey of the Sardines, suddenly this Coda inforcata giveth her so many strokes, and so persecuteth her, that shee causeth her to let fall the Sardines which shee hath in her mouth: the which assoone as they are fallen, and before they yet touch the water, the Coda inforcata catcheth them even in the fall, in such sort, that it is a great pleasure to behold the combat betweene them all the day long. The number of these Alcatrazzi is such, that the Christian men are accustomed to send to certaine Ilands and Rockes which [III. v. 980.] are neere about Panama, with their Boates or Barkes to take these Alcatrazzi, while they are yet young, and cannot flie, and kill as many of them with staves as they will, untill they have therewith laden their Barkes or Canoas: these young ones are so fat and well fed, that they cannot bee eaten, and are taken for none other intent, but onely to make Grease for Candles to burne in the night, for the which purpose it serveth very well, and giveth a cleere light, and burneth easily. After this manner, and for this purpose, innumerable of them are killed: and yet it seemeth that the number of them that fish for Sardines doe daily increase. There are other fowles called Passere sempie, that is, simple Sparowes: these are somewhat lesse then Seamewes, and have their feet like unto great Malards, and stand in the water sometimes, and when the ships saile fiftie or a hundred leagues about the Ilands, these fowles beholding the ships comming toward them, breake their flight, and fall downe upon the Saile yards, Masts, and Cables thereof, and are so simple and foolish, that they tarrie untill they may easily bee taken with mens hands, and were therefore called of the Mariners simple Sparrowes: they are

Passere sempie.

blacke, and upon their blacke, have their head and shoulders of feathers of a darke russet colour: they are not good to bee eaten, although the Mariners have sometimes beene inforced to eate them. There is another kind of Birds in the firme Land, which the Christians call Picuti, because they have very great beakes, in respect of the littlenesse of their bodies, for their beakes are very heavie, and weigh more then their whole bodies beside: these Birds are no bigger then Quailes, but have a much greater bushment of feathers insomuch that their feathers are more then their bodies: their feathers are very faire, and of many variable colours; their beakes are a quarter of a yard in length or more, and bending downe toward the Earth, and three fingers broad neere unto the head: their tongues are very quils, wherewith they make a great hissing: they make holes in Trees with their beakes, in the which they make their Nests. And surely these Birds are marvellous to behold, for the great difference which they have from all other Birds that I have seene, aswell for their tongues (which are quils as I have said) as also for the strangenesse of their sight and disproportion of their great beakes, in respect of the rest of their bodies. There are no Birds found that provide better for the safegard of their young in the time of their breeding, to be without danger of wilde Cats, that they enter not into their Nests to destroy their Egges or young, and this aswell by the strange manner of building their Nests, as also by their owne defence: and therefore when they perceive that the Cats approach toward them, they enter into their Nests, and holding their beakes toward the entrance of the same, stand at their defence, and so vexe the Cats, that they cause them to leave their enterprize.

Picuti, Birds with bils heavier then bodies.

There are also other Birds or Sparrowes, which the Christians by contrary effect call Matti, that is Fooles: Whereas neverthelesse there is no Bird that sheweth more wit and craft in defending her young from perill. These Birds are little, and in manner blacke, and somewhat

Foolish Sparrowes, wisely provident.

bigger then our Thrushes: they have certaine white feathers in their neckes, and the like sagacitie or sharpnesse of sense as have the Birds or Pyes called Gazzvole: they seldome times light upon the earth: they make their Nests in Trees separated from other, because the Monkeyes are accustomed to leape from Tree to Tree, not descending to the ground for feare of other beasts, except when they are enforced by thirst to come downe to drinke, at such times as they are sure not to be molested, and for this cause doe not these Birds make their Nests but in Trees farre divided from other, they make them of a Cubit in length, or more, after the manner of bagges or little sackes, large at the bottome, and growing narrower and narrower toward the mouth, whereby they are fastened, having the hole whereat they enter into the sacke, of such bignesse as may onely suffice to receive them. And to the end that the Monkeyes may not devoure their young, if they chance to mount upon the Trees where they have their Nests, they use another craft, which is, to make their Nests in thicke branches of Trees, and to defend the same with sharpe and strong thornes, implicate and set in such order, that no man is able to make the like, so that the Monkeyes can by no meanes put their legges into the hole of the Nest to take out the young Birds, aswell for the sharpnesse of the thornes, as also for the depth of the Nests, in the bottome whereof, the young Birds rest without danger of their enemie: for some of their Nests being three or foure spans in length, the leg of the Monkey cannot reach to the bottome thereof. They use also another policie, which is, to make many of their Nests in one Tree, the which they doe for one of these two causes: that is, that either of their owne naturall disposition they are accustomed to goe in great multitudes, and rejoyce in the company of their owne generation, as doe the Birds which we call Stares, or else to the intent that if it should so chance that the Monkeyes should climbe the Trees where they make their Nests, they might bee

a greater company to resist and molest the Monkeyes, at whose approach they make a fearefull and terrible cry, whereby the Monkeyes are put to flight. Furthermore, in the firme Land, and in the Ilands, there are certaine Birds called Piche, or Gazzvole, somewhat like unto those which we call Wood-wals, or Wood-peckes, being lesse then ours of Spaine: these are altogether blacke, and goe hopping and leaping, their beakes are also blacke, and of the same fashion as are the Popingjayes beakes, they have long tayles, and are somewhat bigger then Stares. *Gazzvole.*

There are other Birds called Pintadelli, which are like unto certaine greene Birds, which the Italians call Fringuelli, and are of seven colours: these Birds for feare of the Monkeyes, are ever wont to make their Nests over the bankes of Rivers, or the Sea, where the branches of Trees so reach over the water, that with a little weight they may bow downe to the water: their Nests are made so neere the tops of the branches, that when the Monkeyes come thereon, the branches bend toward the water, and the Monkeyes turne backe againe for feare of falling: For although no beast in the World be more malicious then this, yet whereas the most part of beasts are naturally inclined to swimme, this Monkey hath no manner of aptnesse thereunto, and is therefore soone drowned or strangled in the water, and by a privie sense of Nature feareth the danger which he cannot escape. These Birds make their Nests in such sort, that although they bee wet and filled with water, yet doe they so suddenly rise up againe, that the young Birds are not thereby hurt or drowned. There are also many Nightingales, and other Birds which sing marvellously with great melodie and difference in singing: these Birds are of marvellous divers colours the one from the other, some are altogether yellow, and some other of so excellent, delectable, and high a colour, as it were a Rubie, other are also of divers and variable colours, some of few colours, and other some all of one colour, being all so faire [III. v. 981.] *Pintadelli.*

and beautifull, that in brightnesse and shining they excell all that are in Spaine, or Italie, or other Provinces of Europe. Many of these are taken with Nets, lime-twigs, and Springes of divers sorts. Divers *Great Fowles.* other sorts of great fowles like unto Eagles, and such other as live of prey, are found in the firme Land, of such diversitie, that it is in manner impossible to describe them all particularly: and forasmuch as I have more largely intreated hereof in my generall Historie of the Indies, I thinke it not requisite heere to make any further mention of the same.

Of Trees, Fruits, and Plants.

Cocos. THere is both in the firme Land and the Ilands a certaine Tree called Coco, being a kind of Date Trees, and having their leaves of the selfesame greatnesse, as have the Date Trees which beare Dates, but differ much in their growing, for the leaves of this Coco grow out of the trunkes of the Tree, as doe the fingers out of the hand, wreathing themselves one within another, and so spreading abroad: these Trees are high, and are found in great plentie in the Coast of the Sea of Sur, in the Province of Cacique Chiman. These Date Trees bring forth a Fruit after this sort: being altogether unite as it groweth on the Tree, it is of greater circumference then the head of a man, and from the superficiall part to the middest, which is the fruit, it is involved and covered with many Webs much like unto those Hirds of Towe which they use in Andalusia. Of this Towe or Web, the East Indians make a certaine kind of Cloth, of three or foure sorts, and Cordes for the Sayles of Ships: but in these Indies of your Majestie, they passe not for these Coards, or this Cloth that may be made of the Fruit of Coco, by reason of the great plentie that they have of the Bombage or Cotton of Gossampine Trees. The Fruit which is in the middest of the said Tow, is (as I have said) as bigge as a mans

fist, and sometimes twice as bigge, and more: It is in forme like unto a Walnut, or some other round thing, somewhat more long then large, and very hard, the rinde or barke hereof, is as thicke as the circle of Letters of a Riall of Plate, and within, there cleaveth fast to the rinde of the Nut a carnositie or substance of coornell, of the thicknesse of halfe a finger, or of the least finger of the hand, and is very white, like unto a faire Almond, and of better taste and more pleasant. When this Fruit is chewed, there remayne certaine crummes, as doe the like of Almonds: Yet if it be swallowed downe, it is not unpleasant. For although that after the juyce or moysture be gone downe the throat before the said crummes be swallowed, the rest which is eaten, seeme somewhat sharpe or sowre, yet doth it not so greatly offend the taste, as to be cast away. While this Cocus is yet fresh and newly taken from the Tree, they use not to eate of the said carnositie and Fruit, but first beating it very much, and then strayning it, they draw a Milke thereof, much better and sweeter then is the Milke of Beasts, and of much substance, the which the Christian men of those Regions put in the Tartes or Cakes which they make of the grain of Maiz whereof they make their Bread, or in other Bread as we put Bread in Pottage: so that by reason of the said Milke of Cocus, the Tartes are more excellent to be eaten without offence to the stomacke: they are so pleasant to the taste, and leave it aswell satisfied as though it had beene delighted with many delicate Dishes. But to proceed further, your Majestie shall understand, that in the place of the stone or coornell, there is in the middest of the said carnositie a void place, which neverthelesse is full of a most cleere and excellent water, in such quantitie as may fill a great Egge shell, or more, or lesse, according to the bignesse of the Cocos, the which water surely, is the most substantiall, excellent and precious to bee drunke, that may be found in the World: insomuch that in the moment when it passeth the palate of the mouth, and beginneth

I have seene one of these Fruits opened, the which when it was whole, if it were shaken the water was hard shogge therein as it were in a Bottle, but in time it consumed & was partly congealed into a salt substance.

to goe downe the throate, it seemeth that from the sole of the foot, to the crowne of the head, there is no part of the bodie but that feeleth great comfort thereby: as it is doubtlesse one of the most excellent things that may bee tasted upon the earth, and such as I am not able by writing or tongue to expresse. And to proceed yet [III. v. 982.] further, I say that when the meate of this fruit is taken from the Vessell thereof, the vessell remayneth as faire and neate as though it were polished, and is without of colour inclining toward black, and shineth or glistereth very faire, and is within of no lesse delicatenesse. Such as have accustomed to drinke in these Vessels, and have beene troubled with the Disease called the fretting of the guts, say that they have by experience found it a marvellous remedie against that Disease, and that it breaketh the stone, and provoketh urine. This fruit was called Coca, for this cause, that when it is taken from the place where it cleaveth fast to the Tree, there are seene two holes, and above them two other naturall holes, which altogether doe represent the gesture and figure of the Cattes called Mammoni, that is, Monkeyes, when they cry, which cry the Indians call Coca, but in very deed, this Tree is a kind of Date Tree, and hath the same effect to heale fretting of the guts, that Plinie describeth all kinde of Date trees to have. There are furthermore in the firme Land, Trees of such bignesse that I dare not speake thereof, but in place where I have so many witnesses which have seene the same as well as I. I say therefore, that a league from Dariena or the Citie of Sancta Maria Antiqua, there passeth a River very large and deepe, which is called Cuti, over the which the Indians laid a great Tree, so traversing the same, that it was in the stead of a bridge, the which I my selfe with divers others that are at this present in your Majesties Court, have oftentimes passed over. And forasmuch as the said Tree had lyen long there, and by the great weight thereof was so shrunke downeward, and partly covered with water, that none could passe over it, but

Good against the wind and stone Collick.

Great Trees.

were wet to the knee, I being then in the yeere 1522. the officiall or Justice in that Citie at your Majesties appointment, caused another great Tree to bee laid in that place, which in like manner traversed the River, and reached more then fiftie foote over the further side: This Tree was exceeding great, and rested above the water more then two Cubits, in the fall, it cast downe all such other Trees as were within the reach thereof, and discovered certaine bynes, which were so laden with blacke Grapes of pleasant taste, that they satisfied more then fiftie persons which ate their fill thereof. This Tree, in the thickest part thereof, was more then sixteene spannes thicke, and was neverthelesse but little in respect of many other trees which are found in this Province. For the Indians of the Coast and Province of Cartagenia, make Barkes or Boates thereof (which they call Canoas) *Great Canoas.* of such bignesse, beeing all one whole Tree, that some containe a hundred men, some a hundred and thirtie, and some more, having neverthelesse such void space within the same, that there is left sufficient roome to passe to and fro throughout all the Canoas. Some of these are so large, beside the length, that they conteine more then tenne or twelve spannes in breadth, and saile with two sailes, as with the Master saile and the trincket, which they make of very good Cotton. The greatest Trees that I have seene in these parts, or in any other Regions, was in the Province of Guaturo, the King whereof rebelling from the obedience of your Majestie, was pursued by me, and taken Prisoner: at which time I with my company, passed over a very high Mountaine, full of great Trees, in the top whereof, we found one Tree, which had three roots, or rather *A marvellous Tree.* divisions of the roote above the Earth, in forme of a Triangle, or Trevet, so that betweene every foot of this Triangle or three feet, there was a space of twentie foot betweene every foot, and this of such height above the Earth, that a laden Cart of those wherewith they are accustomed to bring home Corne in time of

Harvest in the Kingdome of Toledo in Spaine, might easily have passed through every of those partitions or windoores which were betweene the three feet of the said Tree. From the Earth upward to the trunke of the Tree, the open places of the divisions betweene these three feete, were of such height from the ground, that a Footman with a Javelin was not able to reach the place where the said feet joyned together in the trunke or bodie of the Tree, which grew of great height in one piece, and one whole bodie, or ever it spread in branches, which it did not before it exceeded in height the Towre of Saint Romane in the Citie of Toledo: from which height and upward, it spread very great and strong branches. Among certaine Spaniards which climbed this Tree, I my selfe was one, and when I was ascended to the place where it begunne to spread the branches, it was a marvellous thing to behold a great Countrey of such Trees toward the Province of Abrayme. This Tree was easie to climbe, by reason of certaine Besuchi, (whereof I have spoken before) which grew wreathed about the Tree, in such sort that they seemed to make a scaling Ladder. Every of the foresaid three feet which bore the bodie of the Tree, was twentie spannes in thicknesse, and where they joyned altogether about the Trunke or bodie of the Tree, the principall Trunke was more then fortie and five spannes in circuite. I named the Mountaine where these Trees grow, the Mountaine of three footed Trees. And this which I have now declared, was seene of all the company that was there with mee when (as I have said before) I took King Guaturo Prisoner in the yeere 1522. Many things more might here be spoken as touching this matter, as also how there are many other excellent Trees found of divers sorts and difference, as sweet Cedar Trees, blacke Date Trees, and many other, of the which some are so heavie that they cannot float about the water, but sinke immediately to the bottome, and other againe as light as a Corke. As touching all which things I have written more largely in my generall Historie of the Indies.

And for as much as at this present I have entred to entreate of Trees, before I passe any further to other things, I will declare the manner how the Indians kindle fire, onely with Wood and without fire, the manner whereof is this. They take a peece of wood, of two spannes in length, as bigge as the least finger of a mans hand, or as an arrow well pullished, and of a strong kinde of wood which they keepe onely for this purpose: and where they intend to kindle any fire, they take two other peeces of wood, of the driest and lightest that they can finde, and binde them fast together one with another, as close as two fingers joyned: in the middest or between these, they put the point of the first little staffe made of hard and strong wood, which they hold in their hands by the top thereof, and turne or rubbe it round about continually in one place betweene the two peeces of wood which lye bound together upon the earth, which by that uncessant rubbing and chafing, are in short space kindled, and take fire. I have also thought good here to speake somewhat of such things as come to my remembrance of certaine Trees which are found in this Land, and sometime also the like have beene seene in Spaine. These are certaine putrified trunkes, which have lien so long rotting on the earth, that they are very white, and shine in the night like burning firebrands, and when the Spaniards finde any of this wood, and intend privily in the night to make warre and invade any Province, when case so requireth that it shall be necessarie to goe in the night, in such places where they know not the way, the formost Christian man which guideth the way, associate with an Indian to direct him therein, taketh a little starre of the said wood, which he putteth in his cap, hanging behinde on his shoulders, by the light whereof he that followeth next to him, directeth his journey, who also in like manner beareth another starre behinde him, by the shining whereof the third followeth the same way, and in like manner doe all the rest, so that by this meanes none are lost or stragle out of the way.

[III. v. 983.]

Kindling of fire without fire.

Putrified wood shining in the night.

And for as much as this light is not seene very farre, it is the better policie for the Christians, because they are not thereby disclosed before they invade their enemies. Furthermore, as touching the natures of Trees, one particular thing seemeth worthy to be noted, whereof *Plinie.* Plinie maketh mention in his naturall Historie, where he saith that there are certaine Trees which continue ever greene, and never loose their leaves, as the Bay-tree, the Cedar, the Orange-tree, and the Olive-tree, with such other, of the which in altogether he nameth not past five or six. To this purpose, I say, that in the Ilands of these Indies, and also in the firme land, it is a thing *Almost all Indian trees continue ever greene.* of much difficultie to finde two Trees that lose or cast their leaves at any time: for although I have diligently searched to know the truth hereof, yet have I not seene any that lose their leaves, either of them which we have brought out of Spaine into these regions, as Orange-trees, Limons, Cedars, Palmes, or Date-trees, and Pomegranate-trees, or of any other in these regions, except onely *Cassia.* Cassia, which loseth his leaves, and hath a greater thing appropriate to it selfe onely: which is, that whereas all other Trees and Plants of India spread their rootes no deeper in the earth then the depth of a mans height, or somewhat more, not descending any further into the *Earth hot lower then a fadome.* ground, by reason of the great heate which is found beneath that depth, yet doth Cassia pearse further into the ground, untill it finde water: which by the Philosophers *A secret thing. Radicall moisture.* opinion should be the cause of a thinne and watery radicall moisture to such things as draw their nourishment thereof, as fat and unctuous grounds with temperate heate, yeelde a fast and firme moisture to such things as grow in them, which is the cause that such Trees lose not their leaves, as the said thinne and waterish moisture is cause of the contrarie, as appeareth by the said effect which is seene onely in Cassia, and none other Tree or Plant in all these partes.

Of Reedes or Canes.

IN the firme land there are many sorts of Reedes, so that in many places they make their houses thereof, covering them with the tops of the same, and making their wals of them in like manner, as I have said before: and among these kindes of Reedes, there is one so great, that the Canes thereof are as bigge as a mans legge in the knee, and three spans in length from joynt to joynt, or more, in so much that every of them is of capacitie to containe a little bucket of water. In this kinde, there are found some greater, and some lesse, of the which some they use to make quivers for arrowes. There is found another kinde, which surely is marveilous, being little bigger then a Javelin, the Canes whereof are longer then two spannes: these Reedes grow one farre from another, as sometimes twenty or thirty paces, and sometimes also two or three leagues: they grow in manner in all Provinces in the Indies, and grow neere to very high Trees, whereunto they leane, and creepe up to the top of their branches, which they imbrace, and descend againe downe to the earth. Their Canes are full of most cleare water, without any manner of taste or savour, either of the Canes, or of any other thing, and such as if it were taken out of the freshest Spring in the world, nor yet is it knowne that ever it hurt any that drunke thereof. For it hath oftentimes so chanced, that as the Christian men have travailed in these regions in desolate waies, where for lacke of water they have beene in great danger to dye with thirst, that have escaped that perill by reason that they found the said Reedes, of the water of whose Canes they have drunke a great quantity, without any hurt thereof ensuing. Therefore when they finde these in any place, they make water vessels of the Canes thereof, and carry as many of them full of water as may suffice for one dayes journey: and sometime they carrie so many, that they take for every man two or three

Reed-springs or fountaines of water.

[III. v. 984.]

quarts of water, which may serve them for many daies, because it doth not corrupt, but remaineth still fresh and good.

Platani, or Plantans. There are also certaine Plants, which the Christians call Platani. They are as high as trees, and become as bigge in the trunke as the knee of a man, or more. From the foote to the top, they beare certaine long and large leaves, being more then three spans in largenesse, and about ten or twelve in length: the which when they are broken of the winde, the stalke remaineth whole in the middest. In the middest of this Plant, in the highest part thereof, there groweth a cluster with fortie or fiftie Plantans about it, every of them being a span and a halfe in length, and as bigge as a mans arme in the small, or more, or lesse, according to the goodnesse of the soile where they grow: they have a rinde not very thicke, and easie to be broken, being within altogether full of a substance like unto the marie of the bone of an Oxe, as it appeareth when the rinde or barke is taken from the same. This cluster ought to be taken from the Plant, when any one of the Plantans begin to appeare yellow, at which time they take it, and hang it in their houses, where all the cluster waxeth ripe, with all his Plantans. This cluster is a very good fruite, and when it is opened, and the rinde taken off, there are found within it many *Figges.* good drie Figges, which being rosted, or stewed in an Oven, in a close pot, or some such other thing, are of pleasant taste, much like to the conserve of Hony: they putrifie not on the Sea so soone as some other fruites doe, but continue fifteene daies and more, if they be gathered somewhat greene: they seeme more delicate on the Sea then on the Land, not for that they any thing encrease in goodnes on the Sea, but because that wheras on the Sea other things are lacking whereof is plentie on the Land, those meates seeme of best taste, which satisfie present necessitie. This trunke or sprig which bringeth forth the said cluster, is a whole yeare in growing and bringing forth fruite, in

which time it hath put forth round about in ten or twelve sprigges, as bigge as the first or principal, and multiplieth no lesse then the principall in bringing forth of clusters, with fruits likewise at their time, and also in bringing forth other and many sprigges, as is said before. From the which sprigges or trunkes, as soone as the cluster of the fruite is taken away, the Plant beginneth to drie and wither, which then they take out of the ground, because it doth none other then occupie it in vaine, and without profit. They are so many, and doe so marveilously encrease and multiplie, that it is a thing in manner incredible. They are exceeding moist, in so much that when they are plucked up from the place where they grow, there issueth forth a great quantity of water, as well out of the Plant, as out of the place where it grew, in such sort, that all the moisture of the earth farre about, might seeme to be gathered together about the trunke or blocke of the said Plant, with the fruites whereof, the Antes are so farre in love, that they are seene in great multitudes in the branches of the Plants: so that for the multitude thereof, it sometime so chanceth, that men are enforced to take away the Plants from their possession: these fruites are found at all times of the yeere. There is also another kinde of wilde Plants that groweth in the fieldes, which I have not seene but in the Iland of Hispaniola, although they be found in other Ilands of the Indies: these they call Tunas. They *Tunas.* grow of a Thistle full of thornes, and bring forth a fruite much like unto great Figges, which have a crowne like Medlers, and are within of a high colour, with graines and the rinde like unto a Figge: they are of good taste, and grow abundantly in the fields in many places: They worke a strange effect in such as eate them, for if a man eate two, or three, or more, they cause his urine to be of the very colour of bloud, which thing chanced once to my selfe. For on a time as I made water, and saw the colour of my Urine, I entred into a great suspition of my life, being so astonished for feare, that I

thought the same had chansed to me upon some other cause, in so much that surely my imagination might have done me hurt, but that they which were with me did comfort me immediately, declaring the cause thereof, as they knew by experience, being auncient inhabitours in those regions. There groweth also another Plant, which *Bihaos.* the people of the Countrie call Bihaos: this putteth forth certaine straight branches, and very broade leaves, which the Indians use for divers purposes: for in some places they cover their houses with the leaves thereof, couched and laid after the manner of thatch, whereunto it serveth very well: Sometimes also when it raineth, they cast these over their heads, to defend them from the water. They *Havas.* make also certaine chests, which they call Havas, weaved after a strange sort, and intermixt with the leaves of this Bihaos. These Chests are wrought in such sort, that although it raine upon them, or they chance to fall into the water, yet are not such things wet as are within them: they are made of the branches of the said Bihaos, with the leaves weaved together therewith. In these they keepe salt, and other subtile things. They use them also for another purpose, which is this: that finding them in the fields at such time as they have scarsenesse of victuals, they digge up the rootes of these Plants while they are yet yong, or eate the Plant it selfe, in that part where it is most tender, which is from a foote under the ground, where it is as tender and white as a Reede or Bulrush. And for as much as we are now come to the end of this narration, it commeth to my remembrance [III. v. 985.] to make mention of another thing, which is not farre from my purpose: and this is, how the Indians doe staine *Dying of Cotton.* or dye cloath of bombage cotton, or any other thing which they intend to dye, of divers colours, as Blacke, Tawny, Greene, Blew, Yellow, and Red, which they doe with the Barkes, or Rindes, and Leaves of certaine Trees, which they know by experience to be good for this practise: and by this art they make colours in such perfection and excellency, that no better can be devised.

But this seemeth a strange thing, that they doe all this in one selfe same Vessell: so that when they have caused the said Rindes and Leaves to boile together, they make in the same Vessell without any change (as I have said) as many colours as them listeth. Which thing I suppose to come to passe, by the disposition of the colour which they have first given to the thing that they intend to dye or colour, whether it be Thred, Web, or Cloth, or any thing that they intend to colour. *A strange thing.*

Of venemous Apples, wherewith they poyson their Arrowes.

THe Apples wherewith the Indian Canibals invenome their arrowes, grow on certaine Trees covered with many Branches and Leaves, being very greene, and growing thicke. They are laden with abundance of these evill fruites, and have their Leaves like the Leaves of a Peare-tree, but that they are lesse and rounder: the fruite is much like the muscadell Peares of the Iland of Sicilie or Naples in forme and bignesse, and are in some parts stained with red spots, and of very sweet savour: these trees for the most part, grow ever by the Sea Coasts, and neere unto the water, and are so faire and of pleasant savour, that there is no man that seeth them, but will desire to eate thereof, insomuch that if it may bee spoken of any fruit yet growing on the earth, I would say that this was the unhappy fruit whereof our first parents * Adam and Eve tasted, whereby they both lost their felicitie, and procured death to them and their posteritie. Of these fruits, and of the great Ants whose byting causeth swelling (whereof I have spoken elsewhere) and of the Eutes, or Lysarts, and Vipers, and such other venomous things, the Canibals which are the chiefe Archers among the Indians, are accustomed to poyson their Arrowes, wherewith they kill all that they wound: These venomes they mingle together, and make thereof a blacke Masse or composition, which appeareth like unto

**It was not a venemous juce of the fruit, but spirituall disobedience in eating contrarie to Gods commandement, which poysoned Adams soule with sinne, the wages whereof is death.*

Canibals invenome their Arrowes.

very blacke Pitch. Of this Poyson I caused a great quantitie to bee burnt, in Sancta Maria Antiqua, in a place two leagues and more within the Land, with a great multitude of their invenomed Arrowes and other munition, with also the house wherein they were reserved: This was in the yeere 1514. at such time as the Armie *Petrus Arrias.* arrived there with Captaine Pedrarias de Villa, at the commaundement of the Catholike King Don Ferdinando. But to returne to the Historie. These Apples (as I have sayde) grow neere unto the Sea: the Christians which serve your Majestie in these parties, suppose that there is no remedie so profitable for such as are wounded with *The water of the Sea.* these Arrowes, as is the water of the Sea, if the wound bee much washed therewith, by which meanes some have escaped, although but few: yet to say the truth, albeit the water of the Sea, have a certaine caustike qualitie against poyson, it is not sufficient remedie in this case, nor yet to this day have the Christians perceived that of fiftie that have beene wounded, three have recovered. But that your Majestie may the better consider the force of the venome of these trees, you shall further understand, that if a man doe but repose himselfe to sleepe a little while under the shadow of the same, he hath his head and eyes so swolne when he riseth, that the eye lids are joyned with the cheekes, and if it chance one drop or more of the deaw of the said tree to fall into the eye, it utterly destroyeth the sight. The pestilent nature of this tree is such, that it cannot be declared in few words. *The gulfe of Uraba.* Of these, there groweth great plentie in the gulfe of Uraba, toward the North coast, on the West and East side. The wood of these trees when it burneth, maketh so great a stinke, that no man is able to abide it, by reason it causeth so great a paine in the head.

Among other trees which are in these Indies, as well in the Ilands, as in the firme land, there is another kind *Xagua.* which they call Xagua, whereof there is great plentie: they are very high, and streight, and faire to behold. Of these they use to make Pikes, and Javelins of divers

lengths and bignesse: they are of a faire colour, betweene russet and white: this tree bringeth forth a great fruit as big as Papaver or Poppie, and much like thereunto, it is very good to be eaten when it is ripe. Out of this they get a very cleare water, wherewith they wash their legs, and sometimes all their bodies, when they feele their flesh weary, faint, or loose: the which water, beside that it hath a binding qualitie, it hath also this propertie, that whatsoever it toucheth, it staineth it blacke by little and little, untill it be as blacke as Jet, which colour cannot bee taken away in lesse space then tenne or twelve dayes: And if the nayle bee but touched therewith, it is so stained, that it can by no meanes be taken away, untill it either fall of, or grow out, and be clipped away by little and little, as I my selfe have oftentimes seene by experience. *Blacke staines.*

There is another kinde of Trees which they call Hohi: these are very great and faire, and cause wholesome aire where they grow, and a pleasant shadow, and are found in great abundance: their fruit is very good, and of good taste and savour, and much like unto certaine Damsons or Prunes being little and yellow, but their stone is very great, by reason whereof they have but little meate: their Barke or Rinde boyled in water, maketh a wholesome Bathe for the legges, because it bindeth and stayeth the loosenesse of the flesh, so sensibly that it is a marvell to consider. It is surely a wholesome and excellent Bathe against such faintnesse, and is the best Tree that may be found in those parts to sleepe under: For it causeth no heavinesse of the head, as doe divers other Trees, which thing I speake, because the Christians are much accustomed in those Regions to lie in the fields. It is therefore a common practice among them, that whereso-ever they finde these Trees, there they spreade their Mattresses and Beds wherein they sleepe. [III. v. 986.] *Hohi.* *Some thinke these to be mirobalanes.*

There are also a kinde of high Date trees, and full of thornes: the wood of these is most excellent, being very blacke and shining, and so heavie that no part thereof *Date trees.*

can swim above the water, but sinketh immediatly to the bottom. Of this wood they make their Arrowes and Darts, also Javelins, Speares, and Pikes: and I say Pikes, because that in the coasts of the Sea of Sur, beyond Esquegua and Uracha, the Indians use great and long Pikes, made of the wood of these Date trees. Of the same likewise they make Clubs, and Swords, and divers other weapons: Also vessels and houshold stuffe of divers sorts, very faire and commodious. Furthermore, of this wood the Christians use to make divers musicall instruments, as Claricymbals, Lutes, Gitterns, and such other, the which beside their faire shining colour like unto jeat, are also of a good sound, and very durable, by reason of the hardnesse of the wood.

The Inhabitants of the Sea of Sur.

An herbe that beareth cordes.

After that I have said thus much of Trees and Plants, I have thought good also to speake somewhat of Herbs. You shall therefore understand, that in these Indies there is an herbe much like unto a yellow Lilly, about whose leaves there grow and creepe certaine Cordes or Laces, as the like is partly seene in the herbe which we call Laced savory, but these of the Indies are much bigger, and longer, and so strong that they tie their hanging beds thereby, which they call Hamacas, whereof we have spoken elsewhere: these Cordes they call Cabvia, and Henequen, which are all one thing, saving that Henequen is lesse and of a finer substance, as it were Line, and the other is grosser, like the wike or twist of Hempe, and is imperfect in comparison to the other: they are of colour betweene white and yellow, like unto abarne, and some also white. With Henequen, which is the most subtile and fine threed, the Indians saw in sunder Fetters, Chaines, or barres of Iron, in this manner: They moove the threed of Henequen upon the Iron which they intend to saw or cut, drawing the one hand after the other as doe they that saw, putting ever now and then a portion of fine Sand upon the threed, or on the place or part of the Iron, where they continue rubbing the said threed, so that if the threed be worne, they take another, and

Cabvia and Henequen.

A strange thing.

continue in their worke as before, untill they have cut in sunder the Iron, although it bee never so bigge, and cut it as if it were a tender thing, and easie to be sawen.

And forasmuch as the leaves of Trees may be counted among Herbs, I will here speake somewhat of the qualitie of the leaves of certaine Trees which are found in the Iland of Hispaniola. These trees are so full of thornes, that there is no tree or plant that seemeth more wilde and deformed: so that I cannot well determine whether they bee Trees or Plants: they have certaine branches full of large and deformed leaves, which branches were first leaves like unto the other. As the branches made of these leaves grow forth in length, there commeth other leaves of them: so that in fine it is a difficult thing to describe the forme of these trees, except the same should be done by a Painter, whereby the Eye might conceive that wherein the Tongue faileth in this behalfe. The leaves of this tree are of such vertue, that being well beaten and spred upon a cloth, after the manner of a plaister, and so laid to a legge or arme that is broken in many pieces, it healeth it in fifteene dayes, and maketh it as whole as though it had never beene broken: During the time of this operation, it cleaveth so fast to the flesh, that it cannot without much difficultie be taken away, but assoone as it hath healed the sore, and wrought his operation, it looseth it selfe from the place where it was laid, as I my selfe, and divers other which have proved it, know by experience.

Leaves.

Thistle trees.

A leafe of great vertue.

Of Fishes, and of the manner of fishing.

IN the Sea coasts of the firme Land, there are divers and sundrie kindes of fishes, much differing in shape and forme. And although it be impossible to speake of all, yet will I make mention of some. And first to begin at Sardines, you shall understand that there is found a kinde of these fishes very large and with red tailes, being a very delicate fish. The best kindes of other fishes are

these, Moxarre, Diahace, Brettes, Dahaos, Thornbacks, and Salmons: All these, and divers other which I doe not now remember, are taken in great quantitie in Rivers. There are likewise taken very good Crevishes. There are also found in the Sea, certaine other fishes, as Soles, Mackerels, Turbuts, Palamite, Lizze, Polpi, Chieppe, Xaibas, Locusts, Oisters, exceeding great Tortoises, and Tiburoni of marvellous bignesse: also Manates, and Murene, and many other fishes, which have no names in our language, and these of such diversitie and quantitie, as cannot bee expressed without large writing and long time. But to let passe to intreate particularly of the multitude of fishes, I intend to speake chiefly, and somewhat largely, of three sorts of most notable fishes: whereof the first is, the great Tortoises, the second is called Tiburon, and the third Manate. And to begin at the first, I say that in the Iland of Cuba, are found great Tortoises (which are certaine shell fishes) of such bignesse that ten or fifteene men are scarsly able to lift one of them out of the water, as I have beene informed of credible persons dwelling in the same Iland. But of that which I my selfe have seene, I can testifie, that in the firme Land, in the village of Acla, there are of this sort some taken and killed of such bignesse, that sixe men with much difficultie could scarsly draw them out of the water, and commonly the least sort of them are as much as two men may carry at a burden: that which I saw lifted up by sixe men, had her shell a yard and a quarter in length, and in breadth more then five yards. The manner of taking them, is this: It sometimes chanceth that in their great nets (which they call shoote nets) there are found certaine Tortoises of the common sort, in great quantities, and when they come out of the Sea, and bring forth their egges, and goe together by companies from the Sea, to feede on the Land, the Christians or Indians follow their steps which they finde in the Sand, and soone overtake them, because they are very heavie and slow in going, although they make all the haste they can to returne to the Sea, assoone as

Tiburons. Manates. [III. v. 987.]

Great Tortoises.

they espy any body. When they that pursue them have overtaken them, they put a stake or staffe under their legs, and overturne them on their backs as they are yet running, so that they can goe no further, nor yet rise againe or turne, and thus they suffer them to lye still while they follow after the rest, which they overturne in like manner: and by this meanes take very many, at such times as they come forth of the Sea, as I have said: This fish is very excellent and wholesome to be eaten, and of good taste.

Tiburons or Sharkes.

The second of the three fishes whereof I have spoken, is the Tiburon: this is a very great fish, and very quick and swift in the water, and a cruell Devourer: these are oftentimes taken, aswell when the ships are under saile in the Ocean, as also when they lye at anker, or at any other time, and especially the least kinde of these fishes. When the ships are under saile, the biggest sort are taken after this manner. When the Tiburon seeth the ship sayling, hee followeth it swimming behind, the which things the Mariners seeing, cast forth all the filth of the ship into the Sea for the fish to eate, who neverthelesse followeth them with equall pase, although they make never such haste with full winde and sailes, and walloweth on every side and about the ship, and thus followeth it sometime for the space of a hundred and fiftie leagues, and more, and when the Mariners are disposed to take them, they cast downe by the sterne of the ship a hooke of Iron, as bigge as the biggest finger of a mans hand, of three spans in length, and crooked like a fish-hooke, with beards according to the bignesse thereof, and fastned to an Iron chaine of five or sixe linkes neere unto the end, and from thence tyed with a great rope, fastning also on the hooke for a bait, a piece of some fish, or hogs flesh, or some other flesh, or the bowels and intrals of another Tiburon which they have taken before, which may easily be done, for I have seene nine taken in one day, and if they would have taken more, they might also. Thus when the Tiburon hath pleasantly followed the ship a long voyage,

at the length he swalloweth the bait with the hooke, and aswell by his striving to flee or escape, as also by the swift passage of the ship, the hooke overthwarteth and catcheth hold of his chaps: the which fish when it is taken, it is of such huge bignesse, that twelve or fifteene men are scarsly able to draw it out of the water, and lift it into the ship, where one of the Mariners giveth it many knocks on the head with a club or beetle, untill he have slaine it: they are sometimes found of ten or twelve foote long, and of five, sixe, or seven spans in breadth, where they are broadest: they have very great and wide mouthes, to the proportion of the rest of their bodies, and have two rowes of teeth, the one somewhat separate from the other, of cruell shape, and standing very thicke. When they have slaine this fish, they cut the body thereof in small pieces, and put it to drie, hanging it three or foure dayes at the Cordes of the saile clothes to drie in the winde, and then eate it: It is doubtlesse a good fish, and of great commoditie to serve the ships for victualls for many dayes: the least of these fishes are most wholesome and tender, it hath a skin much like to the skin of a Sole whereunto the said Tiburon is like in shape: Which I *Plinie.* say, because Plinie hath made mention of none of these three fishes, among the number of them wherof he writeth in his Naturall historie. These Tiburons come forth of the Sea, and enter into the Rivers, where they are no *Crocodiles.* lesse perillous then great Lizards or Crocodiles, whereof I have spoken largely before: For they devoure Men, Kine, and Horses, even as doe the Crocodiles: they are very dangerous in certaine washing places or Pooles by the Rivers sides, and where they have devoured at other times. Divers other fishes both great and small, of sundrie sorts and kindes, are accustomed to follow the ships going under saile, of the which I will speake some- *Manates.* what when I have written of Manate, which is the third of the three whereof I have promised to entreat. Manate therefore, is a fish of the Sea, of the biggest sort, and much greater then the Tiburon in length and breadth, and

is very brutish and vile, so that it appeareth in forme like unto one of those great vessels made of Goats skins, wherein they use to carry new wine in Medina de Campo, or in Arevalo: the head of this beast is like the head of an Oxe, with also like eyes, and hath in the place of armes, [III. v. 988.] two great stumps wherwith he swimmeth: It is a very gentle and tame beast, and commeth oftentimes out of the water to the next shoare, where if he finde any herbes or grasse, he feedeth thereof. Our men are accustomed to kill many of these, and divers other good fishes, with their Crosse-bowes, pursuing them in Barkes or Canoas, because they swim in manner above the water: the which thing when they see, they draw them with a hooke tyed at a small corde, but somewhat strong: As the fish fleeth away, the Archer letteth goe, and prolongeth the corde by little and little, untill he have let it goe many fathoms: at the end of the corde, there is tyed a corke, or a piece of light wood, and when the fish is gone a little way, and hath coloured the water with his bloud, and feeleth himselfe to faint and draw toward the end of his life, he resorteth to the shoare, and the Archer followeth, gathering up his corde, whereof while there yet remaine sixe or eight fathoms, or somewhat more or lesse, he draweth it toward the Land, and draweth the fish therewith by little and little, as the waves of the Sea helpe him to doe it the more easily: then, with the helpe of the rest of his companie, he lifteth this great beast out of the Water to the Land, being of such bignesse, that to convey it from thence to the Citie, it shall be requisite to have a Cart with a good yoke of Oxen, and sometimes more, according as these fishes are of bignesse, some being much greater then other some in the same kinde, as is seene of other beasts: Sometimes they lift these fishes into the Canoa or Barke, without drawing them to the Land as before, for as soone as they are slaine, they flote above the water: And I beleeve verily that this fish is one of the best in the world to the taste, and the likest unto flesh, especially so like unto beefe, that who so hath not seene it whole,

can judge it to be none other when hee seeth it in pieces then very Beefe or Veale, and is certainly so like unto flesh, that all the men in the world may herein be deceived: the taste likewise, is like unto the taste of very good Veale, and lasteth long, if it be powdred: so that in fine, the Beefe of these parts, is by no meanes like unto this.

The fish Manate. A remedie against the stone.

This Manate hath a certaine stone, or rather bone in his head within the braine, which is of qualitie greatly appropriate against the disease of the stone, if it be burnt and ground into small powder, and taken fasting in the morning when the paine is felt, in such quantitie as may lye upon a peny, with a draught of good white wine: For being thus taken three or foure mornings, it acquieteth the griefe, as divers have told me which have proved it true, and I my selfe by testimonie of sight, doe witnesse that I have seen this stone sought of divers for this effect.

There are also divers other fishes as bigge as this Manate, among the which there is one called Vihuella. This fish beareth in the top of his head a sword, being on every side full of many sharp teeth: this sword is naturally very hard and strong, of foure or five spans in length, and of proportion according to the same bignesse: and for this cause is this fish called Spada, that is, the

The Sword fish.

Sword fish. Of this kinde some are found as little as Sardines, and other so great, that two yokes of Oxen are scarsly able to draw them on a Cart. But whereas before I have promised to speake of other fishes, which are taken in these Seas while the ships are under saile, I will not

Tunny.

forget to speake of the Tunny, which is a great and good fish, and is oftentimes taken and kild with Trout speares, and hookes, cast in the water, when they play and swim about the ships. In like manner also are taken many

Turbut.

Turbuts, which are very good fishes as are lightly in all the Sea. And here is to be noted, that in the great Ocean

Note. The Sea somewhere fertile, somewhere barren.

Sea, there is a strange thing to be considered, which all that have beene in the Indies affirme to bee true: And this is, that like as on the Land there are some Provinces fertile and fruitfull, and some barren, even so doth the

like chance in the Sea: So that at some windes the ships saile fiftie, or a hundred, or two hundred leagues and more, without taking or seeing of one fish: and againe, in the selfe same Ocean in some places, all the water is seen tremble by the mooving of the fishes, where they are taken abundantly. It commeth further to my remembrance to speake somewhat of the flying of fishes, which is doubtlesse a strange thing to behold, and is after this manner. When the ships saile by the great Ocean, following their viage, there riseth sometimes on the one side or on the other, many companies of certaine little fishes, of the which the biggest is no greater then a Sardine, and so diminish lesse and lesse from that quantitie, that some of them are very little: these are called Volatori, that is, flying fishes: they rise by great companies and flocks, in such multitudes that it is an astonishment to behold them: Sometimes they rise but little from the water, and (as it chanceth) continue one flight for the space of an hundred paces, and sometimes more, or lesse, before they fall againe into the Sea, sometimes also they fall into the ships. And I remember, that on an evening when all the companie in the ship were on their knees, singing Salve Regina, in the highest part of the Castle of the poope, and sailed with a full winde, there passed by us a flocke of these flying fishes, and came so neere us, that many of them fell into the ship, among the which, two or three fell hard by mee, which I tooke alive in my hand, so that I might well perceive that they were as bigge as Sardines, and of the same quantitie, having two wings or quils growing out of their finnes, like unto those wherewith all fishes swim in Rivers: these wings are as long as the fishes themselves. As long as their wings are moist, they beare them up in the aire, but assoone as they are drie, they can continue their flight no further then as I have said before, but fall immediatly into the Sea, and so rise againe, and flie as before from place to place. In the yeere 1515. when I came first to enforme your Majestie of the state of the things in India, and was the yeere following in Flanders

Flying fishes.

[III. v. 989.]

in the time of your most fortunate successe in these your Kingdomes of Arragon and Castile, whereas at that voyage I sayled above the Iland Bermuda, otherwise called Garza, being the furthest of all the Ilands that are found at this day in the world, and arriving there at the depth of eight yards of water, and distant from the Land as farre as the shot of a piece of Ordinance, I determined to send some of the ship to Land, aswell to make search of such things as were there, as also to leave in the Iland certaine Hogs for increase. But the time not serving my purpose by reason of contrarie winde, I could bring my ship no neerer the Iland, being twelve leagues in length, and sixe in breadth, and about thirtie in circuit, lying in the three and thirtieth degree of the North side. While I remayned here, I saw a strife and combat betweene these flying fishes, and the fishes named Gilt heads, and the fowles called Sea-mewes, and Cormorants, which surely seemed unto me a thing of as great pleasure and solace as could be devised, while the Gilt heads swam on the brim of the water, and sometimes lifted their shoulders above the same, to raise the flying fishes out of the water to drive them to flight, and follow them swimming to the place where they fall, to take and eate them suddenly. Againe on the other side, the Sea-mewes and Cormorants, take many of these flying fishes, so that by this meanes they are neither safe in the Aire, nor in the Water. In the selfe same perill and danger doe men live in this mortall life, wherein is no certaine securitie, neither in high estate, nor in lowe. Which thing surely ought to put us in remembrance of that blessed and safe resting place which God hath prepared for such as love him, who shall acquiet and finish the travailes of this troublesome world, wherein are so many dangers, and bring them to that eternall life where they shall finde eternall securitie and rest.

The Iland of Bermuda.

Not too hie for the Pie, Nor too low for the Crow.

Of the increase and decrease (that is) rising and falling of our Ocean Sea, and South Sea, called the Sea of Sur.

I Will now speake of certaine things which are seene in the Province, or at the least in the Citie of Golden Castile, otherwise called Beragua, and in the coasts of the North Sea, and of the South Sea, called the Sea of Sur, not omitting to note one singular and marvellous thing which I have considered of the Ocean Sea, whereof hitherto no Cosmographer, Pilot, or Mariner, or any other, have satisfied me. I say therefore, as it is well knowne to your Majestie, and all such as have knowledge of the Ocean Sea, that this great Ocean casteth from it selfe the Sea Mediterraneum by the mouth of the Straight of Gibralterra, in the which the water, from the end and furthest part of that Sea, even unto the mouth of the said Straight, either in the East toward the coast commonly called Levante, or in any other part of the said Sea Mediterraneum, the Sea doth not so fall nor increase, as reason would judge for so great a Sea, but increaseth very little, and a small space: Neverthelesse, without the mouth of the Straight in the mayne Ocean, it increaseth and falleth very much, and a great space of ground, from sixe houres to sixe houres, as in all the coasts of Spaine, Britaine, Flanders, Germanie, and England. The selfe same Ocean Sea in the firme Land newly found, in the coasts of the same lying toward the North, doth neither rise nor fall, nor likewise in the Ilands of Hispaniola and Cuba, and all the other Ilands of the same lying toward the North, for the space of three thousand leagues, but onely in like manner as doth the Sea Mediterraneum in Italie, which is in manner nothing, in respect to that increase and decrease which the said Ocean hath in the coasts of Spaine and Flanders. But this is yet a greater thing, that also the selfe same Ocean in the coast of the said firme Land lying toward the South, in the Citie of Panama, and also

Beragua.

The West Ocean.

The Sea Mediterraneum.

Hispaniola.
Cuba.

Ocean without ebbing and flowing.

in the coast of that Land which lyeth toward the East and West from that Citie, as in the Iland of Pearles or Margarita, which the Indians call Tarrarequi, and also in Taboga and Otoque, and in all other Ilands of the South Sea of Sur, the water riseth and falleth so much, that when it falleth, it goeth in manner out of sight, which thing I my selfe have seene oftentimes. And here your Majestie may note another thing, that from the North Sea to the South Sea, being of such difference the one from the other in rising and falling, yet is the Land that divideth them not past eighteene or twentie leagues in breadth from Coast to Coast: So that both the said Seas, being all one Ocean, this strange effect is a thing worthy greatly to bee considered of all such as have inclination and desire to know the secret workes of Nature, wherein the infinite power and wisedome of God is seene to be such, as may allure all good Natures to reverence and love so divine a Majestie.

The ebbe at Panama falleth two leagues or sixe miles.

The South Sea.

Of the straight or narrow passage of the Land lying betweene the North and South Sea, by the which Spices may much sooner and easilier be brought from the Ilands of Molucca into Spaine by the West Ocean, then by that way whereby the Portugals saile into the East India.

THe firme Land in some parts thereof is so straight and narrow, that the Indians say, that from the Mountaines of the Province of Esquegua or Urraca (which are betweene the one Sea and the other) if a man ascend to the top of the Mountaines, and looke toward the North, he may see the Water of the North Sea of the Province of Beragua: and againe looking the contrarie way, may on the other side (towards the South) see the Sea of Sur, and the Provinces which confine with it, as doe the Territories of the two Lords or Kings of the said

Esquegua and Urraca.

[III. v. 990.]

Provinces of Urraca and Esquegua. Some measure this way in this part, to bee from Sea to Sea eighteene leagues, which I suppose to bee rather twentie, not for that it is any more by measure, but because it is rough and difficult, as I have said, and as I have found it by experience, having now twise passed that way by foote, counting from the Port and Village of Nombre de Dios, unto the Dominion of the Cacique of Juanaga, otherwise called Capira, eight leagues, and from thence to the River of Chagre, other eight leagues. So that at this River, being sixteene leagues from the said Port, endeth the roughnesse of the way: then from hence to the marvellous Bridge are two leagues, and beyond that, other two, unto the Port of Panama: So that all together, in my judgement, make twentie leagues. It is a marvellous facilitie to bring Spices by this way which I will now declare. From Panama to the River of Chagre, are foure leagues of good and faire way, by the which Carts may passe at pleasure, by reason that the Mountaines are but few and little, and that the greatest part of these foure leagues is a plaine ground void of Trees: and when the Carts are come to the said River, the Spices may be carried in Barkes and Pinases. For this River entreth into the North Sea five or sixe leagues lower then the Port of Nomen Dei, and emptieth it selfe in the Sea neere unto an Iland called Bastimento, where is a very good and safe Port. Your Majestie may now therefore consider, how great a thing, and what commoditie it may be to convey Spices this way, forasmuch as the River of Chagre, having his originall onely two leagues from the South Sea, continueth his course, and emptieth it selfe into the other North Sea. This River runneth fast, and is very great, and so commodious for this purpose as may bee thought or desired: the marvellous Bridge made by the worke of Nature, being two leagues beyond the said River, and other two leagues on this side the Port of Panama, so lying in the mid way betweene them both, as framed naturally in such sort, that none which passe by this voyage doth see any such Bridge,

The River of Chagre.

The Iland Bastimento.

The marvellous Bridge.

or thinke that there is any such building in that place, untill they be in the top thereof, in the way toward Panama: But assoone as they are on the Bridge, looking toward the right hand, they see a little River under them, which hath his Channell distant from the feete of them that walke over it, the space of two speares length or more. The water of this River is very shallow, not passing the depth of a mans legge to the knee, and is in breadth betweene thirtie and fortie paces, and falleth into the River of Chagre. Toward the right hand, standing on this Bridge, there is nothing seene but great Trees.

Naturall stone Bridge. The largenesse of the Bridge contayneth fifteene paces, and the length thereof about threescore or fourscore paces: The Arch is so made of most hard stone, that no man can behold it without admiration, being made by the High and Omnipotent Creator of all things.

How things that are of one kinde, differ in forme and qualitie, according to the nature of the place where they are engendred or grow, and of the beasts called Tigres.

Tigres. IN the firme Land are found many terrible beasts, which some thinke to be Tigres. Which thing neverthelesse I dare not affirme, considering what Authors doe write of the lightnesse and agilitie of the Tigre, whereas this beast, being otherwise in shape very like unto a Tigre, is notwithstanding very slow. Yet true it is, that according to the marvailes of the World, and differences which naturall things have in divers Regions under Heaven, and divers constellations of the same, under the which they

Plants and herbes. are created, wee see that some such Plants and Herbes as are hurtfull in one Countrie, are harmelesse and wholesome in other Regions.

Birds. And Birds which in one Province are of good taste, are in other so unsavourie that they

Men. may not bee eaten. Men likewise which in some Countries are blacke, are in other places white: and yet are both these and they, men. Even so may it be, that

Tigres are light in some Region, as they write, and may neverthelesse be slow and heavie in these Indies of your Majestie, whereof wee speake. The Sheepe of Arabie draw their tailes long and bigge on the ground, and the Bulls of Egypt have their haire growing toward their heads: yet are those Sheepe, and these Bulls. Men in some Countries are hardie and of good courage, and in other naturally fearfull and bruitish. All these things, and many more, which may be said to this purpose, are easie to bee prooved, and worthy to bee beleeved, of such as have read of the like in Authors, or travelled the World, whereby their owne sight may teach them the experience of these things whereof I speake. It is also manifest that Jucca, whereof they make their bread in the Iland of Hispaniola, is deadly poison if it be eaten greene with the juyce: and yet hath it no such propertie in the firme Land, where I have eaten it many times, and found it to be a good fruit. The Bats of Spaine, although they bite, yet are they not venemous: but in the firme Land, many die that are bitten of them. And in this forme may so many things be said, that time shall not suffice to write, whereas my intent is onely to proove that this beast may be a Tigre, or of the kinde of Tigres, although it bee not of such lightnesse and swiftnesse, as are they whereof Plinie and other authors speake, describing it to bee one of the swiftest beasts of the Land, and that the River of Tygris for the swift course thereof was called by that name. The first Spaniards, which saw this Tyger in the firme land, did so name it. Of the kind of these, was that which Don Diego Columbo, the Admiral sent your Majesty out of New Spaine to Toledo. Their heads are like to the heads of Lions, or Lionesses, but greater: the rest of all their bodies, and their legs, are full of black spots one neere unto another, & divided with a circumference, or fringe of red colour, shewing (as it were) a faire work and correspondent picture, about their croopes or hinder parts, they have these spots biggest and lesse & lesse toward their bellies, legs, & heads. I

Sheepe.

Bulls.

Jucca.

Bats.

[III. v. 991.]

Plinie.

The Tigre.

have seen some of three spans in height, and more then five in length. They are beasts of great force, with strong legs, and well armed with nayles and fanges, which we call Dog-teeth: they are so fierce, that in my judgement, no reall Lyon of the biggest sort is so strong or fierce. Of these, there are many found in the firme Land, which devoure many of the Indians, and doe much hurt otherwise: but since the comming of the Christians, many have beene killed with Crosse-bowes after this manner.

The hunting of Tigres. Assoone as the Archer hath knowledge of the haunt of any of these Tygers, hee goeth searching their trace, with his Crosse-bow, and with a little Hound or Begle, & not with a grey-hound; because this Beast would soon kill any Dogge that would venter on him: When the Hound hath found the Tigre, he runneth about him baying continually, and approacheth so neere him, snapping and grinning, with so quicke flying and returning, that he hereby so molesteth this fierce Beast, that hee driveth him to take the next Tree, at the foot whereof he remayneth still baying, and the Tigre grinning and shewing his teeth, while in the meane time the Archer commeth neere, and twelve or fourteene paces off, striketh him with the querell of his Crosse-bow in the brest, and flyeth incontinent, leaving the Tigre in his travell for life and death, byting the Tree and eating earth for fiercenesse: then within the space of two or three houres, or the day following, the Archer returneth thither, and with his Dogge findeth the place where hee lyeth dead. The Indians (and especially they of the firme Land in the Province which the Catholike King Don Ferdinando commanded to bee called Golden Castile) call this Beast Ochi. This thing is strange that chanced of late: that whereas the Tigre whereof we have made mention before, would have killed his keeper that then kept him in a Cage, was in few daies after made so

A Tigre made tame. tame, that he led her tyed only with a small coard, and plaid with her so familiarly, that I marvelled greatly to see it, yet not without certaine beliefe that this friendship will not last long, without danger of life to the Keeper,

forasmuch as surely these Beasts are not meet to be among men, for their fiercenesse and cruell nature that cannot be tamed.

Of the manners and customes of the Indians of the Firme Land, and of their women.

THe manners and customes of these Indians, are divers in divers Provinces. Some of them take as many Wives as them list, and other live with one Wife, whom they forsake not without consent of both parties, which chanceth especially when they have no children. The Nobilitie aswel men as women, repute it infamous to joyne with any of base Parentage or Strangers, except Christians, whom they count Noblemen, by reason of their valiantnesse, although they put a difference betweene the common sort and the other to whom they shew obedience, counting it for a great matter and an honorable thing, if they bee beloved of any of them: insomuch that if they know any Christian man carnally, they keepe their faith to him, so that hee be not long absent farre from them, for their intent is not to be Widdowes, or to live chaste like religious women. Many of them have this custome, that when they perceive that they are with childe, they take an Hearbe wherewith they destroy that is conceived: for they say that only well aged women should beare children, and that they will not forbeare their pleasures, and deforme their bodies with bearing of children, whereby their Teates become loose and hanging, which thing they greatly dispraise. When they are delivered of their children, they goe to the River and wash them, which done, their bloud and purgation ceasseth immediately: And when after this they have a few dayes absteined from the company of men, they become so streight, as they say which have had carnal familiaritie with them, that such as use them, cannot without much difficultie satisfie their appetite: They also which never had children, are ever as Virgins. In some parts they weare certaine little Aprons round about them

The Indian women.

Unnaturall abortions.

Large breasts.

Child-birth.

before and behind, as low as to their knees and hammes, wherewith they cover their privy parts, and are naked all their bodie beside. The principall men beare their Privities in a hollow Pipe of Gold, but the common sort have them inclosed in the shells of certaine great Welkes, and are beside utterly naked: For they thinke it no more shame to have their Cods seene, then any other part of their bodies: and in many Provinces both the men and women goe utterly naked, without any such coverture at all. In the Province of Cueva they call a man Chuy, and a woman Ira, which name is not greatly disagreeable to many both of their women and of ours.

The men of India.

These Indians give great honor and reverence to their Caciques (that is) their Kings and Rulers. The principall Cacique, hath twelve of his most strong Indians appointed to beare him, when he removeth to any place, or goeth abroad for his pleasure. Two of them carrie him sitting upon a long peece of wood, which is naturally as light as they can finde, the other ten follow next unto him as footemen: they keepe continually a trotting pase with him on their shoulders. When the two that carrie him are wearie, other two come in their places, without any disturbance or stay. And thus if the way be plaine, they carry him in this manner for the space of fifteene or twenty leagues in one day. The Indians that are assigned to this office, are for the most part slaves, or Naboriti, that is, such as are bound to continuall service.

[III. v. 992.]

The King is borne on mens backes.

I have also noted that when the Indians perceive themselves to be troubled with too much bloud, they let themselves bloud in the calfe of their legges, and brawnes of their armes: this doe they with a very sharpe stone, and sometimes with the small tooth of a Viper, or with a sharpe reede or thorne. All the Indians are commonly without Beards, in so much that it is in a manner a marvell to see any of them either men or women to have any downe or haire on their faces, or other parts of their bodies: Albeit I saw the Cacique of the Province of Catarapa, who had haire on his face and other parts of

Letting of bloud.

They have no beards.

his body, as had also his wife in such places as women are accustomed to have. This Cacique had a great part of his body painted with a blacke colour, which never fadeth, and is much like unto that wherewith the Moores paint themselves in Barbarie in token of Nobilitie. But the Moores are painted specially on their visage and throate, and certaine other parts. Likewise the principall Indians use these paintings on their armes and breasts, but not on their visages, because among them the slaves are so marked. When the Indians of certaine Provinces goe to the battaile (especially the Caniball Archers) they carrie certaine shels of great welkes of the Sea, which they blow, and make therewith great sound, much like the noise of Hornes: they carrie also certaine Timbrels, which they use in the stead of Drummes: also very faire Plumes of Feathers, and certaine armour of gold, especially great and round peeces on their breasts, and splints on their armes. Likewise other peeces, which they put on their heads and other parts of their bodies: For they esteeme nothing so much as to appeare gallant in the warres, and to goe in most comely order that they can devise, glistering with precious Stones, Jewels, Gold, and Feathers. Of the least of these welkes or perewincles, they make certaine little Beades, of divers sorts and colours: they make also little Bracelets, which they mingle with gaudes of Gold, these they roule about their armes from the elbow to the wrest of the hand. The like also doe they on their legges from the knees to the soles of their feete, in token of Nobilitie, especially their Noble Women in divers Provinces are accustomed to weare such Jewels, and have their neckes in manner laden therewith: these Beades and Jewels, and such other trinkets, they call Caquiras. Beside these also, they weare certaine Rings of Gold at their eares and nostrels, which they bore full of holes on both sides, so that the Rings hang upon their lippes. Some of these Indians are poulde and rounded; albeit commonly both the Men and Women take it for a decent thing to weare long haire, which the women weare to the middest of

They paint their bodies.

The Canibals Trumpets.

Armor of gold.

Their gallantnesse in the warres.

Their Jewels.

their shoulders, and cut it equally, especially above their browes: this doe they with certaine hard Stones, which they keepe for the same purpose. The principall Women, when their teates fall, or become loose, beare them up with barres of Gold, of the length of a spanne and a halfe, well wrought, and of such bignesse that some of them weigh more then two hundred Castelans or Ducades of Gold: these barres have holes at both the ends, whereat they tye two small cords made of Cotton at every end of the barres: one of these cords goeth over the shoulder, and the other under the arme holes, where they tye both together, so that by this meanes the barre beareth up their teates. Some of these chiefe Women goe to the battaile with their Husbands, or when they themselves are regents in any Provinces, in the which they have all things at commandement, and execute the office of generall Captaines, and cause themselves to be carried on mens backs, in like manner as doe the Caciques, of whom I have spoken before.

How the women beare up their teates with bars of Gold.

The stature & colour of the Indians.

These Indians of the firme Land are much of the same stature and colour as are they of the Ilands: they are for the most part of the colour of an Olive: if there be any other difference, it is more in bignesse then otherwise, and especially they that are called Coronati, are stronger and bigger then any other that I have seene in these parts, except those of the Iland of Giants, which are on the South side of the Iland of Hispaniola, neere unto the coasts of the firme Land, and likewise certain other which they call Jucatos, which are on the North side. All which chiefly, although they be no Giants, yet are they doubtlesse the biggest of the Indians that are known to this day, and commonly bigger then the Flemings; and especially many of them, as well women as men, are of very high stature, and are all archers both men and women. These Coronati inhabit thirtie leagues in length by these coasts, from the point of Canoa to the great river which they call Guadalchiber, neere unto Sancta Maria de gratia. As I traversed by those coasts, I filled a butt of fresh

The Indians called Coronati.

The Iland of Giants.

Jucatos.

water of that river, six leagues in the Sea from the mouth thereof where it falleth into the Sea. They are called Coronati (that is Crowned) because their haire is cut round by their eares, and poulde lower a great compasse about the Crowne, much like the Friers of Saint Augustines Order. And because I have spoken of their manner of wearing their haire, here commeth to my remembrance [III. v. 993.] a thing which I have oftentimes noted in these Indians: and this is, that they have the bones of the sculs of their heads foure times thicker, and much stronger then ours, so that in comming to handstroakes with them, it shall be requisite not to strike them on the heads with swords, for so have many swords beene broken on their heads, with little hurt done.

The sculs of Indians heads.

Of the chiefe Ilands, Hispaniola and Cuba.

THe Indians which at this present inhabit the Iland of Hispaniola, are but few in number, and the Christians not so many as they ought to be, for as much as many of them that were in this Iland, are gone to other Ilands, and to the firme Land. For being for the most part yong men unmarried, and desirous daily to see new things, wherein mans nature delighteth, they were not willing to continue long in one place, especially seeing daily other new Lands discovered, where they thought they might sooner fill their Purses, by being present at the first spoile: Wherein neverthelesse their hope deceived many of them, and especially such as had houses and habitations in this Iland: For I certainely beleeve, confirming my selfe herein with the judgement of many other, that if any one Prince had no more seignories then onely this Iland, it should in short time be such, as not to give place either to Sicilie or England, whereas even at this present there is nothing wherefore it would malice their prosperity, not being inferiour to them in any felicity, that in manner the heavens can grant to any Land: being furthermore such as may inrich many Provinces and King-

Men are desirous of new things.

The commodities of Hispaniola, England, and Sicilie.

Gold Mines. domes, by reason of many rich Gold Mines that are in it, of the best Gold that is found to this day in the world, and in greatest quantitie. In this Iland, nature of her *Cotton.* selfe bringeth forth such abundance of Cotton, that if it were wrought and maintained, there should be more and better then in any part of the world. There is so great *Cassia.* plentie of excellent Cassia, that a great quantitie is brought from thence into Spaine, from whence it is carried to divers parts of the world, &c.

Sheepe and Hogs. In this Iland furthermore are many Sheepe, and a great number of Hogges, of the which (as also of the Kine) *Dogs and Cats become wilde.* many are become wilde, and likewise many Dogges and Cats, of those which were brought out of Spaine: These *The scituation of Hispaniola.* (and especially the Dogs) doe much hurt among the Cattell, by reason of the negligence of the Heard-men. There are also many Horses, Mares, and Mules, and such other Beasts as serve the use of men in Spaine, and are much greater then they of the first broode brought thither out of Spaine.

A Cathedrall Church and Monasteries in Hispaniola. Saint Domingo was built by line and rule: the Houses of Stone very faire. There is also a Cathedrall Church builded of late, where as well the Bishop according to his dignity, as also the Canons are well endowed. This Church is well builded of Stone and Lime, and of good workmanship. There are furthermore three Monasteries, bearing the name of S. Dominicke, S. Francis, and S. Marie of Mercedes, the which are al wel builded, although not so curiously as they of Spain. There is also a very *An Hospitall.* good Hospital for the aid & succor of poore people, which was found by Michael Passamont, treasurer to your *The people.* Majestie. The people of this Iland are commonly of somewhat lesse stature then are the Spaniards, & of a shining or cleare brown color: they have Wives of their own, and abstaine from their Daughters, Sisters & Mothers: they have large foreheads, long black haire, and no beards or haire in any other parts of their bodies, as well Men as Women, except very few, as perhaps scarsly one among a thousand. They goe as naked as

they were borne, except that on the parts which may not with honestie be seene, they weare a certaine leafe as broad as a mans hand, which neverthelesse is not kept close with such diligence, but that sometimes a man may see that they thinke sufficiently hid. In this Iland are certaine Glowormes, that shine in the night as doe ours, but are much bigger, and give a greater light: In so much that when the men of the Iland goe any journies in the night, they beare some of these wormes made fast about their feete and head, in such sort that he that should see them a farre, and ignorant of the thing, would be greatly astonished thereat. By the light of these also, the women worke in their houses in the night. These wormes they call Cievas. Their light lasteth for the space of three dayes, and diminisheth as they begin to drie up. There is also a kinde of Crowes, whose breath stinketh in the morning, and is sweete in the afternoone: the excrement which they avoide, is a living worme.

Cievas a kinde of Glowormes.

Crowes stinking and sweet.

In Cuba, is a certaine kinde of Partridges, being very little, with their feathers much of the colour of Turtle Doves, but are of much better taste to be eaten: they are taken in great number, and being brought wilde into the houses, they become as tame within the space of three or foure dayes as though they had beene hatched there: they become exceeding fat in short space, and are doubtlesse the most delicate and pleasant meate that ever I have eaten. But to let passe many other things that might be here said, and to speake of two marveilous things which are in this Iland of Cuba: whereof the one is, that a Valley containing two or three leagues in length betweene two Mountaines, is full of a kinde of very hard Stones, of such perfect roundnesse, and like unto Pellets of Gunnes, that no art can make better or more exactly polished. Of these, some are as small as Pellets for Handgunnes, and other so encreasing bigger and bigger from that quantitie, that they may serve for all sorts of Artillerie, although they be of bignesse to receive one or two or more Quintales of powder, every Quintale

Partridges.

Bullets for Guns wrought by nature.

[III. v. 994.]

containing one hundred weight, or of what other quantitie soever they be. These Pellets are found throughout all the Valley within the earth, as in a Mine, which they digge, and take out such as they neede of all sorts. The other marveilous thing of this Iland is this: That farre from the Sea, there issueth out of a Mountaine a certaine liquor, much like the Clay of Babylon, called Bitumen, or like unto Pitch, in great quantitie, and such as is very commodious for the calking of Shippes: this falleth continually from the Rocke, and runneth into Sea, in such abundance that it is seene floting above the water on every side of the Sea thereabout, as it is driven from place to place by the winde, or course of the water. Quintus Curtius writeth in his Historie, that great Alexander came to the Citie of Memi, where is a great Cave or Denne, in the which is a Spring or Fountaine that continually avoideth a great quantitie of Bitumen, in such sort, that it is an easie thing to beleeve that the stones of the wals of Babylon might be laid therewith, according as the said Author writeth. I have seene this Mine of Bitumen, not onely in the Iland of Cuba, but also such another in new Spaine, in the Province of Panuco.

A Fountaine of the Pitch of Bitumen.

Quintus Curtius.

Bitumen of Babylon.

Thus farre I have given you from Master Eden his Edition, wherein because many things necessary to the naturall History of the Indies are in the Authors Summarie, and in his 20. Books of a larger Historie, I have added hither such things as I thought fittest.

The Utias are like great Rats, and the Cories like Conies, of which the people in Hispaniola eate, as also of the Yuanas. Chemi and Mohui are little creatures also in that Iland: which and their little mute Dogges were all the foure footed Beasts they had, save that of Rats there is some question. The Indians of Jamaica and Cuba use to catch fish with the fish Roverso, as Huntsmen or Falconers use Hounds or Haukes in their game. The Indians take it sometimes in their Nets, of which I have eaten: and when they will bring up one of them they feede it in the Sea and carrie it tied to their Canoa by a

The Roverso a strange fish to hunt with.

strong line, which when they see a fish fit for pray, they loosen and use words to excite courage and valour in this fish; which presently flies like an arrow at that fish and fastens thereon, and the Indian lets the line runne out at length (being oiled, of many fadomes, and having a peece of wood at the end to buoy it,) till the fish be wearied: this little fish (little above a spanne long, unsightly to looke on) still holding fast, till the Indian gathering in his cord, prepares to shoare to take the greater fish, with much commendation and words of encouragement to this chase-fish, perswading him to let goe his hold, which otherwise should sooner by violence breake in peeces this Huntsman, then force him to unfasten. Thus will he fasten on the belly of a Tortoise so great that two Indians and sometimes sixe have enough to doe to carrie the same to their houses. This fish Roverso hath scailes Staire fashioned, or like the roofe of a mans mouth, and on them certain prickles very sharpe and strong, whereby he fastens himselfe to what fish him pleaseth: and these prickly scales he hath on the most part of his body.

Perhaps this Roverso is the little fish which cleaveth to the Sharke and is by him carried in all his Chases, feeding on the scraps.

They have likewise a cunning wild-goose-chase, in a great Lake casting in certaine great emptie Pompons in the season when Geese resort thither, wherewith they being accustomed grow out of feare and will sit on them to bee carried. Being thus acquainted, the Indian puts one of these emptie Pompons on his head, and with much dexteritie of swimming enters amongst the Geese, and when one hath made him his Porter, no part of his body being seene, he swimmes from the rest, and then with his hand pulls her in, and hangs her thus strangled at his girdle, and begins a fresh game.

When their Caciques are dead they lay them on a piece of wood or stone, and make a fire about the same which may not burne them, but by degrees draw forth all the moysture in sweat, leaving onely the skin and bones, and then in a place separate repose the same with the Ancestors which before had beene so dealt with: this being their best Booke of Heraldrie to recount the Names and severall

Memorials of the dead.

Descents in that Pedegree. If any die in battell, or so that they cannot recover his body, they compose Songs which the Children learne touching him, and the manner of his death, to supply that memoriall. These Songs they call Areytos. As for Letters they were so ignorant, that seeing the intercourse of Spaniards by Letters, they thought that Letters could speake, and were very cautelous in their carriage of them, lest the Letters might accuse them of ill demeanor by the way. When they will disport themselves, the Men and Women meet and take each other by the hand, and one goeth before which is called Tequina or their Master, with certaine paces measured to his singing in a low voice what commeth in his minde, and after him all the multitude answereth in a higher voice with like measures proportioned to the tune, and so continue they three or foure houres, with Chicha or Mayz-wine among; sometimes also changing the Tequina and taking another with a new tune and song. Their Houses are commonly round like a Tent, and sometimes with a double water passage (which they call Buhio) of good Timber, thatched with Straw or long Grasse, the Walls of Reed pitched into the ground. In the Province of Abrayne in Golden Castile and thereabouts, there are many Villages of Indians which dwell on the tops of Trees in Houses or Roomes there made, to which they ascend by certaine staires of Besuco, which growes about * Trees, and is used to binde their Walls and Timbers in their houses before mentioned. Beneath, the ground is fenny and covered with water not so high as a man: and where it is deeper, they use Canoas, and therewith passe to drie Land to sow their Mays and Jucca, Battatas and Aies. In those houses they are secured from wild Beasts, Enemies and Fire. They are not Archers, and use Clubs. In the Gulfe of Uraba where Rio Grande enters the Sea, are many Palme trees in the middest of the River growing neere together, on the tops whereof are houses made as the former and much bigger, in which many Inhabitants dwell together, and have their beds tyed to the lower parts

Ignorance of Letters.

Areytos, songs and dances.

Houses of three sorts.

[III. v. 995.]

**Besuco seemes to be as bind-weed or Ivie, but stronger and more pliant.*

of the said Palme trees. These beds they call Hamacas, being coverlets of Cotten of good threed and well woven, of two or three braces long, but narrower, with cordes at the ends. The cords are of Cotton, or of Henequen or Cabuya, this the courser threed, that the finer and able to cut Iron; made of the leafe of a certaine herbe. These Indians fight also with Clubs, and did much harme to Captaine Vasco Nunes di Balboa his men, which returned with losse not able to over-come them. I have also observed that these Indians have the bones of their skulls foure times as thicke as those of the Christians, so that to strike them with a Sword must be warily done, the Swords being thereby often broken.

The beasts of those parts.

Besides the Tigre and other beasts before mentioned, in the firme Land are the Beori (the Christians call them Dants, not that they are such, but for some resemblance, as is also said of the Tigre) of the bignesse of a meane Mule, without hornes, ash-coloured: they know not to dresse and tanne their hides. They take them with Dogs, but if they take water, they are fierce and cruell. The Gatto Cerviero is as bigge as the Tigre and very fierce, more dreadfull to the Christians, the swiftest beast yet found in those parts. The Lions are a little lesse then those of Barbarie and not so full of courage, but fearfull and fugitive, and hurt none but such as assault them. The Leopards are like those of Barbarie, and are swift and fierce, but neither these nor the Lions have yet done Christians any harme, nor doe they eate the Indians as the Tigres doe. The Foxes are like those of Spaine, but in colour blacker then blacke velvet, and somewhat lesse then of Spaine. The Red Deere are as those of Spaine, but not so swift. Their Fallow Deere are like those of Spaine, but both Red and Fallow exceed the Spanish in taste. Their Conies or Hares are somewhat like ours, but liker Hares then Conies, yet lesse then the Conies of Spaine. The Marterns are like to those of Spaine in bignesse, biting and otherwise: some of them are kept tame and are as full of sport and lesse filthy then the Monkeys.

Dants.

Gatto Cerviero.

Leopards.

Foxes.

Red and fallow Deere.

Marterns.

Monkeys.

The Monkeys are of innumerable sorts and shapes: some of them so suttle as they imitate the actions of men, as breaking of Pine-apples and Almonds with stones: some will throw stones at passengers, or breake boughs to fall on them as they passe by to breake their heads, and retort the arrowes shot at them, and doe other things incredible. Some are as little or lesser then a mans hand, and some

Dogs. as great as a meane Mastiffe. The Indian Dogs are little and barke not, some hayrie and some bare, but wagge the taile and leape on those which feede them, and are not

Churchia. so tame as ours. The Churchia is as bigge as a small Conie, tawnie, sharpe-snowted, dog-toothed, long-tayled and eared like a Rat. They doe great harme to their Hennes, killing sometimes twentie or more at once to sucke their bloud: And if they then have young, shee carrieth them with her in a bagge of skin under her belly, running alongst the same like a Satchell, which shee opens and shuts at pleasure to let them in and out: and if any come with light when the Damme and young are at their Hen-bloud dainties, shee receives them into this bagge, and runneth away with them: and if shee finde the way stopped, shee climbeth up above the Hen-roost, and is sometimes taken alive or dead in this manner, as I have seene. Her Teats are within her bagge. It is a stinking creature.

Fowles. Of Fowles, they have Eagles, Hawkes, Buzzards, Ravens, &c. as in Spaine. Other differing sorts they have so many that they need rather a Painter then Relator to

Parrots. describe them. Of Parrots I carried ten or twelve sorts at once to King Ferdinand. They flie by couples, a Male and Female together: and doe much harme to their Corne

Night-sparrows. grounds. There are Night-sparrowes which flie by night onely, and strike at the Bats, holding a pleasant pursute after them. They are bigger and swifter then Swallowes, having a row of white feathers overthwart the wing. The

Bats. Bats draw much bloud by their bitings; and if they bite one man amongst an hundred persons, the same Bat will in the nights following still single the same person. They

stanch the bloud with hot ashes, or water as hot as may be endured, and so I have beene cured. There are Peacocks, some yellow, some blacke, with tailes like those of Spaine: they are better meat: some are wilde, and some tame, which are brought home young. Other Peacocks they have, of which the Hens are ill shaped, the Males have not so great a taile as ours: their necke also is bare of feathers, but covered with a skin which they change after their phantasie into divers colours. They have a horne as it were on their front, and haires on the breast (the last seeme Turkeys.) *Peacocks and Turkeys.*

The Sea-Crowes are so many which on the coast of Panama follow the Pilchards or Sardines (as is before said of the Alcatrazzi) that lighting or hovering on the Sea, they seeme to cover the same with a blacke carpet of cloth or velvet, going and comming with the Sea. There are Wilde Hens as great as Peacocks, blacke, the head part of the necke gray skins, and not feathered: they eate Carrion and are of unsavourie taste to be eaten; smell like muske whiles they are alive, but that sent dyeth with them: neither are they good for any thing, except their quills to feather arrowes. They are desirous to live about places inhabited to feede on Carrion. The Partriches are gray, as savourie as those of Spaine, and as great as the Spanish Hens: they have their brawnes or flesh double, one over the other. Their egges are as bigge as Hens egges, but rounder, and coloured like a fine Turkesse stone. The Indians making a sound like theirs, draw them to their nets. There are also a lesse kinde. The Pheasants are not in feathers like those of Spaine, nor so goodly, but very savourie meate like the great Partriches, but are not so great; they are gray, have long legs and tailes, make a loud whistling noise, and are easily shot. *Sea-crowes.* *Wilde Hennes.* [III. v. 996.] *Partriches.* *Pheasants.*

Flies are not there so many as in these parts of Europe. Their Waspes are greater and sting more dangerously. Their Bees are almost as small as flies, and sting not. They have great Hives and Combes which hold foure times as much Honie as ours: their Honie is white. *Flies, and Wasps, Bees, Ants, &c.*

Ants are great, many, and doe much damage to the Trees, Sugars, and other provisions. There are of many sorts, some little and black (of which and the Ant-beare is spoken before) some called Conixen halfe Ant, halfe Worme, very hurtfull; they carry earth on their heads, and therewith on trees, walls, or where they please build their nests, three or foure spans large, and are as hurtfull to houses as Moths to clothes. There are others greater of divers sorts, some as bigge as Bees with us, so poysonfull that herewith the Indians infect their arrowes so remedilesse, that not foure of an hundred which are wounded escape: and if this Ant bite a Man he presently falls into a grievous feaver, and the place swelleth much. There are others red, yellow, and some winged. Of Hornets or Horse-flies (Tafani) are many sorts, tedious to expresse. There are also Scorpions in the firme Land. An. 1519. and two yeeres after the Ants destroyed in Hispaniola their Cannafistola, Oranges, and fruit Trees, neither in their houses could they keepe victualls for their multitudes, destroying all like the African Grasse-hoppers, in so much that Saint Domingo was nigh dispeopled by them.

Hist. G. l. 15. c. 1. vid. inf. Historia Gen. l. 2. c. 14.

Beginnings of the foule disease.

They laugh in India to heare the disease called French by the Italians, and Neapolitan by the French, which may indeed be called Indian, where the best remedie Lignum Sanctum, and Guaiacan grow; God so in judgement remembring mercy, that where our sinnes produce a punishment, he also sends a remedie. I had acquaintance with divers which went in the first and second voyages of Columbus: of which was Peter Margarite Commendator in the second voyage, of most respect with the King and Queene, who complayned of those paines. Soone after, in the yeere 1496. began the disease to arrest some Courtiers; but in those beginnings, it was onely amongst baser persons of small authoritie: and it was thought that they got it with having to doe with common women. But afterwards it extended to principall Persons, and the Physicians could not tell what to thinke of it, so that many dyed. When after this Gonzalo Fernandes di

Cordova was sent with a great Armie by the Catholike Kings, in behalfe of Ferdinand the second King of Naples, against Charles the French King, some diseased persons went with that Armie, and by dealing with the women, and by conversing, spread the disease to the Italians and French-men, which thence got the names aforesaid, but indeed came from Hispaniola: where it is ordinarie, and the remedie also. Our Author l. 17. c. 4. and Ramusio in his Preface to his third Tome say, That the Souldiers of Pamfilo de Navaz having the small pocks infected the Indians, which never before had heard of that disease: in so much that of 1600000. soules in that Iland there are so few left, as by and by you shall heare. The Niguas also, creatures lesse then Fleas, which eate in the flesh very dangerously, are rife in that Iland. The people of that Iland when first they were divided amongst the Spanish Planters, were deemed a Million or more (some say 1600000.) of which and of their posteritie in the yeere 1535. were not above five hundred left, little and great, the rest which then were there being Slaves brought thither from other parts. The covetousnesse of the Myne-workers, neglect of Diet, change of Governours growing worse and worse, caused them to poyson, kill, and hang themselves, besides those which were consumed by infectious or pestilentiall pocks * and other diseases: Their owne vices, also Sodomitrie, Idolatrie, &c. provoked divine Justice against them. No provision could hinder their consumption. The King sent Religious men of divers Orders, but this I know that the Dominicans and Franciscans contradicted each other, and what one approved the other disallowed, although after the other had left that opinion, the Contradictors would embrace it, still agreeing in disagreeing: which caused much danger not onely to new Converts, but also to old Christians: whiles one Order would not absolve them except they franchised the Indians, and the other absolved them neverthelesse. Much disputation hath beene about the Indians service amongst the Thomists, Canonists, and famous Lawyers

Lib. 3. *c.* 5.

**Those before mentioned out of Ramusio.*

Friars quarrels.

Lib. 4. *c.* 2.

and Divines, but their differences have done little good to the Indians or the plantation; and in a short time both this Iland and the three adjoyning, Saint John, Jamaica, and Cuba, remayned desolate, being by the Friars meanes (which I thinke, meant well) dispersed thorow the Iland, to lessen their labours, which the Gentlemen imposed on them. I am of opinion that if a Christian Prince had this Iland of Hispaniola onely, hee might make it as good as either England or Sicily: such is the store of Gold, the prosperous successe of things carried from Spaine, the Beeves (which I knew first carried thither from Spaine) being alreadie so multiplyed that they kill them for the Hides, leaving the flesh in the fields of five hundred at once: and Roderigo di Bastidas Bishop of Venesuela hath therein 16000. Beeves, and the Treasurer Passamonte as many; others 8000. or more, likewise in other Beasts, Seeds, Oranges, Limons, Figs, Pomegranets, &c.

Lib. 3. *c.* 11.

[III. v. 997.]

Oviedos fift Booke is of their religion, &c.

Of their Zemes, Idols, Sepulchres, and other things concerning their Religion, the Reader may see enough in the ninth Booke and fourteenth Chapter of my Pilgrimage; and of the Spanish first voyages thither in the beginning of this worke, which Oviedo handleth in his former Bookes.

Lib. 6. *c.* 3.

Their Huracans (so they call tempests of winde and raine together) are very excessive. An. 1508. on the third of August, all the thatched houses in Saint Domingo were throwne to the ground, and some also of stone; all the houses also in the Towne Bonaventura, which might thence be named Malaventura: in the Haven were sunke twentie Ships and Carvels, a North-wind first and after a South-wind playing their furious prizes, one carrying out the Vessels in despight of all provisions to Sea, and the other as terribly forcing them againe to the Haven (if the losse of ships and men may permit that name) yea on Land many men were carried in the streets and fields divers bow-shots before they could stay themselves. Hell seemed to have beene opened, and the Devils to have carried things to and fro. Yet in July

Superstitious conceit of the Sacrament. It was ordayned against the Huracans of the conscience, not of the weather.

Lib. 7. *c.* 10.

following was a worse, which now are allayed and not so violent since the Blessed Sacrament hath beene placed in Churches. I have seene the space of a Crosse-bow shot or two, all the ground covered with Trees plucked up by the Windes from the Rootes, and ours have sometime by dangers of the way beene forced to climbe from tree to tree over such a passage, with rents and perills enough.

Cocks & Cats differing from the Spanish: wherein our English doe much agree with the Indian.

The Cocks in Spaine crow at mid-night and towards day: but here in the shutting in of the evening, or two houres within night, and two houres before day, and not at all at mid-night: some crow in the first watch and not else all night. Their Cats also use their lusts all the yeere and without walling noise, which in Spaine, France, Sicily, and other places in Europe and Afrike which I have seene goe on Catter-walling onely about Februarie. In the Ile of Navaza Westward from Hispaniola in the way thence to Jamaica, the Rocks are seene under the water: and amongst them a fathome and five foote under the salt water there ariseth a spring of good fresh water upon the Sea, spowting up bigger then a mans arme, higher then the salt water that it may easily be taken in. I have not seene it, but Stephen Rocca, a person of credit testifieth this of his owne sight and taste. But I have seene in the Iland Dominica at the River Acquata, twentie paces wide, and not deeper then the arme pits, there is a hot spring, that if one take up the Sands they seeme like embers in his fist, and so is the water a span deepe above the Sands, which on the top is fresh and like other water.

Strange water-spout.

Oviedos 8. 9. 10. and 11. Bookes are of Plants and Trees in those parts. The 12. of Creatures before mentioned: the 13. of Fishes, in which he telleth that An. 1529. going from the Gulfe of Orotigua to Panama two hundred leagues Eastward, neere the mouth of the Gulfe, wee saw a Fish or great Water-monster, which at times lifted it selfe right up above the Water so farre that the head and both the armes might bee seene, which seemed higher then our Caravell and all her Masts. Thus did shee rise and fall divers times beating the water strongly,

Lib. 13. *c.* 2.

Sea Monster stupendious.

not casting any water out of the mouth. A younger or lesse of the same kinde did likewise, swimme a little distant from the greater. Some judged it to bee a Whale with her young one, which others denyed, saying, a Whale had no armes. To my judgement each arme might be five and twentie foote long, and as bigge as a Butt or Pipe: the head fourteene or fifteene foote high and much more in breadth; and the rest of the body larger. That of her which appeared above water, was above five times the height of a meane man, which make five and twentie paces.* Lorenzo Martino Canon of the Church of Golden Castile, Sancio di Tudela, &c. were with me: and we were all afraid when shee came neere our small Carvell. Shee seemed to disport her selfe at a tempest approching, which suddenly arose much to our purpose, from the West, and brought us in few dayes to Panama.

*25. *passa, which sometimes signifieth fathoms.*

Lib. 14. *c.* 7. **An Italian fowle.*

Water hawkes.

In Hispaniola and the neighbouring Ilands is a strange bird of prey, as bigge as a great * Gavia and much like it: shee preyeth on the Land on birds, &c. and on fish in the Water, shee is footed like water-fowles and goeth like a Goose, but hath talons like Hawkes, and fastens therewith on the fishes which shee eates (so taken) either in the Water or on the Rocks, or as shee flyeth in the Aire holding it betweene her feete. The Christians call them Actori di acqua.

L. 15. *c.* 1. *Greatest harme by least creatures.*

What scath the Ants did in Hispaniola, is before mentioned, in the yeere 1519. and the next following, and the Citie of Saint Domingo, was almost dishabited by this great Armie of little creatures, as in Spaine a Citie was dispeopled by Conies, and which lately happened to the Ile Porto Santo; in Thessalia (which almost fell out to the English Colonie in Bermuda) to another Citie by Rats, to the Atariotæ by Frogges, to the Minntines by Fleas, to Amicle in Italie by Serpents, and to another part thereof by Sparrowes; to divers places of Africa often by Locusts: so can the Great God arme the least creatures to the destruction of proud vainglorious men. And this

miserie so perplexed the Spaniards, that they sought as strange a remedie as was the disease, which was to chuse some Saint for their Patron against the Antes. Alexander Giraldine, the Bishop having sung a solemne and Pontificall Masse, after the Consecration and Elevation of the Sacrament, and devout Prayers made by him and the people, opened a Booke in which was a Catalogue of the Saints, by lot to chuse some he or she Saint, whom God should please to appoint their Advocate against that Calamitie. And the Lot fell upon Saint Saturnine whose Feast is on the nine and twentieth of November: after which the Ant-damage became more tolerable and by little and little diminished, by Gods mercie and intercession of that Saint: I note it the rather, because the Bishop and that Saint were both Romanes, and as that Martyr had made mute the Idols in Toledo, (as is written in the Historie of his Martyrdome) so now was Idolatry (and I pray what was this?) destroyed in Hispaniola? Hee might have said exchanged! a pitifull case that when God hath sent his owne Sonne made of a woman, made under the Law, &c. Who hath dyed for our (yea, that Martyrs) sinnes, risen for our Justification, ascended on high to give gifts to men; and is there, and therefore, set downe at Gods right hand to make intercession for us sinners, to take possession for us mortals, to accomplish, as our Amen, all the promises of this life, and that which is to come, whether against Ants or Devils; and in him it hath pleased the Father that all fulnesse should dwell; yea (beyond and it pleased) in him dwelleth the fulnesse of the Godhead bodily, and we are compleate in him, and he is all in all, yesterday, to day, the same for ever; which hath loved us, and given himselfe for us, which is love, which hath invited us, Come to me all ye that labour, which hath incited us by all attractives: that after all this, men, Christian men should goe cast Lots for an Intercessor, and neglecting Christ, dreame of Romane carnall phancies, or runne mad with Romish superstitious phrensies; wherein if the bodie be delivered,

[III. v. 998.]

Uncertainty of Superstition.

Gal. 4.

Rom. 4.

Eph. 4.

Rom. 8.
Joh. 14.
1. *Tim.* 4.
Col. 1.
Col. 2.
Col. 3.
Heb. 13.
Eph. 5.
1. *Joh.* 4.
Mat. 11.

Num. 11. as happened to the lusting Israelites, with their Quaile-store, the burthen is made double to the soule, when God heareth in his anger. Such Cisternes doe they digge *Jer.* 2. 13. which forsake the Fountaine of living waters, even broken Cisternes which can hold no waters: the best of Saints *Mat.* 25. like the wise Virgins, having no more Oile then will suffice their owne Lampes, and that also received out of *Joh.* 1. anothers fulnesse, of whose fulnesse wee all have received grace for grace; said a principall Saint.

There are Caterpillers, which shine in the night fiftie or a hundred paces off, only from that part of the bodie whence the legges issue: others only have their head shining. I have seene some a spanne long very fearefull, but for any thing I have heard, harmelesse. Flies are lesse, but more hurtfull then in Spaine: but these in kindes and colours are so diversified that it is impossible to write them: and so may be said of other small creatures in those parts.

L. 16. *c.* 15. In his sixteenth Booke he declareth the Conquest of the Ile Borichen, or Saint John and the quarrels betwixt the Spaniards, the learning of some breeding such dissentions, that not without cause (saith our Author) in Golden *Lawyers dangerous in the Spanish Indies.* Castile and in other parts, the King forbad Law-learned men and Proctors should passe thither, as men infectious by sowing strife where they ought not. In this Ile, the people and other things are as before is said of Hispaniola, there are more Birds in Saint John, rich Mineralls of Gold, certaine Battes which the people eate; and Lignum Sanctum groweth there, more excellent then the Guaiacan for the French Disease and others.

L. 17. *c.* 4. In his seventeenth Booke he writeth of Cuba. The people and other things are much like to Hispaniola. In *Filthy Marriages.* their Mariages, all the guests of the Bridegroomes ranke (as Caciques, if hee bee a Cacique or Principall, or Plebeians as he is) lye with the Spouse before he himselfe may doe it: after which she with her fist bent comes crying with a loud voyce, Manicato, Manicato, that is forced and full of force, as glorying in her shame. They

are in vices like those of Hispaniola, and will be no better Christians then other Indians, whatsoever Peter Martyr writeth from Encises Relations. For I have seene more Indians then they both, and by experience of those Nations know, that none or very few of them are Christians of their owne will and accord: and when any are baptized being of age, he doth it more for some by-purpose then for zeale of the faith: for there remaines to him nothing but the name, which also soone after he forgets. Perhaps there are some faithfull, but I beleeve they are very rare.

Oviedos testimony of Indian Christianity. He thinkes it a Fable that is told of Crosses found in Jucatan.

The Creatures and Plants of Spaine prosper well there, as doe the naturall which are the same which are in Hispaniola. The people were exhausted when they first went into New Spaine, and with the second Armie of Grigialua, and with the third of Cortese, and with the fourth of Pamphilo di Narbaez, all by order of Lieutenant Velasco: whereby Cuba was in manner dispeopled, and by the former causes mentioned of Hispaniola, and by the contagion of the small Pockes which was universall in all these Ilands: So that the Great God hath in manner wholly extinguished them for their (not without others) sinnes. They have much Gold and Brasse: use to fish much with the Roverso before mentioned, as also that Wild-goose chase. There are innumerable Cranes, such as are in Spaine; the Boyes take infinite Egges and young ones. There are Turtles greater then in Spaine. Every yeare there passe from the end of Cuba infinite numbers of divers sorts of Birds, which come from the North of the firme Land, and crosse over the Alacrain Ilands and Cuba, and flye over the Gulfe Southwards. I have seene them passe over Darien and Nombre de dios and Panama in divers yeeres, in the Firme Land; so many that they cover the Skie: and this passage or march continueth a moneth or more about the moneth of March. I thinke they flie round about the World, for they never are seene to returne toward the West or North: and we see them not every yeere one after

Strange passages of Fowles.

[III. v. 999.]

L. 17. c. 15.

another; from morning to night the aire is covered, and some flie so high that they cannot bee seene, others lower yet higher then the Mountaines tops. They come from the North-west and North to the Southwards, and then turne South-west, occupying in length more then the eye can discerne, and a great space in breadth. The lowest are Eaglets and Eagles, and all seeme Birds of prey of many kinds and plumes: The higher cannot bee discerned in their plumes, but in manner of flying and quantitie appeare of divers sorts.

There have beene Serpents killed in Cuba, as bigge as a mans thigh, and five and twentie, or thirtie foot long and more. They are tame, and the Indians eate them, and find sometimes in their bellies sixe or seven creatures bigger then Conies, which they swallow whole.

L. 17. *c.* 18. I am loth to lead you with this Author along with Grigialua, in his long Expedition from hence to Jucatan and other parts. Neere to Porto de termini, he found two Trees seeming set by hand, standing alone, and fifteene paces off divers Idols of Chalke. They saw two Images made of the wood Copei, in manner of Sodomiticall villenie joyned together; and another of Chalke with his circumcised member betwixt his hands.

Abominable devotions.

L. 18. *c.* 2. Jamaica was in people, vices, creatures and other things like the former: they were the Inventors of the reverso-fishing and Goose-catching with Gourds or Pompions aforesaid, which sometimes they practised also with leaves and greene boughes on their heads, and used that Garland, as is before said of the Pompions. Of Cubagua the Pearle Iland and of the Pearle-fishing is spoken before.

L. 19. *c.* 2 *Pitch Fountaine.* In Cubagua is a bituminous Fountayne, having otherwise no water to drinke, nor Hearbes, nor Trees but a few of Guaiacan, nor any living creatures, though at first comming of the Christians there were a few Conies. At the East point is the Fountayne running into the Sea with an Oily substance floating on it, profitable for Medicine there called Devils Dung. They that live there, fetch their water seven leagues off from Cumana, on the firme Land,

and wood from Margarita. The Kings fifth of the Pearle-fishing hath yeelded 15000. Duckets yeerly: a thing not knowne that so many Pearles have beene taken from so small a space, the Iland of Cubagua not compassing above three leagues. In the Gulfe of Orotigna, and the Ilands therein in the Province of Nicaragua on the South Sea, are many shel-fishes of a long forme, some a Cubit long, some lesse, creased, growing broader and broader to the end when they are opened: they have a fishie substance within them, and shine within as the Pearle-oysters doe, halfe their length, thence by degrees loosing that shining toward the broader end. The Pearles within them are not so fine as the other. The Indians use the shels to digge their loose ground, fastning the shell to a handle of wood, binding it fast and making a kind of Spade thereof.

C. 9. Two shel-fishes which yeeld Pearles.

In the yeare 1517. An Englishman * under colour of Discovery came with a great ship towards Brasill on the Firme Land, and thence traversed to Hispaniola, and came neere the Haven of Saint Domingo, and sent his Boat full of people on shoare, and desired Trade. But the Captaine of the Fort shot from the Castle at the Boate, because shee came directly to the Port; and thereupon they returned to their ship. The English seeing this entertainment, tooke their course towards the Iland of Saint John, and entred the Port of Saint German, and there demanded victuals and provisions for their ship, complaining of the wrong done them at Saint Domingo, comming thither for Trade, to buy with their Mony, and to barter Commodities. There they got some victuals for which they paid in wrought pieces of Pewter and other things: and so returned towards Europe, where it is likely they came not; for there was never any more heard of them.

English voyage to the West Indies, A. 1517. L. 19. c. 13.

**He cals him a Pirate, but sheweth no reason of that name.*

Pewter.

The next yeare a French Pirat guided by a Spanish Pilot, came to trade in the Iland of Pearles and a Portugall Caravell which he had taken on the Coast of Brasill, and would have landed his Boats full of men, but

L. 20.

was resisted, and a Battel betwixt both parts followed, in which thirteene Frenchmen were slaine, and two of ours. Three or foure Navarrois and Biskainers fled from them and said the French were Theeves and came to take the Iland: whereupon they went with all their strength, and tooke her Boat, and the ship fled out of sight, &c.

Oviedos twentieth Booke is of shipwrackes and disadventures which have happened to the Spaniards in those parts. One which happened 1514. is admirable, the ship sinking and five and twentie persons escaping in the Boat, hast forbidding provision of Card, Compasse or victuall, to save their lives. Thus lived they twelve dayes at Sea; neither had they any thing to eate or drinke: only a young man had saved two pounds of Bisket, which beeing divided amongst them, he which had most had not above an ounce and halfe. Urine, or the Sea was their drinke. In this case they made Vowes to our Ladie of Antica in Sivill: and on the twelfth day having made a Saile of their shirts, they came to Silverport in Hispaniola. Their Pilot Anto Calvo told me the Storie. The same yeare in the Fleet of Pedrarias de Avilla a Portugal youth, being scoffed at, and flouted by the Spaniards, leaped into the Sea in a fresh gale, and not without the wonder of all men was taken up by another ship alive, whom after I saw vaunting of this folly, and saying that no Castilian durst have done it; which I easily beleeve, as having more wit then this Foole. Yet will I imitate a little this foolish Portugall, and leape out of Oviedos Spanish ship (for who will not feare such dreadfull shipwrackes as this Booke, the last which hath come * to our hands, is full of?) and swim ashoare, or seeke other passage with Acosta, in a new or rather an old Voyage for Discoverie of the Mexican Antiquities.

[III. v. 1000.]

**Oviedo writ other Bookes of the firme Land, which are not extant.*

Chap. IIII.

Mexican Antiquities gathered out of the Writings of Josephus Acosta a learned Jesuite.

EVery Historie well written is profitable to the Reader: For as the Wiseman saith, That which hath beene, is, and that which shall bee, is that which hath beene: Humane things have much resemblance in themselves, and some grow wise by that which happeneth to others. There is no Nation, how barbarous soever, that have not something in them, good, and worthy of commendation; nor Common-weale so well ordered, that hath not something blame-worthy, and to bee controlled. If therefore there were no other fruit in the Historie and Narration of the Deeds and Gests of the Indians, but this common utilitie, to be a Relation or Historie of things, the which in the effect of truth have happened, it deserveth to bee received as a profitable thing, neither ought it to bee rejected, for that it concernes the Indians. As wee see that those Authors that treate of naturall things, write not onely of generous Beasts, notable and rare Plants, and of Precious Stones, but also of wilde Beasts, common Hearbes, and base and vulgar Stones, for that there is alwayes in them some properties worthy observation. If therefore there were nothing else in this Discourse, but that it is a Historie, and no fables nor fictions, it were no unworthy Subject to be written, or read. There is yet another more particular reason, which is, that we ought herein to esteeme that which is worthy of memorie, both for that it is a Nation little esteemed, and also a Subject different from that of our Europe, as these Nations bee, wherein wee should take most pleasure and content, to understand the ground of their beginning, their manner of life, with their happie and unhappie Adventures. And this subject is not onely pleasant and

L. 7. Eccles. 1.

agreeable, but also profitable, especially to such as have the charge to rule and governe them; for the knowledge of their Acts invites us to give credit, and doth partly teach how they ought to be intreated: yea, it takes away much of that common and foolish contempt wherein they of Europe hold them, supposing that those Nations have no feeling of reason. For in truth wee cannot cleere this errour better, than by the true report of the Acts and deeds of this people. I will therefore as briefly as I can, intreat of the beginning, proceedings and notable deeds of the Mexicanes, whereby wee may know the time and the disposition that the high God would choose, to send unto these Nations the Light of the Gospell of Jesus Christ his only Sonne our Lord, whom I beseech to second our small labour, that it may bee to the glorie of his Divine greatnesse, and some profit to these people, to whom he hath imparted the Law of his holy Gospell.

§. I.

Of the ancient Inhabitants of New Spaine, and of the sixe Linages of the Navatlacas. Of the Mexican Exodus, and Adventures by the way: the foundation of Mexico, their first King and Tribute.

L. 7. c. 2.

THe ancient and first Inhabitants of those Provinces, which wee call New Spaine, were men very barbarous and savage, which lived onely by hunting, for this reason they were called Chichimecas. They did neither sow nor till the ground, neither lived they together; for all their exercise was to hunt, wherein they were very expert. They lived in the roughest parts of the Mountaynes beast-like, without any policie, and they went all naked. They hunted wilde Beasts, Hares, Conies, Weezels, Mowles, wild Cats, and Birds, yea uncleane beasts, as Snakes, Lizards, Locusts and Wormes, whereon they fed, with some hearbs and roots. They

Chichimecas. Their savage course of life.

slept in the Mountaynes, in caves and in bushes, and the wives likewise went a hunting with their husbands, leaving their young children in a little panier of Reeds, tyed to the boughes of a Tree, which desired not to sucke untill they were returned from hunting. They had no Superiours, nor did acknowledge or worship any gods, neither had any manner of Ceremonies or Religion.

There is yet to this day in New Spaine of this kind of people, which live by their Bowes and Arrowes, the which are very hurtfull, for that they gather together in troopes to doe mischiefe, and to rob neither can the Spaniards by force or cunning reduce them to any policie or obedience: for having no Townes nor places of residence, to fight with them, were properly to hunt after savage beasts, which scatter and hide themselves in the most rough and covered places of the Mountaynes. Such is their manner of living even to this day, in many Provinces of the Indies. Those in New Spaine, which they call Ottomies, were of this sort, beeing commonly poore Indians, inhabiting a rough and barren Land, and yet they are in good numbers, and live together with some order, and such as doe know them, find them no lesse apt and capeable of matters of Christian Religion, then others which are held to be more rich and better governed. Comming therefore to our subject, the Chichimecas and Ottomies which were the first Inhabitants of New Spaine, for that they did neither till nor sowe the Land, left the best and most fertile of the Countrey unpeopled, which, Nations that came from farre did possesse, whom they called Navatalcas, for that it was a more civill and politicke Nation; this word signifies a people that speakes well, in respect of other barbarous Nations without reason. These second peoplers Navatalcas, came from other farre Countreyes, which lye toward the North, where now they have discovered a Kingdome they call New Mexico.

[III. v. 1001.]

Ottomies.

New Mexico.

There are two Provinces in this Countrey, the one called Aztlan, which is to say a place of Herons: the

Aztlan.

Tuculhuacan. other Tuculhuacan, which signifies a Land of such, whose Grandfathers were divine. The Inhabitants of these Provinces have their houses, their Lands tilled, Gods, Customes, and Ceremonies, with like order and government to the Navatalcas, and are divided into seven Tribes or Nations: and for that they have a custome in this Province, that every one of these Linages hath his place and private Territorie, the Navatalcas paint their beginning and first Territorie in figure of a Cave, and say that they came forth of seven Caves to come and people the Land of Mexico, whereof they make mention in their Historie, where they paint seven Caves and men comming forth of them. By the supputation of their Bookes, it is above eight hundred yeeres since these Navatalcas came forth of their Countrey, reducing which to our accompt, was about the yeere of our Lord 720. When they left their Countrey to come to Mexico, they stayed fourescore yeeres upon the way; and the cause of this their long stay in their Voyage, was, that their Gods (which without doubt were Devils, and spake visibly unto them) had perswaded them to seeke new Lands that had certaine signes. And therefore they came discovering the whole Land, to search for these tokens which their Idols had given them; and in places where they found any good dwellings, they peopled it, and laboured the Land, and as they discovered better Countreyes, they left those which they had first peopled; leaving still some, especially the aged, sicke folkes, and the wearie; yea, they did plant and build there, whereof wee see the remainders at this day. In the way where they passed, they spent fourescore yeeres in this manner of leisurely travell, the which they might have done in a moneth. By this meanes they entred the Land of Mexico, in the yeere 902. after our computation.

Their beginnings 900 yeeres agoe; A.D. 720.

How the six Linages of Navatalcas peopled the Land of Mexico. Chap. 3.

These seven Linages I have spoken of, came not forth altogether: the first were the Suchimilcos, which signifie a Nation of the seeds of flowres. Those peopled the bankes of the great Lake of Mexico towards the South,

and did build a Citie of their name, and many Villages. Long time after came they of the second Linage called Chalcas, which signifies people of mouthes, who also built a Citie of their name, dividing their limits and Territories with the Suchimilcos. The third were the Tepanecans, which signifies people of the bridge: they did inhabite upon the banke of the Lake towards the West, and they increased so, as they called the chiefe and Metropolitane of their Province, Axcapuzalco, which is to say, an Ants Nest, and they continued long time mightie. After them came those that peopled Tescuco, which be those of Culhua, which is to say, a crooked people: for that in their Countrey there was a Mountaine much bending. And in this sort this Lake was environed with these foure Nations, these inhabiting on the East, and the Tepanecas on the North. These of Tescuco, were held for great Courtiers, for their tongue and pronunciation is very sweet and pleasant. Then arrived the Tlalluicans, which signifies men of the Sierre or Mountaine. Those were the most rude and grosse of all the rest, who finding all the Plaines about the Lake possessed even unto the Sierre, they passed to the other side of the Mountaine, where they found a very fertile, spacious and warme Countrey, where they built many great Villages, calling the Metropolitane of their Province Quahunachua, which is as much to say, as a place that sounds the voice of an Eagle, which our common people call by corruption, Quernavaca, and at this day they call this Province, the Marquisate. Those of the sixt Generation, which are the Tlascaltecans, which is to say, Men of bread, passed the Mountaine towards the East, crossing all the Sierre, or Mountaine of Menade, where that famous Vulcan is betwixt Mexico and the Citie of Angels, where they did find a good Countrey, making many buildings. They built many Townes and Cities, whereof the Metropolitane was called by their name Tlascala. This is the Nation which favoured the Spaniards at their entrie, by whose helpe they did winne this Countrey, and therefore to

Suchimilcos.
Chalchas.
Tepanecans.
Azcapuzalco.
Tescuco.
Culhua.
Tlalluicans.
Quahunachua.
Tlascaltecans.

this day they pay no Tribute, but enjoy a generall exemption. When all these Nations peopled these Countreyes, the Chichimecans being the ancient Inhabitants, made no resistance, but fled, and as people amazed, they hid themselves in the most obscure of the Rockes. But those that inhabited on the other side of the Mountaine where the Tlascaltecans had planted themselves, did not suffer them in quiet, as the rest of the Chichimecans had done, but they put themselves in defence to preserve their Country, and being Giants as the Histories report, they sought to expell the last Commers, but they were vanquisht by the policy of the Tlascaltecans, who counterfeiting a peace with them, invited them to a great banquet, and when they were busiest in their drunkennesse, there were some laid in ambush, who secretly stole away their weapons, which were great Clubs, Targets, Swords of wood, and other such armes. Then did they suddenly set upon them, and the Chichimecans seeking to defend themselves, they did want their armes, so as they fled to the Mountaines and Forests adjoyning, where they pulled downe Trees, as if they had beene stalkes of Lettuces. But in the end, the Tlascaltecans being armed, and marching in order, they defeated all the Giants, not leaving one alive. We must not hold this of the Giants to be strange, or a fable; for at this day we finde dead mens bones of an incredible bignesse.

[III. v. 1002.]

Giants.

Note of Giants.

When I was in Mexico, in the yeere 1586. they found one of those Giants buried in one of our Farmes, which we call Jesus du Mont, of whom they brought a tooth to bee seene, which (without augmenting) was as bigge as the fist of a man, and according to this, all the rest was proportionable, which I saw and admired at his deformed greatnesse. The Tlascaltecans by this victorie remayned peaceable, and so did the rest of the Linages. These sixe Linages did alwayes entertaine amitie together, marrying their children one with another, and dividing their limits quietly: then they studied with an emulation

to encrease and beautifie their Commonweale. The barbarous Chichimecans, seeing what passed, began to use some government, and to apparell themselves, being ashamed of what had passed: for till then they had no shame. And having abandoned feare by their communication with these other people, they began to learne many things of them, building small Cottages, having some policy and government. They did also choose Lords, whom they did acknowledge for their Superiors, by meanes whereof they did in a manner quite abandon this bruitish life, yet did they alwayes continue in the Mountaines divided from the rest.

Beginnings of civilitie.

Three hundred and two yeeres after the former two Linages had left their Country, to inhabite New Spaine, the Country being now well peopled, and reduced to some forme of government, Those of the seventh Cave or Line arrived, which is the Mexicane Nation, the which like unto the rest, left the Province of Aztlan, and Teuculhuacan, a politike, courtlike, and warlike Nation. They did worship the Idoll Vitzliputzli, the Devill that was in this Idoll spake, and governed this Nation easily. This Idoll commanded them to leave their Country, promising to make them Princes and Lords over all the Provinces which the other sixe Nations did possesse, that he would give them a Land abounding with gold, silver, precious stones, feathers, and rich mantels: whereupon they went forth, carrying their Idoll with them in a Coffer of Reedes, supported by foure of their principall Priests, with whom he did talke and reveale unto them in secret, the successe of their way and voyage, advising them of what should happen. He likewise gave them Lawes, and taught them the customes, ceremonies, and sacrifices they should observe. They did not advance nor moove without commandement from this Idoll. He gave them notice when to march, and when to stay in any place, wherein they wholly obeyed him. The first thing they did wheresoever they came, was to build a House or Tabernacle for their false god, which they set alwayes in

Of the Mexicans departure, of their journey and peopling the Province of Mechovacan. Ch. 4.

Devills emulation of that worke of God in bringing Israel out of Egypt, and passing thorow the desert to Canaan.

Tabernacle.

Arke. the middest of their Campe, and there placed the Arke upon an Altar, in the same manner as they have used in the holy Christian Church. This done, they sowed their land for bread and pulses, which they used: and they were so addicted to the obedience of their god, that if he commanded them to gather, they gathered, but if he commanded them to raise their Campe, all was left there for the nourishment of the aged, sicke, and wearie, which they left purposely from place to place, that they might people it, pretending by this meanes, that all the Land should remaine inhabited by their Nation.

We may well judge what this Vitzliputzli was, for that there was never seene nor heard speake of customes more superstitious, nor sacrifices more cruell and inhumane, then those which hee taught them. To conclude, they were invented by the enemie of mankinde. The Chiefe and Captaine whom they followed, was called Mexi, whence came the name of Mexico, and of the Mexican Nation. This people marching thus at leisure, as the other sixe Nations had done, peopling and tilling the Land in divers parts, whereof there is yet some shewes and ruines: and after they had endured many travels and dangers, in the end they came to the Province of Mechovacan, which is as much to say, as a land of fish, for there is great abundance in goodly great Lakes, where contenting themselves with the situation and temperature of the ground, they resolved to stay there. Yet having consulted with their Idoll upon this point, and finding him unwilling, they demanded license to leave some of their men to people so good a Land, the which he granted, teaching them the meanes how to doe it, which was, that when the Men and Women should be entred into a goodly Lake called Pascuaro, to bathe themselves, those which remayned on Land, should steale away all their clothes, and then secretly raise their Campe, and depart without any bruit, the which was effected, and the rest which dreamt not of this deceit (for the pleasure they tooke in bathing) comming forth and finding themselves spoyled

Mexi their Moses.

Mechovacan.

Pascuaro.

of their garments, and thus mocked and left by their Companions, they remayned discontented and vexed therewith: so as to make shew of the hatred they had conceived against them, they say that they changed their manner of life and their language. At the least it is most certaine, that the Mechovacans have beene alwayes enemies to the Mexicans, and therefore they came to congratulate the Marquesse De Valle, after his victorie obtayned when he had conquered Mexico. [III. v. 1003.]

Of that which happened in Malinalco, Tula, and in Chapultepec. Chap. 5.

From Mechovacan to Mexico, are about fiftie leagues, and upon the way is Malinalco, where it happened, that complayning to their Idoll of a woman that was a notable witch, which came in their company carrying the name of their sister to their god, for that with her wicked artes shee did them much harme, pretending by certaine meanes to bee worshipped of them as their goddesse: the Idoll spake in a dreame to one of those old men that carried the Arke, commanding him to comfort the people, making them new and great promises, and that they should leave this his sister with her family, being cruell and bad, raysing their Campe at mid-night in great silence, leaving no shew what way they passed. So they did, and the Witch remayning alone with her family in this sort, peopled a towne which they call Malinalco, the Inhabitants whereof, are held for great Sorcerers, being issued from such a mother. The Mexicans for that they were greatly diminished by these divisions, and by the number of sicke and wearied persons, which they had left behinde, meant to repayre themselves, and to stay in a place called Tula, which signifies a place of Reedes. There their Idoll commanded them to stop a great River, that it might cover a great Playne, and by the meanes he taught them, they did inviron a little Hill called Coatepec, making a great Lake, the which they did plant round about with Willowes, Elmes, Sapines, and other Trees. There began to breede much fish, and many birds came thither: so as it became a very pleasant place. The situation of this place, seeming pleasant unto them, and being wearied

Witch forsaken.

with travell, many talked of peopling there, and to passe no farther: wherewith the Devill was much displeased, threatning the Priests with death, commanding them to returne the River to her course, saying, that hee would that night chastise those which had beene disobedient as they had deserved. And as to doe ill is proper to the Devill, and that the divine Justice doth often suffer such to be delivered into the hands of such a Tormentor, that choose him for their god; It chanced that about midnight they heard a great noyse in one part of the Campe, and in the morning going thither, they found those dead that had talked of staying there. The manner of their death, was, that their stomacks were opened, and their hearts pulled out. And by that meanes, this good god taught these poore miserable Creatures, the kindes of sacrifices that pleased him, which was, in opening the stomacke, to pull out the heart, as they have since practised in their horrible sacrifices. Seeing this punishment, and that the Playne was dryed, the Lake being emptied, they asked counsell of their god what to doe, who commanded them to passe on, the which they did by little and little, untill they came to Chapultepec, a league from Mexico, famous for the pleasantnesse thereof. They did fortifie themselves in these Mountaines, fearing the Nations which inhabited that Country, the which were opposite unto them, especially for that one named Copil, sonne to this Sorceresse, left in Malinalco, had blamed and spoken ill of the Mexicans: for this Copil by the commandement of his mother, awhile after followed the Mexicans course, labouring to incense the Tapanecas, and other neighbours against them, even unto the Chalcas: so as they came with a strong Armie to destroy the Mexicans. Copil in the meane space stood upon a little Hill in the middest of a Lake, called Acopilco, attending the destruction of his Enemies, and they by the advice of their Idoll, went against him, tooke him suddenly, and slue him, carrying his heart to their god, who commanded them to cast it into the Lake, fayning that

Devils proud emulation in punishing disobedience, and teaching murtherous sacrifices.

Chapultepec.

Metamorphosis.

thereof did grow a plant called Tunal, where since Mexico was built. They came to fight with the Chalcas, and other Nations, having chosen for their Captaine, a valiant man, called Vitzilonilti, who in an encounter, was taken and slaine by the Enemies. But for all this, they were not discouraged, but fought valiantly; and in despight of their Enemies they brake the squadrons, and carrying their Aged, their Women, and young Children in the midst of their battaile, they passed on to Atlacuyavaya, a Towne of the Culhuans, whom they found solemnising of a Feast, in which place they fortified. The Chalcas, nor the other Nations did not follow them, but grieved to be defeated by so small a number of men; they being in so great multitudes retyred to their Townes.

Atlacuyavaya.

The Mexicans, by the advice of their Idoll, sent their Messengers to the Lord of Culhuacan, to demand a place to dwell in, who after hee had imparted it to his people, granted them the place of Ticaapan, which signifies white waters, to the end they should all perish there, being full of Vipers, Snakes, and other venemous beasts which bred in a Hill neere adjoyning. But being perswaded and taught by their Devill, they accepted willingly what was offered, and by their devillish arte, tamed these beasts, so as they did them no harme; yea, they used them as meate, eating them with delight and appetite. The which the Lord of Culhuacan seeing, and that they had tilled and sowed the Land, he resolved to receive them into the Citie, and to contract amitie with them. But the god whom the Mexicans did worship (as he is accustomed to do no good, but ill) said unto his Priests, that this was not the place where hee would have them stay, and that they must go forth making warres. Therefore they must seeke forth a Woman, and name her the Goddesse of Discord. Whereupon they resolved to send to the King of Culhuacan, to demand his daughter to be Queene of the Mexicans, and mother to their god, who received this ambassage willingly, sending his daughter presently gorgeously attired and well accompanied. The

Of the warres the Mexicans had against them of Culhuacan. Chap. 6.

Ticaapan.

[III. v. 1004.]

Queene of Discord made by the King of Pride.

same night shee arrived, by order of the murtherer whom they worshipped, they killed her cruelly; and having flayed her artificially as they could doe, they did clothe a young man with her skin, and thereupon her apparell, placing him neere their Idoll, dedicating him for a Goddesse and the mother of their god, and ever after did worship it, making an Idoll which they called Toccy, which is to say, our grand mother. Not content with this crueltie, they did maliciously invite the King of Culhuacan, the father of the young Maid, to come and worship his daughter, who was now consecrated a goddesse, who comming with great Presents, and well accompanied with his people, he was led into a very darke Chappell where their Idoll was, that he might offer sacrifice to his daughter that was in that place. But it chanced that the Incense that was upon the harth, according to their custome, kindled in such sort, as he might discerne his daughters haire, and having by this meanes discovered the crueltie and deceit, he went forth crying aloud, and with all his men he fell upon the Mexicans, forcing them to retyre to the Lake, so as they were almost drowned. The Mexicans defended themselves, casting certaine little darts, which they used in the warres, wherewith they much galled their enemies. But in the end they got Land, and leaving that place, they coasted along the Lake, very weary and wet; the Women and little Children crying and making great exclamations against them and their god that had brought them into this distresse. They were inforced to passe a River that could not bee waded thorow, and therefore they advised to make small Boates of their Targets and of Reedes, wherein they passed. Then afterwards, having left Culhuacan, they arrived at Iztacalco, and finally to the place where the Hermitage of Saint Anthony now is, at the entrie of Mexico, and to that quarter which they now call Saint Paul. During which time their Idoll did comfort them in their travels, and incouraged them, promising great matters.

Toccy.

A.D. c. 1588.

Of the foundation of Mexico. Chap. 7.

The time being now come, that the Father of lyes should accomplish his promise made to his people, who could no longer suffer so many turnings, travels, and dangers, it happened that some old Priests or Sorcerers, being entred into a place full of water-lillies, they met with a very faire and cleere current of water, which seemed to be silver, and looking about, they found the Trees, Meadowes, Fish, and all that they beheld to be very white: wondering hereat, they remembred a prophesie of their god, whereby he had given them that for a token of their place of rest, and to make them Lords of other Nations. Then weeping for joy, they returned to the people with these good newes. The night following, Vitzliputzli appeared in a dreame to an ancient Priest, saying, that they should seeke out a Tunal in the Lake, which grew out of a stone (which as hee told them, was the same place where by his commandement they had cast the heart of Copil, sonne to the Sorceresse their enemie) and upon this Tunal they should see a goodly Eagle, which fed on certaine small birds. When they should see this, they should beleeve it was the place where their Citie should be built, the which should surmount all others, and be famous throughout the World. Morning being come, the old man assembled the whole people, from the greatest to the least, making a long speech unto them, how much they were bound unto their god; and of the revelation, which (although unworthy) he had received that night, concluding that all must seeke out that happy place which was promised them; which bred such devotion and joy in them all, that presently they undertooke the enterprise, and dividing themselves into Bands, they began to search, following the signes of the revelation of the desired place. Amiddest the thickest of these water-lillies in the Lake, they met with the same course of water they had seene the day before, but much differing, being not white, but red, like bloud, the which divided it selfe into two streames, whereof the one was of a very obscure azure, the which bred admiration in

them, noting some great mysterie, as they said. After much search here and there, the Tunal appeared growing on a stone, whereon was a Royall Eagle, with the wings displayed towards the Sunne, receiving his heat. About this Eagle were many rich feathers, white, red, yellow, blue, and greene, of the same sort as they make their Images, which Eagle held in his tallants a goodly bird. Those which saw it and knew it to bee the place foretold by the Oracle, fell on their knees, doing great worship to the Eagle, which bowed the head looking on every side. Then was there great cryes, demonstrations, and thankes unto the Creator, and to their great god Vitzliputzli, who was their father, and had alwayes told them truth. For this reason they called the Citie which they founded there, Tenoxtilton, which signifies Tunal on a stone, and to this day they carry in their Armes, an Eagle upon a Tunal, with a bird in his tallant, and standing with the other upon the Tunal. The day following, by common consent they made an Hermitage adjoyning to the Tunal of the Eagle, that the Arke of their god might rest there, till they might have meanes to build him a sumptuous Temple: and so they made this Hermitage of Flagges and Turfes covered with straw. Then having consulted with their god, they resolved to buy of their Neighbours, Stone, Timber, Lime, in exchange of Fish, Frogs, and young Kids, and for Ducks, Water-hens, Courlieus, and divers other kindes of Sea fowles. All which things they did fish and hunt for in this Lake, whereof there is great abundance. They went with these things to the Markets of the Townes and Cities of the Tapenecans, and of them of Tescuco their neighbours, and with policy they gathered together by little and little, what was necessarie for the building of their Citie: so as they built a better Chappell for their Idoll of lime and stone, and laboured to fill up a great part of the Lake with rubbish. This done, the Idoll spake one night to one of his Priests, in these termes; Say unto the Mexicans, that the Noblemen divide them-

Eagle glorious adored.

Tenoxtiltan.

Tabernacle for their Devils Arke.

[III. v. 1005.]

Stone Chappell.

Oracle.

selves every one with their Kinsfolks and Friends, and that they divide themselves into foure principall quarters, about the house which you have built for my rest, and let every quarter build in his quarter at his pleasure. The which was put in execution: and those be the foure principall quarters of Mexico, which are called at this day Saint Jean, Saint Mary the round, Saint Paul, and Saint Sebastian. After this, the Mexicans being thus divided into these foure quarters, their god commanded them to divide amongst them the gods he should name to them, and that they should give notice to every quarter, principall of the other foure particall quarters, where their gods should bee worshipped. So as under every one of these foure principall quarters, there were many lesse comprehended, according to the number of the Idols which their god commanded them to worship, which they called Calpultetco, which is as much to say, as God of the quarters. In this manner the Citie of Mexico Tenoxtiltan was founded, and grew great.

God of the Quarters.

Of the sedition of those of Tlatelulco and of the first Kings the Mexicans did choose. Chap. 8.

This division being made as aforesaid, some old Men and Ancients held opinion, that in the division, they had not respected them as they deserved: for this cause, they and their Kinsfolke did mutinie, and went to seeke another residence: and as they went through the Lake, they found a small piece of Ground or Terrasse, which they call Tloteloli, where they inhabited, calling it Tlatellulco, which signifies Place of a Terrasse. This was the third division of the Mexicans, since they left their Country. That of Mechovacan being the first, and that of Malinalco the second. Those which separated themselves and went to Tlatellulco, were famous men, but of bad disposition: and therefore they practised against the Mexicans their neighbours, all the ill neighbourhood they could. They had alwayes quarrels against them, and to this day continues their hatred and old leagues. They of Tenoxtiltan, seeing them of Tlatellulco thus opposite unto them, and that they multiplyed, feared that in time they might surmount them: here-

upon they assembled in counsell, where they thought it good to choose a King, whom they should obey, and strike terrour into their Enemies, that by this meanes they should bee more united and stronger among themselves, and their Enemies not presume too much against them. Being thus resolved to choose a King, they tooke another advice very profitable and assured, to choose none among themselves, for the avoyding of dissentions, and to gayne (by their new King) some other neighbour Nations, by whom they were invironed, being destitute of all succours. All well considered, both to pacifie the King of Culhuacan, whom they had greatly offended, having slaine and flayed the daughter of his predecessor, and done him so great a scorne, as also to have a King of the Mexican bloud, of which generation there were many in Culhuacan, which continued there since the time they lived in peace amongst them; they resolved to choose for their King, a young man called Acamapixtli, sonne to a great Mexican Prince, and of a Lady, daughter to the King of Culhuacan. Presently they sent Ambassadors with a great Present to demand this man, who delivered their Ambassage in these termes; Great Lord, wee your Vassals and Servants, placed and shut up in the Weedes and Reedes of the Lake, alone, and abandoned of all the Nations of the World, led onely and guided by our god to the place where wee are, which falls in the jurisdiction of your limits of Ascapusalco, and of Tescuco: Although you have suffered us to live and remayne there, yet will wee not, neither is it reason to live without a Head and Lord to command, correct, and governe us, instructing us in the course of our life, and defending us from our Enemies: Therefore wee come to you, knowing that in your Court and House, there are Children of our generation, linckt and allied with yours, issued from our entrailes, and yours, of our bloud and yours, among the which wee have knowledge of a Grandchild of your and ours, called Acamapixtli. Wee beseech you therefore, to give him us for Lord, wee will esteeme

Acamapixtli first King of the Mexicans.

him as hee deserves, seeing hee is of the Linage of the Lords of Mexico, and the Kings of Culhuacan.

The King having consulted upon this point, and finding it nothing inconvenient to bee allied to the Mexicans, who were valiant men, made them answere, That they should take his grand-child in good time, adding thereunto, that if he had beene a woman, hee would not have given her, noting the foule fact before spoken of, ending his discourse with these wordes, Let my grand-child goe to serve your god, and be his Lieutenant, to rule and governe his Creatures, by whom we live, who is the Lord of Night, Day, and Windes: Let him goe and be Lord of the Water and Land, and possesse the Mexican Nation, take him in good time, and use him as my sonne and grand-child. The Mexicans gave him thankes, all joyntly desiring him to marry him with his owne hand, so as hee gave him to wife, one of the noblest Ladies amongst them. They conducted the new King and Queene with all honor possible, and made him a solemne reception, going all in generall forth to see the King, whom they led into Palaces which were then but meane; and having seated them in Royall Thrones, presently one of the Ancients and an Orator much esteemed amongst them, [III. v. 1006.] did rise up, speaking in this manner, My sonne, our Lord and King, thou art welcome to this poore House and Citie, amongst these weeds and mud, where thy poore fathers, Grand-fathers, and Kinsfolks, endure what it pleaseth the Lord of things created. Remember Lord thou commest hither to be the defence and support of the Mexican Nation, and to be the resemblance of our god Vitzliputzli, whereupon the charge and government is given thee. Thou knowest wee are not in our Country, seeing the Land we possesse at this day is anothers, neither know we what shall become of us to morrow, or another day: Consider therefore that thou commest not to rest or recreate thy selfe, but rather to indure a new charge under so heavy a burden: wherein thou must continually labour, being slave to this multitude, which is fallen to

thy lot, and to all this neighbour people, whom thou must strive to gratifie, and give them contentment, seeing thou knowest we live upon their Lands, and within their limits. And ending, he repeated these wordes; Thou art welcome, Thou and the Queene our Mistris, to this your Realme. This was the speech of the old man, which with other Orations (which the Mexican Histories doe celebrate) the Children did use to learne by heart, and so they were kept by Tradition, some of them deserve well to bee reported in their proper termes. The King answering, thanked them, and offered them his care and diligence in their defence and aide in all he could. After they gave him the Oath, and after their manner set the Royall Crowne upon his head, the which is like to the Crowne of the Dukes of Venice: the name of Acamapixtli their first King, signifies a handfull of Reedes, and therefore they carry in their Armouries a hand holding many arrowes of Reedes.

How Orations were kept in memorie.

Crowne and coronation.

Of the strange tribute the Mexicans payed to them of Azcapuzalco. Chap. 9.

The Mexicans hapned so well in the election of their new King, that in short time they grew to have some forme of a Commonweale, and to bee famous among strangers; whereupon their neighbours mooved with feare, practised to subdue them, especially the Tapanecans, who had Azcapuzalco for their Metropolitane Citie, to whom the Mexicans payed tribute, as strangers dwelling in their Land. For the King of Azcapuzalco fearing their power which increased, sought to oppresse the Mexicans, and having consulted with his subjects, he sent to tell King Acamapixtli, that the ordinarie tribute they payed was too little, and that from thenceforth they should bring Firre trees, Sapines, and Willowes for the building of the Citie; and moreover, they should make him a Garden in the water, planted with divers kindes of Herbes and Pulses, which they should bring unto him yeerly by water, dressed in this manner, without fayling; which if they did not, he declared them his enemies, and would roote them out. The Mexicans were much troubled at this commandement, holding it impossible: and that this demand was to no

Garden in the water.

other end, but to seeke occasion to ruine them. But their god Vitzliputzli comforted them, appearing that night to an old man, commanding him to say to the King his sonne in his name, that he should make no difficultie to accept of this tribute, he would helpe them and make the meanes easie, which after happened: for the time of tribute being come, the Mexicans carried the Trees that were required, and moreover, a Garden made and floating in the water, and in it much Mays (which is their Corne) alreadie grayned and in the eare: there was also Indian Pepper, Beetes, Tomates, which is a great sappy and savourie graine, French Pease, Figs, Gourds, and many other things, all ripe, and in their season. Such as have not seene the Gardens in the Lake of Mexico, in the middest of the water, will not beleeve it, but will say it is an inchantment of the Devill whom they worship: But in truth it is a matter to bee done, and there hath beene often seene of these Gardens floating in the water; for they cast earth upon Reeds and Grasse, in such sort as it never wastes in the water; they sow and plant this ground, so as the graine growes and ripens very well, and then they remove it from place to place. But it is true, that to make this great Garden easily, and to have the fruits grow well, is a thing that makes men judge there was the worke of Vitzliputzli, whom otherwise they call Patillas, specially having never made nor seene the like. The King of Azcapuzalco wondred much when he saw that accomplished which he held impossible, saying unto his subjects, that this people had a great god that made all easie unto them, and he said unto the Mexicans, that seeing their god gave them all things perfect, he would the yeere following, at the time of tribute, they should bring in their Garden a wilde Ducke, and a Heron, sitting on their egges, in such sort, that they should hatch their young ones as they should arrive, without fayling of a minute, upon paine of his indignation. The Mexicans were much troubled and heavie with this proud and strict command: but their god, as he was accustomed, comforted them in

How made.

New Pharaonicall taxes.

the night, by one of his Priests, saying, that he would take all that charge upon him, willing them not to feare, but beleeve that the day would come, when as the Azcapuzalcos should pay with their lives this desire of new Tributes. The time being come, as the Mexicans carried all that was demanded of their Gardens, among the Reedes and Weedes of the Garden, they found a Ducke and a Heron hatching their egges, and at the same instant when they arrived at Azcapuzalco their young ones were disclosed. Whereat the King of Azcapuzalco wondring beyond measure, hee said againe to his people, that these were more then humane things, and that the Mexicans began as if they would make themselves Lords over all those Provinces. Yet did hee not diminish the order of this tribute, and the Mexicans finding not themselves mightie enough, endured this subjection and slaverie the space of fiftie yeeres. In this time the King Acamapixtli died, having beautified the Citie of Mexico with many goodly buildings, streets, Conduits of water, and great abundance of munition. He raigned in peace and rest fortie yeeres, having beene alwayes zealous for the good and increase of the Commonweale.

Acamapixtli dyeth.

[III. v. 1009.]

As he drew neere his end, he did one memorable thing, that having lawfull children to whom he might leave the succession of the Realme, yet would he not doe it, but contrariwise hee spake freely to the Common-weale, that as they had made a free Election of him, so they should choose him that should seeme fittest for their good Government, advising them therein to have a care to the good of the Common-weale, and seeming grieved that he left them not freed from Tribute and subjection, he dyed, having recommended his wife and children unto them, he left all his people sorrowfull for his death.

§. II.

Of the second King Vitzilovitli; and of his Successours and their Acts untill the Reigne of Motezuma their last King.

THe Obsequies of the dead King performed, the Ancients, the chiefe of the Realme, and some part of the people assembled together, to choose a King, where the Ancients propounded the necessitie wherein they were, and that it was needfull to choose for chiefe of their Citie, a man that had pitie of age, of Widdowes, and Orphans, and to be a Father of the Common-weale: for in very deed they should be the feathers of his wings, the eye-browes of his eyes, and the beard of his face, that it was necessary hee were valiant, being needfull shortly to use their forces, as their God had prophesied. Their resolution in the end was to choose a sonne of the Predecessor, using the like good office in accepting his sonne for Successor, as hee had done to the Common-weale, relying thereon.

Vitzilovitli elected King.

This young man was called Vitzilovitli, which signifieth a rich feather. They set the Royall Crowne upon his head, and anointed him, as they have beene accustomed to do to all their Kings, with an Ointment they call Divine, being the same unction wherewith they did anoint their Idoll. Presently an Orator made an eloquent speech, exhorting him to arme himselfe with courage, and free them from the travels, slaverie and miserie they suffered, being oppressed by the Azcapuzalcos: which done, all did him homage. This King was not married, and his Counsell held opinion, that it was good to marry him with the Daughter of the King of Azcapuzalco, to have him a friend by this alliance, and to obtaine some diminution of their heavie burthen of Tributes imposed upon them, and yet they feared lest he should disdaine to give them his Daughter, by reason they were his Vassals: yet the King of Azcapuzalco yeelded thereunto, having

humbly required him, who with courteous words gave them his Daughter, called Ayanchiguall, whom they led with great pompe and joy to Mexico, and performed the Ceremonie and Solemnitie of Marriage, which was to tie a corner of the mans Cloake to a part of the womans Veile, in signe of the band of Marriage. This Queene brought forth a sonne, of whose name they demanded advice of the King of Azcapuzalco, and casting Lots as they had accustomed (being greatly given to Southsayings, especially upon the names of their children) hee would have his Grand-childe called Chimalpopoca, which signifies A Target casting smoke. The Queene his Daughter seeing the contentment the King of Azcapuzalco had of his Grand-childe, tooke occasion to intreate him to relieve the Mexicans, of the heavie burthen of their Tributes, seeing hee had now a Grand-childe Mexican, the which the King willingly yeelded unto, by the advice of his Counsell, granting (for the Tribute which they paid) to bring yeerely a couple of Duckes and some fish, in signe of subjection, and that they dwelt in his Land. The Mexicans by this meanes remained much eased and content, but it lasted little. For the Queene their Protectrix died soone after: and the yeere following likewise Vitzilovitli the King of Mexico died, leaving his sonne Chimalpopoca tenne yeeres old; he reigned thirteene yeeres, and died thirtie yeeres old, or little more. He was held for a good King, and carefull in the service of his Gods, whose Images hee held Kings to be; and that the honour done to their God, was done to the King who was his Image. For this cause the Kings have been so affectionate to the service of their Gods. This King was carefull to winne the love of his neighbours, and to trafficke with them, whereby hee augmented his Citie, exercising his men in Warrelike actions in the Lake, disposing them to that which he pretended, as you shall see presently.

Marriage ceremonie.

Lots and Southsaying.

Kings death.

Of Chimalpopoca the third King, and his cruell death, & the occasion of warre which the Mexicans made.

The Mexicans for successor to their deceased King did choose his sonne Chimalpopoca, by common consent, although he were a child of ten yeeres old, being of

Chap. II.

opinion that it was alwayes necessary to keepe the favour of the King of Azcapuzalco, making his Grand-childe King. They then set him in his Throne, giving him the Ensignes of warre, with a Bow and Arrowes in one hand, and a Sword with Rasors (which they commonly use) in the right, signifying thereby (as they doe say) that they pretended by Armes to set themselves at libertie. The Mexicans had great want of water, that of the Lake being very thicke and muddie, and therefore ill to drinke, so as they caused their infant King to desire of his Grand-father the King of Azcapuzalco, the water of the Mountaine of Chapultepec, which is from Mexico a league, as is said before, which they easily obtained, and by their industrie made an Aquaduct of faggots, weeds and flagges, by the which they brought water to their Citie. But because the City was built within the Lake, and the Aquaduct did crosse it, it did breake forth in many places, so as they could not enjoy the water, as they desired, and had great scarcitie: whereupon, whether they did expresly seeke it, to quarrel with the Tapanecans, or that they were moved upon small occasion, in the end they sent a resolute Ambassage to the King Azcapuzalco, saying, they could not use the water which he had graciously granted them, and therefore they required him to provide them wood, lime, and stone, and to send his Workmen, that by their meanes they might make a Pipe of stone and lime that should not breake. This message nothing pleased the King, and much lesse his subjects, seeming to be too presumptuous a message, and purposely insolent, for Vassals to their Lord. The chiefe of the Counsell disdayning thereat, said It was too bold, that not content with permission to live in anothers Land, and to have water given them, but they would have them goe to serve them: what a matter was that? And whereon presumed this fugitive Nation, shut up in the mud? They would let them know, how fit they were to worke, and to abate their pride, in taking from them their Land and their lives.

[III. v. 1010.]

Quarrell with the Tapanecans.

In these tearmes and choller they left the King, whom they did somewhat suspect, by reason of his Grand-childe, and consulted againe anew, what they were to doe, where they resolved to make a generall Proclamation, that no Tapanecan should have any commerce or traffique with any Mexican, that they should not goe to their Citie, nor receive any into theirs, upon paine of death. Whereby we may understand that the King did not absolutely command over his people, and that hee governed more like a Consull, or a Duke, then a King; although since with their power, the command of Kings increased, growing absolute Tyrants, as you shall see in the last Kings.

The King of Azcapuzalco seeing the resolution of his subjects, which was to kill the Mexicans, intreated them first to steale away the young King his Grand-childe, and afterwards doe what they pleased to the Mexicans. All in a manner yeelded hereunto, to give the King contentment, and for pittie they had of the childe; but two of the chiefest were much opposite, inferring, that it was bad counsell, for that Chimalpopoca, although hee were of their bloud, yet was it but by the Mothers side, and that the Fathers was to be preferred, and therefore they concluded that the first they must kill was Chimalpopoca King of Mexico, protesting so to doe. The King of Azcapuzalco was so troubled with this contradiction, and the resolution they had taken, that soone after for very griefe he fell sicke, and dyed. By whose death the Tapanecans finishing their consultation, committed a notable Treason: for one night the young King of Mexico sleeping without guard, or feare of any thing, they of Azcapuzalco entred his Palace, and slue him suddenly, returning unseene. The morning being come, when the Nobles went to salute the King, as they were accustomed, they found him slaine with great and cruell wounds; then they cryed out and filled all their Citie with teares: and transported with choller, they presently fell to Armes, with an intent to revenge their Kings death. As they ranne up and downe full of furie and disorder, one of their

King murthered.

chiefest Knights stept forth, labouring to appease them, with a grave admonition: Whither goe yee (said he) O yee Mexicans? quiet your selves, consider that things done without consideration are not well guided, nor come to good end: suppresse your griefe, considering that although your King be dead, the Noble bloud of the Mexicans is not extinct in him. Wee have children of our Kings deceased, by whose conduct, succeeding to the Realme, you shall the better execute what you pretend, having a Leader to guide your enterprise: goe not blindly, surcease, and choose a King first, to guide and encourage you against your enemies: In the meane time dissemble discreetly, performing the Funerals of your deceased King, whose bodie you see heere present, for hereafter you shall find better meanes to take revenge. By this meanes the Mexicans passed no farther, but stayed to make the Obsequies of their King, whereunto they invited the Lords of Tescuco, and Culhuacan, reporting unto them this foule and cruell fact, which the Tapanecans had committed, mooving them to have pittie on them, and incensing them against their enemies, concluding that their resolution was to die, or to bee revenged of so great an indignitie, intreating them not to favour so unjust a fact of their enemies; and that for their part, they desired not their aide of armes or men, but onely to be lookers on of what should passe, and that for their maintenance, they would not stop nor hinder the commerce, as the Tapanecans had done. At these speeches they of Tescuco and Culhuacan made them great shewes of good will, and that they were well satisfied, offering them their Cities, and all the Commerce they desired, that they desired, that they might provide victuall and Munition at their pleasure, both by land and water. After this, the Mexicans intreated them to stay with them, and assist at the election of their King; the which they likewise granted, to give them contentment.

The Electors being assembled, an old man that was held for a great Orator, rose up, who (as the Histories [III. v. 1011.]

Of the fourth King called Izcoalt, and of the warre against the Tapanecans. Chap. 12.

report) spake in this manner, The light of your eyes, O Mexicans, is darkened, but not of your hearts: for although you have lost him that was the light and guide of the Mexican Common-weale, yet that of the heart remaines: to consider, that although they have slaine one man, yet there are others that may supply with advantage, the want we have of him: the Mexican Nobilitie is not extinguished thereby, nor the bloud Royall decayed. Turne your eyes and looke about you, you shall see the Nobilitie of Mexico set in order, not one or two, but many and excellent Princes, Sons to Acamapixtli, our true and lawfull King and Lord. Here you may choose at your pleasure, saying, I will this man, and not that. If you have lost a Father, heere you may find both Father and Mother: make account O Mexicans, that the Sunne is eclipsed and darkened for a time, and will returne suddenly. If Mexico hath beene darkened by the death of your King, the Sunne will soone shew, in choosing another King. Looke to whom, and upon whom you shall cast your eyes, and towards whom your heart is inclined, and this is he whom your God Vitzliputzli hath chosen. And continuing awhile this discourse, he ended to the satisfaction of all men. In the end, by the consent of this Counsell, Izcoalt was chosen King, which signifies a Snake of Rasors, who was Sonne to the first King Acamapixtli, by a slave of his: and although he were not legitimate, yet they made choice of him, for that hee exceeded the rest in behaviour, valour, and magnanimitie of courage. All seemed very well satisfied, and above all, these of Tescuco, for their King was married to a sister of Iscoalts. After the King had beene crowned and set in his Royall Seat, another Orator stept up, discoursing how the King was bound to his Common-weale, and of the courage he ought to shew in travell, speaking thus, Behold this day we depend on thee, it may be thou wilt let fall the burthen that lies upon thy Souldiers, and suffer the old man and woman, the Orphlin and the widdow to perish. Take pittie of the Infants that goe creeping in

the Ayre, who must perish if our enemies surmount us: unfold then, and stretch forth thy Cloake, my Lord, to beare these Infants upon thy shoulders, which bee the poore and the common people, who live assured under the shadow of thy wings, and of thy bountie. Uttering many other words upon this subject, the which, (as I have said) they learne by heart, for the exercise of their children, and after did teach them as a Lesson to those that began to learne the facultie of Orators.

In the meane time, the Tapanecans were resolute to destroy the Mexicans, and to this end they had made great preparations. And therefore the new King tooke counsell for the proclaming of Warre, and to fight with those that had so much wronged them. But the common people, seeing their Adversaries to exceed them farre in numbers and munition for the warre, they came amazed to their King, pressing him not to undertake so dangerous a warre, which would destroy their poore Citie and Nation: whereupon being demanded what advice were fittest to take, they made answere, that the King of Azcapuzalco was very pittifull, that they should demand peace, and offer to serve him, drawing them forth those Marshes, and that hee should give them houses, and lands among his subjects, that by this meanes they might depend all upon one Lord. And for the obtaining hereof, they should carrie their God in his Litter for an Intercessor. The cries of the people were of such force (having some Nobles that approoved their opinion) as presently they called for the Priests, preparing the Litter and their God, to performe the Voyage. As this was preparing, and every one yeelded to this treatie of peace, and to subject themselves to the Tapanecans, a gallant young man, and of good sort, stept out among the people, who with a resolute countenance spake thus unto them, What meanes this O yee Mexicans, are yee mad? How hath so great cowardise crept in among us? Shall wee goe and yeeld our selves thus to the Azcapuzalcans? Then turning to the King he said, How now my Lord, will you endure this? Speake to the

people, that they may suffer us to find out some meanes for our honour and defence, and not yeeld our selves so simply and shamefully into the hands of our enemies. *Tlacaellecs valour.* This young man was called Tlacaellec, Nephew to the King, he was the most valiant Captaine and greatest Counsellor that ever the Mexicans had, as you shall see hereafter. Izcoalt encouraged by that his Nephew had so wisely spoken, retained the people, saying they should first suffer him to try another better meanes. Then turning towards his Nobilitie, he said unto them, You are all heere my Kinsmen, and the best of Mexico, he that hath the courage to carrie a message to the Tapanecans, let him rise up. They looked one upon another, but no man stirred nor offered himselfe to the word. Then this young man Tlacaellec rising, offered himselfe to goe, saying, that seeing hee must die, it did import little whether it were to day or to morrow: for what reason should hee so carefully preserve himselfe? he was therefore readie, let him command what he pleased. And although all held this for a rash attempt, yet the King resolved to send him, that he might thereon understand the will and disposition of the King of Azcapuzalco and of his people; holding it better to hasten his Nephewes death, then to hazard the honour of his Common-weale. Tlacaellec being readie, tooke his way, and being come to the Guards, who had commandement to kill any Mexicans that came towards them, by cunning or otherwise: hee perswaded them to suffer him to passe to the King, who wondred to see him, and hearing his Ambassage, which was to demand peace of him under honest conditions, answered, that he would impart it to his subjects, willing him to returne the next day for his answere. Then Tlacaellec demanded a pasport, yet could he not obtaine any, but [III. v. 1012.] that he should use his best skill: with this he returned to Mexico, giving his words to the guards to returne. And although the King of Azcapuzalco desired peace, being of a milde disposition, yet his Subjects did so incense him, as his answer was open warre. The which being

heard by the Messenger, he did all his King commanded him, declaring by this ceremony, to give armes, and annointing the King with the unction of the dead, that in his Kings behalfe he did defie him. Having ended all, the King of Azcapuzalco suffering himselfe to be anointed and crowned with Feathers, giving goodly armes in recompence to the Messenger, wishing him not to returne by the Pallace gate, whereas many attended to cut him in peeces, but to goe out secretly by a little false Posterne that was open in one of the Courts of the Pallace. This yong man did so, and turning by secret waies, got away in safetie in sight of the Guards, and there defied them, saying, Tapanecans and Azcapuzalcans, you doe your office ill, understand you shall all dye, and not one Tapanecan shall remaine alive. In the meane time the Guards fell upon him, where he behaved himselfe so valiantly, that he slew some of them: and seeing many more of them come running, he retired himselfe gallantly to the Citie, where he brought newes, that warre was proclaimed with the Tapanecans, and that he had defied their King.

Ceremonies of defiance.

The defie being knowne to the Commons of Mexico, they came to the King, according to their accustomed cowardise, demanding leave to depart the Citie, holding their ruine certaine. The King did comfort and incourage them, promising to give them libertie if they vanquished their enemies, willing them not to feare. The people replied. And if we be vanquished, what shall wee doe? If wee be overcome, (answered the King) we will be bound presently to yeelde our selves into your hands to suffer death, eate our flesh in your dishes and be revenged of us. It shall be so then (say they) if you loose the victorie, and if you obtaine the victorie, we doe presently offer our selves to be your Tributaries, to labour in your houses, to sowe your ground, to carrie your armes and baggage when you goe to the warres for ever, wee and our descendants after us. These accords made betwixt the People and the Nobilitie (which they did after fully per-

Of the battaile the Mexicans gave to the Tapanecans, and of the victorie they obtained. Chap. 13.

forme, either willingly or by constraint, as they had promised) the King named for his Captaine Generall Tlacaellec: the whole Campe was put in order, and into squadrons, giving the places of Captaines to the most valiant of his kinsfolkes and friends: then did he make them a goodly speech, whereby he did greatly incourage them, being now well prepared, charging all men to obey the commandement of the Generall whom he had appointed: he divided his men into two parts, commanding the most valiant and hardie, to give the first charge with him, and that all the rest should remaine with the King Izcoalt, untill they should see the first assaile their enemies. Marching then in order, they were discovered by them of Azcapuzalco, who presently came furiously forth the Citie, carrying great riches of Gold, Silver, and Armes of great value, as those which had the Empire of all that Countrie. Izcoalt gave the signall to battaile, with a little Drumme he carried on his shoulders, and presently they raised a generall showt, crying, Mexico, Mexico, they charged the Tapanecans, and although they were farre more in number, yet did they defeate them, and force them to retire into their Citie, then advanced they which remained behinde, crying Tlacaellec, Victorie, Victorie, all sodainly entred the Citie, where (by the Kings commandement) they pardoned not any man, no not old men, women, nor children, for they slew them all, and spoiled the Citie being very rich. And not content herewith, they followed them that fled, and were retired into the craggie rockes of the Sierres or neere Mountaines, striking and making a great slaughter of them. The Tapanecans being retired to a Mountaine cast downe their Armes, demanding their lives, and offering to serve the Mexicans, to give them Lands and Gardens, Stone, Lime and Timber, and to hold them alwayes for their Lords. Upon this condition Tlacaellec retired his men and ceased the battaile, granting them their lives upon the former conditions, which they did solemnely sweare. Then they returned to Azcapuzalco,

The Battaile.

Mexicans conquer.

and so with their rich and victorious spoiles to the Citie of Mexico. The day following the King assembled the Nobilitie and the People, to whom hee laid open the accord the Commons had made, demanding of them, if they were content to persist therein: the Commons made answer, that they had promised, and they had well deserved it, and therefore they were content to serve them perpetually. Whereupon they tooke an oath, which since they have kept without contradiction.

This done, Izcoalt returned to Azcapuzalco (by the advise of his Counsell) he divided all the Lands and Goods of the conquered among the conquerors, the chiefest part fell to the King, then to Tlacaellec, and after to the rest of the Nobles, as they best deserved in the Battaile. They also gave Land to some Plebeans, having behaved themselves valiantly; to others they distributed the Pillage, making small account of them as of cowards. They appointed Lands in common for the quarters of Mexico, to every one his part, for the Service and Sacrifices of their Gods. This was the order which afterwards they alwayes kept, in the division of the Lands and spoiles of those they had vanquished and subdued. By this meanes they of Azcapuzalco remained so poore, as they had no Lands left them to labour, and (which was worse) they tooke their King from them, and all power to choose any other then him of Mexico.

Division of spoyles.

Although the chiefe Citie of the Tapanecanes, was that of Azcapuzalco, yet had they others with their private Lords, as Tucuba and Cuyoacan. These seeing the storme passed, would gladly that they of Azcapuzalco had renewed the warre against the Mexicans, and seeing them danted, as a Nation wholly broken and defeated, they of Cuyoacan resolved to make warre by themselves; to the which they laboured to draw the other neighbour Nations, who would not stirre nor quarrell with the Mexicans. In the meane time the hatred and malice increasing, they of Cuyoacan began to ill intreate the women that went to their Markets, mocking at them, and doing the like to

[III. v. 1013.] *Of the warre and victory the Mexicans had against the Citie of Cuyoacan. Chap.* 14.

the men over whom they had power: for which cause the King of Mexico defended, that none of his should goe to Cuyoacan, and that they should receive none of them into Mexico, the which made them of Cuyoacan resolve wholly to warre: but first they would provoke them by some shamefull scorne, which was, that having invited them to one of their solemne feasts, after they had made them a goodly Banquet, and feasted them with a great daunce after their manner, they sent them for their fruite, womens apparell, forcing them to put it on, and so to returne home like women to their Citie, reproaching them, that they were cowards and effeminate, and that they durst not take armes being sufficiently provoked. Those of Mexico say, that for revenge they did unto them a foule scorne, laying at the gates of their Citie of Cuyoacan certaine things which smoaked, by meanes whereof many women were delivered before their time, and many fell sicke. In the end, all came to open war, and there was a battaile fought, wherein they imploied all their forces, in the which Tlacaellec, by his courage and policie in warre, obtained the victorie. For having left King Izcoalt in fight with them of Cuyoacan, he put himselfe in ambush with some of the most valiant Souldiers, and so turning about, charged them behinde, and forced them to retire into their Citie. But seeing *Temple.* their intent was to flie into a Temple which was very strong, he with three other valiant Souldiors, pursued them eagerly, and got before them, seising on the Temple and firing it, so as he forced them to flie to the fields, where he made a great slaughter of the vanquished, pursuing them two leagues into the Countrie, unto a little hill, where the vanquished casting away their weapons, and their armes a crosse, yeelded to the Mexicans, and with many teares craved pardon of their overweening folly, in using them like women, offering to be their slaves: so as in the end the Mexicanes did pardon them. Of this victory the Mexicans did carry away very rich spoiles of Garments, Armes, Gold, Silver, Jewels, and

rich feathers, with a great number of Captives. In this Battaile there were three of the principals of Culhuacan that came to aide the Mexicans, to win honour, the which were remarkeable above all. And since being knowne to Tlacaellec, and having made proofe of their fidelity, he gave them Mexican devises, and had them alwayes by his side, where they fought in all places very valiantly. It was apparant that the whole victory was due to the Generall, and to these three; for among so many captives taken, two third parts were wonne by these foure, which was easily knowne by a policie they used: for taking a Captive, they presently cut off a little of his haire, and gave it to others, so as it appeared that those which had their haire cut, amounted to that number, whereby they wonne great reputation and fame of valiant men. They were honoured as Conquerours, giving them good portions of the spoiles and Lands, as the Mexicans have alwaies used to doe, which gave occasion to those that did fight, to become famous, and to win reputation by Armes.

Of the warre and victory which the Mexicans had against the Suchimilcos. Ch. 15.

The Nation of the Tapanecans being subdued, the Mexicans had occasion to doe the like to the Suchimilcos, who (as it hath beene said) were the first of the seven Caves or linages that peopled this Land. The Mexicans sought not the occasion, although they might presume as Conquerours to extend their limits, but the Suchimilcos did move them, to their owne ruine, as it happens to men of small judgement that have no foresight, who not preventing the mischiefe they imagined, fall into it. The Suchimilcos held opinion, that the Mexicans, by reason of their victories past, should attempt to subdue them, and consulted hereon among themselves. Some among them thought it good to acknowledge them for superiours, and to applaud their good fortune, but the contrary was allowed, and they went out to give them battaile: which Izcoalt the King of Mexico understanding, he sent his Generall Tlacaellec against them, with his armie: the battaile was fought in the same field that divides their

limits, which two Armies were equall in men and armes, but very divers in their order and manner of fighting; for that the Suchimilcos charged all together on a heape confusedly, and Tlacaellec divided his men into squadrons with a goodly order, so as he presently brake his enemies, forcing them to retire into their Citie, into the which they entred, following them to the Temple whither they fled, which they fired, and forcing them to flye to the Mountaines: in the end they brought them to this point, that they yeelded with their arme acrosse. The Generall Tlacaellec returning in great triumph, the Priests went forth to receive him, with their musicke of Flutes, and giving incense. The chiefe Captaines used other Ceremonies and shewes of joy, as they had beene accustomed to doe, and the King with all the troupe went to the Temple to give thankes to their false god.

Temple filled.

The day following, the King Izcoalt went unto the Citie of Suchimilco, causing himselfe to be sworne King of the Suchimilcos: and for their comfort he promised to doe them good. In token whereof he commanded them to make a great Cawsey stretching from Mexico to Suchimilco, which is foure leagues, to the end there might be more commerce and trafficke among them. Which the Suchimilcos performed, and in short time the Mexican government seemed so good unto them, as they held themselves happy to have changed their King and Commonweale. Some neighbours pricked forward by envie, or feare, to their ruines, were not yet made wise by others miseries.

[III. v. 1014.]

Causey made.

Cuitlavaca.

Cuitlavaca was a Citie within the Lake: which though the name and dwelling be changed, continueth yet. They were active to swim in the Lake, and therefore they thought they might much indomage and annoy the Mexicans by water, which the King understanding, he resolved to send his Armie presently to fight against them. But Tlacaellec little esteeming this warre, holding it dishonorable to lead an Armie against them, made offer to conquer them with the children onely: which he performed

in this manner: he went unto the Temple and drew out of the Covent such children as he thought fittest for the action, from tenne to eighteene yeares of age, who knew how to guide their Boates, or Canoes, teaching them certaine pollicies. The order they held in this warre, was, that he went to Cuitlavaca with his children, where by his pollicie he pressed the enemy in such sort, that he made them to flye; and as he followed them, the Lord of Cuitlavaca met him and yeelded unto him, himselfe, his Citie, and his people, and by this meanes he stayed the pursuite. The children returned with much spoyle, and many Captives for their Sacrifices, being solemnely received with a great Procession, Musicke and Perfumes, and they went to worship their gods, in taking of the earth which they did eate, and drawing bloud from the forepart of their legs with the Priests Lancets, with other superstitions which they were accustomed to use in the like solemnities. The children were much honored and encouraged, and the King imbraced and kissed them, and his kinsmen and allies accompanied them. The bruite of this victory ranne throughout all the Countrie, how that Tlacaellec had subdued the Citie of Cuitlavaca with children: the news and consideration whereof opened the eyes of those of Tescuco, a chiefe and very cunning Nation for their manner of life: So as the King of Tescuco was first of opinion, that they should subject themselves to the King of Mexico, and invite him thereunto with his Citie. Therefore by the advise of his Counsell, they sent Ambassadours good Orators with honorable presents, to offer themselves unto the Mexicans, as their Subjects, desiring peace and amity, which was graciously accepted; but by the advise of Tlacaellec he used a Ceremony for the effecting thereof, which was, that those of Tescuco should come forth armed against the Mexicans, where they should fight, and presently yeelde, which was an act and ceremony of warre, without any effusion of bloud on either side. Thus the King of Mexico became soveraigne Lord of Tescuco, but

Children in the Covent.

Captives sacrificed.

he tooke not their King from them, but made him of his Privie Counsell; so as they have alwaies maintained themselves in this manner untill the time of Moteçuma the second, during whose raigne the Spaniards entred. Having subdued the Land and Citie of Tescuco, Mexico remained Lady and Mistris of all the Lands and Cities about the Lake, where it is built. Izcoalt having enjoyed this prosperitie, and raigned twelve yeares, dyed, leaving the Realme which had beene given him, much augmented by the valour and counsell of his Nephew Tlacaellec.

Izcoalts death.

Of the fift King of Mexico, called Moteçuma, the first of that name. Chap. 16.

Forasmuch as the election of the new King, belonged to foure chiefe Electors, and to the King of Tescuco, and the King of Tacubu, by especiall priviledge: Tlacaellec assembled these six personages, as he that had the soveraigne authority, and having propounded the matter unto them, they made choise of Moteçuma, the first of that name, Nephew to the same Tlacaellec. His election was very pleasing unto them all, by reason whereof, they made most solemne feasts, and more stately then the former. Presently after his election they conducted him to the Temple with a great traine, where before the divine harth (as they call it) where there is continuall fire, they set him in his royall throane, putting upon him his royall ornaments. Being there, the King drew bloud from his eares and legs with a Griffons talons, which was the Sacrifice wherein the divell delighted to be honoured. The Priests, Ancients, and Captaines, made their Orations, all congratuling his election. They were accustomed in their elections to make great Feasts and Dances, where they wasted many lights. In this Kings time the custome was brought in, that the King should goe in person to make warre in some Province, and bring Captives to solemnize the feast of his Coronation, and for the solemne Sacrifices of that day. For this cause King Moteçuma went into the Province of Chalco, who had declared themselves his enemies: from whence (having fought valiantly) he brought a great number of Captives, whereof he did make a notable Sacrifice the day of his Coronation,

Griffons talons.

Bloudy and divellish institution.

although at that time he did not subdue all the Province of Chalco, being a verie warlike Nation. Manie came to this Coronation from divers Provinces, as well neere as farre off, to see the feast, at the which all commers were verie bountifully entertained and clad, especially the poore, to whom they gave new garments. For this cause they brought that day into the Citie, the Kings tributes, with a goodly order, which consisted in Stuffes to make Garments of all sorts, in Cacao, Gold, Silver, rich Feathers, great burthens of Cotton, Cucumbers, sundrie sorts of Pulses, many kindes of Sea fish, and of the fresh water, great store of Fruits, and Venison without number, not reckoning an infinite number of Presents, which other Kings and Lords sent to the new King. All this Tribute marched in order according to the Provinces, and before them the Stewards and receivers with divers markes and Ensignes, in very goodly order: so as it was one of the goodliest things of the feast, to see the entrie of the Tribute. The King being crowned, he imploied himselfe in the conquest of many Provinces, and for that he was both valiant and vertuous, he still increased more and more, using in all his affaires the counsell and industrie of his Generall Tlacaellec, whom he did alwaies love and esteeme very much, as he had good reason. The warre wherein he was most troubled and of greatest difficultie, was that of the Province of Chalco, wherein there happened great matters, whereof one was very remarkeable; which was, that they of Chalcas, had taken a brother of Moteçumaes in the warres, whom they resolved to choose for their King, asking him verie curteously, if he would accept of this charge. He answered (after much importunitie, still persisting therein) that if they ment plainely to choose him for their King, they should plant in the Market-place, a Tree or very high stake, on the top whereof, they should make a little scaffold, and meanes to mount unto it. The Chalcas supposing it had beene some ceremonie to make himselfe more apparant, presently effected it: then assembling all his Mexicans

Pompous solemnity.

[III. v. 1015.]

about the stake, he went to the top with a garland of flowers in his hand, speaking to his men in this manner, O valiant Mexicans, these men will choose me for their King, but the gods will not permit, that to be a King I should commit any treason against my Countrie, but contrariwise, I will that you learne by me, that it behooveth us rather, to indure death, then to aide our enemies. Saying these words, he cast himselfe downe, and was broken in a thousand peeces, at which spectacle, the Chalcas had so great horror and despite, that presently they fell upon the Mexicans and slew them all with their Lances, as men whom they held too proud and inexorable, saying, they had divellish hearts. It chanced the night following, they heard two Owles making a mournfull cry, which they did interpret as an unfortunate signe, and a presage of their neere destruction, as it succeeded: for King Moteçuma went against them in person with all his power, where he vanquished them, and ruined all their kingdome: and passing beyond the Mountaine Menade, he conquered still even unto the North Sea. Then returning towards the South Sea, he subdued many Provinces; so as he became a mighty King: all by the helpe and counsell of Tlacaellec, who in a manner conquered all the Mexican Nation. Yet he held an opinion (the which was confirmed) that it was not behoovefull to conquer the Province of Tlascalla, that the Mexicans might have a frontier enemy, to keepe the youth of Mexico in exercise and allarme: and that they might have numbers of Captives to Sacrifice to their Idols, wherein they did waste (as hath beene said) infinite numbers of men, which should be taken by force in the wars. The honor must be given to Moteçuma, or to speak truly, to Tlacaellec his Generall, for the good order and pollicy setled in the Realme of Mexico, as also for the Counsels and goodly enterprises, which they did execute: and likewise for the number of Judges and Magistrates, being as well ordered there, as in any Common-weale; yea, were it in the most flourishing of Europe. This King did also greatly increase the

Horrible courage.

Tlascalla to Mexico, as Carthage to Rome.

Kings house, giving it great authoritie, and appointing many and sundry Officers, which served him with great pompe and ceremony. He was no lesse remarkable touching the devotion and service of his Idols, increasing the number of his Ministers, and instituting new ceremonies, whereunto he carried a great respect.

Great Temple buiit. Devillish devotions.

He built that great Temple dedicated to their god Vitziliputzli, whereof is spoken in the other Booke. He did Sacrifice at the dedication of this Temple, a great number of men, taken in sundry victories: finally, injoying his Empire in great prosperitie, he fell sicke, and died, having raigned twentie eight yeares, unlike to his successor Ticocic, who did not resemble him, neither in valour nor in good fortune.

How Tlacaellec refused to be King, and of the election and deedes of Ticocic. Chap. 17.

The foure Deputies assembled in counsell, with the Lords of Tescuco and Tacuba, where Tlacaellec was President in the election, where by all their voices Tlacaellic was chosen, as deserving this charge better then any other. Yet he refused it, perswading them by pertinent reasons, that they should choose another, saying, that it was better, and more expedient to have another King, and he to be his instrument and assistant, as he had beene till then, and not to lay the whole burthen upon him, for that he held himselfe no lesse bound for the Common-weale, then if he were King; seeming to him, though he were not King, yet in a manner, that he commanded Kings, suffering him to carry certaine markes, as a Tiara or ornament for the head, which belonged onely to themselves: as in a Comedie he deserves most commendation, that represents the personage that imports most. In recompence of his modesty, and for the respect which the Mexican Electors bare him, they demanded of Tlacaellec (that seeing he would not raigne) whom hee thought most fit: Whereupon he gave his voyce to a Sonne of the deceased King, who was then very young, called Ticocic: but they replied, that his shoulders were very weake to beare so heavie a burthen. Tlacaellec answered, that his was there to helpe him to beare the

Fit similitude.

burthen, as he had done to the deceased: by meanes whereof, they tooke their resolution, and Ticocic was chosen, to whom were done all the accustomed ceremonies.

[III. v. 1016.] They pierced his nosthrils, and for an ornament put an Emerald therein: and for this reason, in the Mexican Bookes, this King is noted by his nosthrils pierced. Hee differed much from his Father and Predecessor, being noted for a coward, and not valiant. He went to make warre for his Coronation, in a Province that had rebelled, where hee lost more of his owne men then hee tooke captives; yet he returned saying, that he brought the number of captives required for the Sacrifice of his Coronation, and so hee was crowned with great solemnitie. But the Mexicans discontented to have a King so little disposed to warre, practised to hasten his death by poison. For this cause he continued not above foure yeeres in the Kingdome. But this losse was well repaired by a Brother of the deceased, who was also sonne to great Moteçuma, called Axayaca, who was likewise chosen by the advice of Tlacaellec, wherein hee happened better then before.

Nosthrils pierced.

King poysoned.

Of the death of Tlacaellec, & the deeds of Axayaca the seventh King of the Mexicans. Chap. 18.

Now was Tlacaellec very old, who by reason of his age, was carried in a chaire upon mens shoulders, to assist in counsell when businesse required. In the end he fell sicke, when as the King (who was not yet crowned) did visit him often, shedding many teares, seeming to loose in him his Father, and the Father of his Countrey. Tlacaellec did most affectionately recommend his children unto him, especially the eldest, who had shewed himselfe valiant in the former warres. The King promised to have regard unto him, and the more to comfort the old man, in his presence hee gave him the charge and ensignes of Captaine Generall, with all the preheminences of his Father; wherewith the old man remained so well satisfied, as with this content he ended his dayes.

The Mexicans made his Funerall as the Founder of that Empire, more sumptuous and stately, then they had done to any of their former Kings. And presently after

Axayaca (to appease the sorrow which all the people of Mexico shewed for the death of their Captaine) resolved to make the voyage necessary for his Coronation. He therefore led his Armie with great expedition into the Province of Tequantepec, two hundred leagues from Mexico, where he gave battell to a mighty Army, and an infinite number of men assembled together, as well out of that Province, as from their Neighbours, to oppose themselves against the Mexicans. The first of his Campe that advanced himselfe, to the combate was the King himselfe, defying his enemies, from whom he made shew to flye when they charged him, untill hee had drawne them into an Ambuscadoe, where many Souldiers lay hidden under straw, who suddenly issued forth, and they which fled, turned head: so as they of Tiquantepec remayned in the midst of them, whom they charged furiously, making a great slaughter of them: and following their victorie, they razed their Citie and Temple, punishing all their Neighbours rigorously. Then went they on farther, and without any stay, conquered to Guatulco, the which is a Port at this day well knowne in the South Sea. Axayaca returned to Mexico with great and rich spoiles, where he was honourably crowned, with sumptuous and stately preparation of Sacrifices, Tributes, and other things, whither many came to see his Coronation. The Kings of Mexico received the Crowne from the hands of the King of Tescuco, who had the prehemi-nence. Hee made many other Enterprises, where he obtained great victories, being alwayes the first to leade the Armie, and to charge the enemie; by the which he purchased the name of a most valiant Captaine: and not content to subdue strangers, he also suppressed his Subjects which had rebelled, which never any of his Predecessors ever could doe, or durst attempt. Wee have alreadie shewed how some seditions of Mexico had divided themselves from that Common-weale, and built a Citie neere unto them, which they called Tlatelulco, whereas now Saint Jaques is.

Tiquantepec razed.

Guatulco.

These being revolted, held a faction apart, and encreased and multiplyed much, refusing to acknowledge the Kings of Mexico, nor to yeeld them obedience. The King Axayaca sent to advise them, not to live divided, but being of one bloud, and one people, to joyne together, and acknowledge the King of Mexico: wherupon the Lord of Tlatelulco made an answer ful of pride and disdaine, defying the King of Mexico, to single combate with himselfe: and presently mustred his men, commanding some of them to hide themselves in the weeds of the Lake; and the better to deceive the Mexicans, he commanded them to take the shapes of Ravens, Geese, and other Beasts, as Frogges, and such like, supposing by this meanes to surprize the Mexicans as they should passe by the wayes and cawsies of the Lake. Having knowledge of this defie, and of his Adversaries policie, he divided his Armie, giving a part to his Generall, the sonne of Tlacaellec, commanding him to charge this Ambuscadoe, in the Lake; and hee with the rest of his people, by an unfrequented way, went and incamped before Tlatelulco. Presently he called him who had defied him, to performe his promise, and as the two Lords of Mexico, and Tlatelulco advanced, they commanded their subjects not to moove, untill they had seene who should bee Conquerour, which was done, and presently the two Lords encountred valiantly, where having fought long, in the end the Lord of Tlatelulco was forced to turne his backe, being unable to indure the furious charge of the King of Mexico. Those of Tlatelulco seeing their Captaine flye, fainted, and fled likewise, but the Mexicans following them at the heeles, charged them furiously, yet the Lord of Tlatelulco escaped not the hands of Axayaca; for thinking to save himselfe, hee fled to the top of the Temple, but Axayaca followed him so neere, as hee seized on him with great force, and threw him from the top to the bottome, and after set fire on the Temple, and the Citie.

Royall combate.

[III. v. 1017.] *Tlatelulco fired.*

Whilest this passed at Tlatelulco, the Mexican Generall

was very hote in the revenge of those that pretended to defeat him by policie; and after hee had forced them to yeeld, and to cry for mercy, the Generall said he would not pardon them, untill they had first performed the Offices of those figures they represented, and therefore hee would have them cry like Frogges and Ravens, every one according to the figure which he had undertaken, else they had no composition: which thing he did to mocke them with their owne policie. Feare and Necessitie bee perfect Teachers, so as they did sing and cry with all the differences of voices that were commanded them, to save their lives, although they were much grieved at the sport their enemies made at them. They say that unto this day, the Mexicans use to jeast at the Tlatelulcans, which they beare impatiently, when they put them in minde of this singing and crying of beasts. King Azayaca tooke pleasure at this scorne and disgrace, and presently after they returned to Mexico with great joy. This King was esteemed for one of the best that had commanded in Mexico. Hee reigned eleven yeeres.

Of the deeds of Autzol the eight King of Mexico. Chap. 19. The Picture story cals him Tiçocicatzi.

Among the foure Electors that had power to choose whom they pleased to be King, there was one endued with many perfections, named Autzol. This man was chosen by the rest, and this election was very pleasing to all the people: for besides that he was valiant, all held him courteous and affable to every man, which is one of the chiefe qualities required in them that command, to purchase love and respect. To celebrate the Feast of his Coronation, hee resolved to make a Voyage, and to punish the pride of those of Quaxulatlan, a very rich and plentifull Province, and at this day the chiefe of New Spaine. They had robbed his Officers and Stewards, that carried the Tribute to Mexico, and therewithall were rebelled. There was great difficultie to reduce this Nation to obedience, lying in such sort, as an arme of the Sea stopt the Mexicans passage: to passe the which Autzol (with a strange device and industry) caused an Iland to be made in the water, of faggots, earth, and other matter;

Quaxulatlan.

by meanes whereof, both hee and his men might passe to the enemie, where giving them battell, he conquered them, and punished them at his pleasure. Then returned he unto Mexico in triumph, and with great riches, to bee crowned King, according to their custome. Autzol extended the limits of his Kingdome farre, by many Conquests, even unto Guatimalia, which is three hundred leagues from Mexico. Hee was no lesse liberall then valiant: for when as the Tributes arrived which (as I have said) came in great abundance, hee went forth of his Palace, gathering together all the people into one place, then commanded he to bring all the Tributes, which he divided to those that had need. To the poore he gave Stuffes to make them apparell, and meate, and whatsoever they had need of in great abundance, and things of value, as Gold, Silver, Jewels, and Feathers, were divided amongst the Captaines, Souldiers, and Servants of his House according to every mans merit. This Autzol was likewise a great Politician, hee pulled downe the houses ill built, and built others very sumptuous.

It seemed unto him that the Citie of Mexico had too little water, and that the Lake was very muddie, and therefore hee resolved to let in a great course of water, which they of Cuyoacan used. For this cause hee called the chiefe man of the Citie unto him, beeing a famous Sorcerer, having propounded his meaning unto him: the Sorcerer wished him to bee well advised what he did, being a matter of great difficultie, and that he understood, if hee drew the River out of her ordinary course, making it passe to Mexico, hee would drowne the Citie. The King supposed these excuses were but to frustrate the effect of his Designe, being therefore in choler, he dismissed him home, and a few dayes after he sent a Provost to Cuyoacan, to take this Sorcerer: who having understanding for what intent the Kings Officers came, he caused them to enter his house, and then he presented himselfe unto them in the forme of a terrible Eagle, wherewith the Provost and his companions being terrified, they returned without

Famous Sorcerer, or Indian Proteus.

taking him. Autzol incensed herewith sent others, to whom he presented himselfe in forme of a furious Tigre, so as they durst not touch him. The third came, and they found him in the forme of a horrible Serpent, whereat they were much afraid. The King mooved the more with these doings, sent to tell them of Cuyoacan, that if they brought not the Sorcerer bound unto him, hee would raze their Citie. For feare whereof, or whether it were of his owne free will, or being forced by the people, he suffered himselfe to be led to the King, who presently caused him to bee strangled, and then did he put his resolution in practice, forcing a channell whereby the water might passe to Mexico, whereby he brought a great current of water into the Lake, which they brought with great Ceremonies and Superstitions, having Priests casting Incense along the bankes, others sacrificed Quailes, and with the bloud of them sprinkled the channell bankes, others sounding of Cornets, accompanied the water with their Musicke. One of the chiefe went attired in a habit like to their Goddesse of the water, and all saluted her, saying, that she was welcome. All which things are painted in the Annalls of Mexico: which Booke is now at Rome in the holy Library, or Vatican, where a Father of our Company, that was come from Mexico, did see it, and other Histories, the which he did expound to the Keeper of his Holinesse Library, taking great delight to understand this Booke, which before hee could never comprehend. Finally, the water was brought to Mexico, but it came in such abundance, that it had wel-neere drowned the Citie, as was foretold: and in effect it did ruine a great part thereof, but it was presently prevented by the industry of Autzol, who caused an issue to bee made to draw forth the water: by meanes whereof hee repayred the buildings that were fallen, with an exquisite worke, being before but poore Cottages. Thus he left the Citie invironed with water, like another Venice, and very well built: he reigned eleven yeeres, and ended with the last and greatest Successor of all the Mexicans.

Mexican Annalls in the Vatican.

[III. v. 1018.]

§. III.

Of the Election of great Montezuma, the last King of Mexico: his pompe and manner of government, prodigious fore-warnings, of his ruine, and the Spanish Conquest.

WHen the Spaniards entred New Spaine, being in the yeere of our Lord 1518. Moteçuma second of that name, was the last King of the Mexicans, I say the last, although they of Mexico, after his death, chose another King, yea, in the life of the same Moteçuma, whom they declared an enemy to his Countrey, as wee shall see hereafter. But he that succeeded him, and he that fell into the hands of the Marquesse de Valle, had but the names and titles of Kings, for that the Kingdome was in a manner all yeelded to the Spaniards: so as with reason we account Moteçuma for the last King, and so hee came to the period of the Mexicans power and greatnesse, which is admirable beeing happened among Barbarians. For this cause, and for that this was the season, that God had chosen to reveale unto them the knowledge of his Gospell, and the Kingdome of Jesus Christ, I will relate more at large the Acts of Moteçuma, then of the rest.

Before he came to be King, hee was by disposition, very grave and stayed, and spake little, so as when he gave his opinion in the privy Counsell, whereas he assisted, his speeches and discourses made every one to admire him, so as even then he was feared and respected. He retyred himselfe usually into a Chappell, appointed for him in the Temple of Vitzliputzli, where they said their Idoll spake unto him; and for this cause hee was held very religious and devout. For these perfections then, being most noble and of great courage, his election was short and easie, as a man upon whom all mens eyes were fixed, as worthy of such a charge. Having intelligence of this

election, he hid himselfe in this Chappell of the Temple, whether it were by judgement (apprehending so heavy and hard a burthen) as to governe such a people, or rather, as I beleeve, through hypocrisie, to shew that hee desired not Empery: In the end they found him, leading him to the place of Councell, whither they accompanied him with all possible joy: he marched with such a gravity, as they all said the name of Moteçuma agreed very well with his nature, which is as much to say, as an angry Lord. The Electors did him great reverence, giving him notice, that hee was chosen King: from thence hee was led before the hearth of their Gods, to give Incense, where he offered Sacrifices in drawing bloud from his eares, and the calves of his legs, according to their custome. They attyred him with the Royall ornaments, and pierced the gristle of his nosthrils, hanging thereat a rich Emerald, a barbarous and troublous custome: but the desire of rule, made all paine light and easie. Being seated in his Throne, hee gave audience to the Orations and Speeches that were made unto him, which according unto their custome were eloquent and artificiall.

King of Tescucos Oration.

The first was pronounced by the King of Tescuco, which being preserved, for that it was lately delivered, and very worthy to bee heard, I will set it downe word by word, and thus hee said: The concordance and unitie of voyces upon thy election, is a sufficient testimonie (most noble young man) of the happinesse the Realme shall receive, as well deserving to be commanded by thee, as also for the generall applause which all doe shew by meanes thereof. Wherein they have great reason, for the Empire of Mexico doth alreadie so farre extend it selfe, that to governe a World, as it is, and to beare so heavie a burthen, it requires no lesse dexteritie and courage, then that which is resident in thy firme and valiant heart, nor of lesse wisdome and judgement then thine. I see and know plainly, that the mightie God loveth this Citie, seeing hee hath given understanding to choose what was fit. For who will not beleeve that a Prince, who before

Mexican greatnesse.

Their opinions of God and Heavens. 9.

his Reigne had pierced the nine Vaults of Heaven, should not likewise now obtaine those things that are earthly to relieve his people, aiding himselfe with his best judgement, being thereunto bound by the dutie and charge of a King? Who will likewise beleeve that the great courage which thou hast alwayes valiantly shewed in matters of importance, should now faile thee in matters of greatest need? Who will not perswade himselfe but the Mexican Empire is come to the height of their Sovereigntie, seeing the Lord of things created hath imparted so great graces unto thee, that with thy looke onely thou breedest admiration in them that behold thee? Rejoyce then, O happie Land, to whom the Creator hath given a Prince, as a firme Pillar to support thee, which shall bee thy Father and thy defence, by whom thou shalt be succoured at need, who will bee more then a brother to his subjects, for his pietie and clemencie. Thou hast a King, who in regard of his estate is not inclined to delights, or will lye stretched out upon his bed, occupied in pleasures and vices, but contrariwise in the middest of his sweet and pleasant sleep, he will suddenly wake for the care he must have over thee, and will not feele the taste of the most savourie meats, having his spirits transported with the imagination of thy good. Tell me then (O happie Realme) if I have not reason to say that thou oughtest rejoyce, having found such a King: And thou noble young man, and our most mightie Lord, be confident, and of a good courage, that seeing the Lord of things created hath given thee this charge, hee will also give thee force and courage to manage it: and thou mayest well hope, that hee which in times past hath used so great bountie towards thee, will not now deny thee his greater gifts, seeing he hath given thee so great a charge, which I wish thee to enjoy many yeeres. King Moteçuma was very attentive to this Discourse: which being ended, they say hee was so troubled, that endevouring thrice to answere him, hee could not speake, being overcome with teares, which joy and content doe usually cause, in signe of great humility.

Elegant Prosopopœia.

[III. v. 1019.]

Elegant Prosopopœia.

Kings Office.

In the end being come to himselfe, he spake briefly, I were too blind, good King of Tescuco, if I did not know, that what thou hast spoken unto me, proceeded of meere favour, it pleaseth you to shew me, seeing among so many noble and valiant men within this Realme, you have made choice of the least sufficient: and in truth, I find my selfe so incapeable of a charge of so great importance, that I know not what to doe, but to beseech the Creatour of all created things, that hee will favour mee, and I intreate you all to pray unto him for me. These words uttered, hee beganne againe to weepe. *Motezumas answere.*

He that in his election made such shew of humility and mildnesse, seeing himselfe King, began presently to discover his aspiring thoughts. The first was, hee commanded that no plebeian should serve in his house, nor beare any Royal Office, as his Predecessors had used til then; blaming them that would be served by men of base condition, commanding that all the noble and most famous men of his Realme should live within his Palace, and exercise the Offices of his Court, and House. Whereunto an old man of great authoritie (who had somtimes bin his Schoolemaster) opposed himselfe, advising him, to be careful what he did, and not to thrust himselfe into the danger of a great inconvenience, in separating himselfe from the vulgar and common people, so as they should not dare to looke him in the face, seeing themselves so rejected by him. He answered, that it was his resolution, and that he would not allow the Plebeians thus to goe mingled among the Nobles, as they had done, saying, that the service they did, was according to their condition, so as the Kings got no reputation, and thus he continued firme in his resolution. Hee presently commanded his Counsell to dismisse all the Plebeians from their charges and offices, as well those of his Houshold as of his Court, and to provide Knights, the which was done. After hee went in person to an enterprize necessary for his Coronation. At that time a Province lying farre off towards the North Ocean, was revolted from the Crown, whither he *How Motecuma ordered the service of his house, and of the warre he made for his Coronation. Chap. 21. Pride before the fall.*

led the flower of his people, well appointed. There he warred with such valour and dexteritie, that in the end hee subdued all the Province, and punished the Rebels severely, returning with a great number of Captives for the Sacrifices, and many other spoyles. All the Cities made him solemne receptions at his returne, and the Lords thereof gave him water to wash, performing the offices of servants, a thing not used by any of his Predecessors. Such was the feare and respect they bare him. In Mexico, they made the Feasts of his Coronation with great preparations of Dances, Comedies, Banquets, Lights, and other inventions for many dayes. And there came so great a wealth of Tributes from all his Countreyes, that strangers unknowne came to Mexico, and their very enemies resorted in great numbers disguised to see these Feasts, as those of Tlascalla, and Mechovacan: the which Moteçuma having discovered, he commanded they should be lodged and gently intreated, and honoured as his owne person. He also made them goodly Galleries like unto his owne, where they might see and behold the Feasts. So they entred by night to those Feasts, as the King himselfe, making their Sports and Maskes. And for that I have made mention of these Provinces, it shall not be from the purpose to understand, that the Inhabitants of Mechovacan, Tlascalla, and Tapeaca, would never yeeld to the Mexicans, but did alwayes fight valiantly against them: yea, sometimes the Mechovacans did vanquish the Mexicans, as also those of Tapeaca did. In which place, the Marquesse Don Ferrand Cortes, after that hee and the Spaniards were expelled Mexico, pretended to build their first Citie, the which hee called (as I well remember) Segure dela Frontiere: But this peopling continued little: for having afterwards reconquered Mexico, all the Spaniards went to inhabite there. To conclude, those of Tapeaca, Tlascalla, and Mechovacan, have beene alwayes enemies to the Mexicans; although Moteçuma said unto Cortes, that hee did purposely forbeare to subdue them; to have

Segura de la Frontiere.

occasion to exercise his men of warre, and to take numbers of captives.

Of the behaviour and greatnesse of Motezuma. Chap. 22.

This King laboured to bee respected, yea, to be worshipped as a God. No Plebeian might looke him in the face: if he did, he was punished with death: he did never set his foot on the ground, but was alwayes carried on the shoulders of Noblemen; and if he lighted, they laid rich Tapistrie whereon hee did goe. When hee made any Voyage, hee and the Noblemen went as it were in a Parke * compassed in for the nonce, and the rest of the people went without the Parke, environing it in on every side; hee never put on a garment twice, nor did eate or drinke in one vessell or dish above once; all must be new, giving to his attendants that which had once served him: so as commonly they were rich and sumptuous. Hee was very carefull to have his Lawes observed. And when he returned victor from any warre, hee fained sometimes to goe and take his pleasure, then would hee disguise himselfe, to see if his people (supposing hee were absent) would omit any thing of the feast or reception: If there were any excesse or defect, hee then did punish it rigorously. And also to discover how his Ministers did execute their Offices, hee often disguised himselfe, offering gifts and presents to the Judges, provoking them to doe in-justice. If they offended, they were presently punished with death, without remission or respect, were they Noblemen, or his Kinsmen; yea, his owne Brethren. Hee was little conversant with his people, and seldome seene, retyring himselfe most commonly to care for the government of his Realme. Besides that, he was a great Justicier and very Noble, he was very valiant and happy, by meanes whereof, hee obtayned great victories, and came to this greatnesse, as is written in the Spanish Histories, whereon it seemes needlesse to write more. I will onely have a care hereafter to write what the Books and Histories of the Indies make mention of; the which the Spanish Writers have not observed, having not sufficiently understood the secrets of this Countrey, the

His proud state.

[III. v. 1020.]

**Or betwixt railes.*

His liberalitie.

His severitie.

His policie to sift men.

which are things very worthy to be knowne, as we shall see hereafter.

It chanced that Moteçuma having reigned many yeeres in great prosperitie, and so puft up in his conceit, as he caused himselfe to be served and feared, yea to be worshipped as a God, that the Almighty Lord began to chastice him, and also to admonish him, suffering even the very Devils whom he worshipped, to tell him these heavy tydings of the ruine of his Kingdome, and to torment him by Visions, which had never beene seene; wherewith hee remayned so melancholy and troubled, as he was void of judgement.

Quetzacoalt. His crueltie a true effect of the Devils foretellings. God forewarneth men to bring them to repentance: the Devill to fill them with feares, perfidious and cruell jealousies, superstitious shifts, and to maintaine his credit, by his divining, seeking to proove his divinity (al which is heere evident) in things which Gods justice lets him know he will doe to punish such impious pietie.

The Idoll of those of Cholola, which they called Quetzacoalt, declared, that a strange people came to possesse his Kingdomes. The King of Tescuco (who was a great Magitian, and had conference with the Devill) came one day at an extraordinary houre to visit Moteçuma, assuring him that his Gods had told him, that there were great losses preparing for him, and for his whole Realme: many Witches and Sorcerers went and declared as much, amongst which there was one, did very particularly foretell him what should happen: and as hee was with him hee told him that the pulses of his feete and hands failed him. Moteçuma troubled with these newes, commanded all those Sorcerers to be apprehended: but they vanished presently in the Prison, wherewith he grew into such a rage, that he might not kill them, as hee put their wives and children to death, destroying their Houses and Families. Seeing himselfe importuned and troubled with these advertisements, hee sought to appease the anger of his Gods: and for that cause hee laboured to bring a huge stone, thereon to make great Sacrifices: For the effecting whereof hee sent a great number of people with Engins and Instruments to bring it: which they could by no meanes moove, although (being obstinate) they had broken many Instruments. But as they strove still to raise it, they heard a voyce joyning to the stone, which said they laboured in vaine, and that they should not

raise it, for that the Lord of things created would no more suffer those things to be done there; Moteçuma understanding this, commanded the Sacrifice to be performed in that place, and they say the voyce spake againe: Have I not told you, that it is not the pleasure of the Lord of things created, that it should bee done? and that you may well know that it is so, I will suffer my selfe to bee transported a little, then after you shall not moove mee. Which happened so indeed, for presently they carried it a small distance with great facilitie, then afterwards they could not moove it, till that after many Prayers, it suffered it selfe to bee transported to the entry of the Citie of Mexico, where suddenly it fell into the Lake, where seeking for it, they could not find it, but it was afterwards found in the same place from whence they had remooved it, wherewith they remayned amazed and confounded.

Prodigies or Devillish Miracles.

At the same time there appeared in the Element a great flame of fire, very bright, in the forme of a Pyramide, which beganne to appeare at midnight, and went still mounting untill the Sunne rising in the morning, where it stayed at the South, and then vanished away. It shewed it selfe in this sort the space of a whole yeere, and ever as it appeared the people cast forth great cryes as they were accustomed, beleeving it was a presage of great misfortune. It happened also that fire tooke the Temple, when as no body was within it, nor neere unto it, neyther did there fall any lightning or thunder: whereupon the Guards crying out, a number of people ranne with water, but nothing could helpe, so as it was all consumed; and they say the fire seemed to come forth of pieces of timber, which kindled more by the water that was cast upon it.

A Comet by day.

There was a Comet seene in the day time, running from the West to the East, casting an infinite number of sparkles, and they say the forme was like to a long tayle, having three heads.

The great Lake betwixt Mexico and Tescuco, without any winde, earthquake, or any other apparant signe, began sudainly to swell, and the waves grew in such sort, as all

the buildings neere unto it fell downe to the ground. They say at that time they heard many voices, as of a woman in paine, which said sometimes, O my children, the [III. v. 1021.] time of your destruction is come: and other whiles it said, O my children, whither shall I carry you that you perish not utterly? There appeared likewise many Monsters with two heads, which being carried before the King, sudainly vanished. There were two that exceeded all other Monsters, being very strange; the one was, the Fishers of the Lake tooke a Bird as Bigge as a Crane, and of the same colour, but of a strange and unseene forme. They carried it to Moteçuma, who at that time was in the pallace of teares and mourning, which was all hanged with blacke; for as he had many Pallaces for his recreation, so had he also others for times of affliction, wherewith he was then heavily charged and tormented, by reason of the threatnings his gods had given him by these sorrowfull advertisements. The Fishers came about noone setting this Bird before him, which had on the top of his head a thing bright and transparent, in forme of a Looking-glasse, wherein he did behold a warlike Nation comming from the East, armed, fighting, and killing. He called his Divines and Astronomers (whereof there was a great number) who having seene these things, and not able to yeelde any reason of what was demanded of them, the Bird vanished away, so as it was never more seene: whereupon Moteçuma remained very heavy and sorrowfull. The other which happened, was a Laborer, who had the report of a very honest man; he came unto him, telling him, that being the day before at his worke, a great Eagle flew towards him, and tooke him up in his talents, without hurting him, carrying him into a certaine Cave, where it left him; The Eagle pronouncing these words, Most mighty Lord, I have brought him whom thou hast commanded me: This Indian Laborer looked about on every side, to whom he spake, but he saw no man. Then he heard a voyce which said unto him, Doost thou not know this man, whom thou seest lying

Monsters.

Prodigious Foule.

upon the ground? and looking thereon, he perceived a man to lye very heavy asleepe, with royall ensignes, flowers in his hand, and a staffe of perfumes burning, as they are accustomed to use in that Country: whom the Labourer beholding, knew it was the great King Moteçuma, and answered presently: Great Lord, this resembles our King Motezuma. The voice said againe, Thou sayest true, behold what he is, and how hee lies asleepe, carelesse of the great miseries and afflictions prepared for him. It is now time that he pay the great number of offences he hath done to God, and that he receive the punishment of his tyrannies, and great pride, and yet thou seest how carelesse he lyes, blinde in his owne miseries, and without any feeling. But to the end thou maiest the better see him, take the staffe of perfumes he holds burning in his hand, and put it to his face, thou shalt then finde him without feeling. The poore laborer durst not approach neere him, nor doe as he was commanded, for the great feare they all had of this King. But the voice said, Have no feare, for I am without comparison greater than this King, I can destroy him, and defend him, doe therefore what I command thee. Whereupon the Laborer tooke the staffe of perfumes out of the Kings hand, and put it burning to his nose, but he moved not, nor shewed any feeling. This done, the voice said unto him, that seeing he had found the King so sleepie, he should goe awake him, and tell him what he had seene. Then the Eagle by the same commandement, tooke the man in his talents, and set him in the same place where he found him, and for accomplishment of that which he had spoken he came to advertise him. They say, that Moteçuma looking on his face, found that he was burnt, the which he had not felt till then, wherewith he continued exceeding heavie and troubled.

Of the newes Moteçuma received of the Spaniards arrival in his Country, and of the Ambassage he sent them. Chap 24.

In the foureteenth yeare of the raigne of Moteçuma, which was in the yeare of our Lord 1517. there appeared in the North Sea, Shippes, and men landing, whereat the Subjects of Moteçuma wondred much, and desirous to

learne, and to be better satisfied what they were, they went aboord in their Canoes, carrying many refreshings of meates and stuffes to make apparrell, upon colour to sell them. The Spaniards received them into their Shippes, and in exchange of their victuals and stuffes, which were acceptable unto them, they gave them chaines of false Stones, red, blew, greene, and yellow, which the Indians imagined to be precious stones. The Spaniards informing themselves, who was their King, and of his great power, dismissed them, willing them to carry those Stones unto their Lord, saying, that for that time they could not goe to him, but they would presently returne and visite him. Those of the coast went presently to Mexico with this message, carrying the representation of what they had seene, painted on a cloath, both of the Shippes, Men, and Stones which they had given them. King Moteçuma remained very pensive with this message, commanding them not to reveale it to any one. The day following, he assembled his Counsell, and having shewed them the painted cloathes and the Chaines, he consulted what was to be done: where it was resolved to set good watches upon all the Sea coasts, to give present advertisement to the King of what they should discover. The yeare following, which was in the beginning of the yeare 1518. they discovered a Fleete at Sea, in the which was the Marquise of Valle Don Fernande Cortes, with his companions, newes which much troubled Moteçuma, and conferring with his Counsell, they all said, that without doubt, their great and auncient Lord Queztzalcoalt was come, who had said, that he would returne from the East, whither he was gone. The Indians held opinion, that a great Prince had in times past left them, and promised to returne. Of the beginning and ground of which opinion shall be spoken in another place. They therefore sent five principall Ambassadors with rich presents, to congratulate his comming, saying, they knew well that their great Lord Queztzalcoalt was come, and that his servant Moteçuma

Relation or writing by Pictures.

Effects of superstitious legends.

[III. v. 1022.]

sent to visite him, for so he accounted himselfe. The Spaniards understood this message by the meanes of Marina, an Indian woman whom they brought with them which understood the Mexican tongue. Fernande de Cortes finding this a good occasion for his entry, commanded to decke his Chamber richly, and being set in great state and pompe, he caused the Ambassadors to enter, who omitted no shewes of humilitie, but to worship him as their god.

Cortes admits divine worship agreeing more with his covetous designes, then Christian religion, which arrived there according to these beginnings.

They delivered their charge, saying, that his servant Moteçuma sent to visit him, and that he held the Country in his name as his Lieutenant, that he knew well it was the Topilcin which had beene promised them many yeares since, who should returne againe unto them. And therefore they brought him such Garments as he was wont to weare, when he did converse amongst them, beseeching him to accept willingly of them, offering him many presents of great value. Cortes receiving the presents, answered, that he was the same they spake of, wherewith they were greatly satisfied, seeing themselves to be curteously received and intreated by him. To conclude, the day after this Ambassage, all the Captaines and Commanders of the Fleete, came unto the Admirall, where understanding the matter, and that this Realme of Moteçuma was mighty and rich, it seemed fit to gaine the reputation of brave and valiant men among this people, and that by this meanes (although they were few) they should be feared and received into Mexico. To this end they discharged all their Artillery from their Shippes, which being a thing the Indians had never heard, they were amazed, as if heaven had fallen upon them. Then the Spaniards beganne to defie them to fight with them: but the Indians not daring to hazard themselves, they did beate them and intreate them ill, shewing their Swords, Lances, Pertuisans, and other armes, wherewith they did terrifie them much. The poore Indians were by reason hereof so fearefull and amazed, as they changed their opinion, saying, that their Lord Topilcin came not

Egregiam vero laudem.

in this troupe, but they were some gods (their enemies) came to destroy them. When as the Ambassadors returned to Mexico, Moteçuma was in the house of audience; but before he would heare them, this miserable man commanded a great number of men to be sacrificed in his presence, and with their bloud to sprinkle the Ambassadors (supposing by this ceremony) which they were accustomed to doe in solemne Ambassages) to receive a good answer. But understanding the report and information of the manner of their Ships, Men, and Armes, he stood perplexed and confounded: then taking counsell thereon, he found no better meanes, then to labor to stop the entry of these strangers, by Conjurations and Magicke Arts. They had accustomed often to use this meanes, having great conference with the Devill, by whose helpe they sometimes obtained strange effects. They therefore assembled together all the Sorcerers, Magitians, and Inchanters, who being perswaded by Moteçuma, they tooke it in charge to force this people to returne unto their Country. For this consideration, they went to a certaine place which they thought fit for the invocation of their Devils, and practising their Arts (a thing worthy of consideration) They wrought all they could; but seeing nothing could prevaile against the Christians, they went to the King, telling him that they were more then men, for that nothing might hurt them, notwithstanding, all their Conjurations and Inchantments. Then Moteçuma advised him of another policie, that faining to be very well contented with their comming, he commanded all his Countries to serve these celestiall gods that were come into his Land. The whole people was in great heavinesse and amazement, and often newes came that the Spaniards inquired for the King, of his manner of life, of his house and meanes. He was exceedingly vexed herewith: some of the people and other Negromanciers advised him to hide himselfe, offering to place him whereas no creature should ever finde him. This seemed base unto him, and therefore he resolved to attend them, although it were

Needes must they goe whom Devill drives.

Protean shifts.

dying. In the end he left his Houses and royall Pallaces to lodge in others, leaving them for these gods as he said.

Of the Spaniards entrie into Mexico. Chap. 25.

I pretend not to intreate of the acts and deedes of the Spaniards, who conquered New Spaine, nor the strange adventures which happened unto them, nor of the courage and invincible valour of their Captaine Don Fernando Cortes: for that there are many Histories and Relations thereof, as those which Fernando Cortes himselfe did write to the Emperour Charles the fift, although they be in a plaine stile, and farre from arrogancy, the which doe give a sufficient testimony of what did passe, wherein he was worthy of eternall memory, but onely to accomplish my intention: I am to relate what the Indians report of this action, the which hath not to this day beene written in our vulgar tongue. Monteçuma therefore, having notice of this Captains victories, that he advanced for his conquest, that he was confederate and joyned with them of Tlascalla, his capitall enemies, and that he had severely punished them of Cholola his friends, he studied how to deceive him, or else to try him in sending a principall man unto him, attyred with the lake ornaments and royall ensignes, the which should take upon him to be Moteçuma, which fiction being discovered to the Marquise by them of Tlascalla (who did accompany him) he sent him backe, after a milde and gentle reprehension, in seeking so to deceive him: whereupon Moteçuma was so confounded, that for the feare thereof he returned to his first imaginations and practises, [III. v. 1023.] to force the Christians to retire, by the invocation of Conjurers and Witches. And therfore he assembled a greater number then before, threatning them, that if they returned without effecting what he had given them in charge, not any one should escape, whereunto they all promised to obey. And for this cause, all the Devils officers went to the way of Chalco, by the which the Spaniards should passe, when mounting to the top of a hill, Tezcalipuca, one of their principall gods, appeared unto them, as comming from the Spaniards campe, in the

Tezcalipuca a Devill-god.

habit of Chalcas, who had his paps bound about eight fold with a cord of reedes, he came like a man beside himselfe, out of his wits, and drunke with rage and furie. Being come to this troupe of Witches and Conjurers, he stayed, and spake to them in great choller, Why come you hither? what doth Motecuma pretend to doe by your meanes? He had advised himselfe too late: for it is now determined, that his Kingdome and honour shall be taken from him, with all that he possesseth, for punishment of the great tyrannies he hath committed against his Subjects, having governed not like a Lord, but like a traitour and tyrant. The Inchanters and Conjurers hearing these words, knew it was their Idoll, and humbling themselves before him, they presently built him an Altar of Stone in the same place, covering it with flowers which they gathered thereabouts, but he contrariwise, making no account of these things, began againe to chide them, saying: What come you hither to doe, O ye traitours? Returne presently and behold Mexico, that you may understand what shall become thereof. And they say, that returning towards Mexico to behold it, they did see it flaming on fire. Then the Devill vanished away, and they not daring to passe any farther, gave notice thereof to Motezuma, whereat he remained long without speaking, looking heavily on the ground; then he said, What shall we doe if god and our friends leave us, and contrariwise, they helpe and favour our enemies? I am now resolute, and we ought all to resolve in this point, that happen what may, wee must not flye nor hide our selves, or shew any signe of cowardise. I onely pittie the aged and infants, who have neither feete nor hands to defend themselves. Having spoken this, he held his peace, being transported into an extasie. In the end, the Marquesse approaching to Mexico, Motezuma resolved to make of necessity a vertue, going three or foure leagues out of the Citie to receive him with a great majesty, carried upon the shoulders of foure Noblemen, under a rich Canapy of Gold and Feathers. When they

met, Motezuma descended, and they saluted one another very curteously. Don Fernando Cortes said unto him, that he should not care for any thing, and that he came not to take away his Realme, nor to diminish his authority. Motezuma lodged Cortes, and his companions in his royall Pallace, the which was very stately, and he himselfe lodged in other private houses. This night the Souldiers for joy discharged their Artillery, wherewith the Indians were much troubled, being unaccustomed to heare such Musicke. The day following, Cortes caused Motezuma and all the Nobles of his Court to assemble in a great Hall, where being set in a high Chaire, he said unto them, that he was servant to a great Prince, who had sent them into these countries to doe good workes, and that having found them of Tlascalla to be his friends (who complained of wrongs and greevances done unto them daily by them of Mexico) he would understand which of them was in the blame, and reconcile them, that hereafter they might no more afflict and warre one against another: and in the meane time, he and his brethren (which were the Spaniards) would remaine still there without hurting them: but contrariwise, they would helpe them all they could. He laboured to make them all understand this discourse, using his Interpreters and truchmen. The which being understood by the King and the other Mexican Lords, they were wonderfully well satisfied, and shewed great signes of love to Cortes and his company. So it is, that by some occasions, many complaints, griefes, and jealousies grew on either side. The which Cortes finding, & that the Indians mindes began to be distracted from them, he thought it necessary to assure himselfe, in laying hand upon King Moteçuma, who was seized on, and his legges fettered. Truely this act was strange unto all men, and like unto that other of his, to have burnt his Shippes, and shut himselfe in the midst of his enemies, there to vanquish or to dye. The mischiefe was, that by reason of the unexpected arrivall of Pamphilo Narvaes at the true crosse, drawing the

Good fishing in troubled waters.

Cortes his two strange attempts.

Country into mutiny, Cortes was forced to absent himselfe from Mexico, and to leave poore Moteçuma in the hands of his companions, who wanted discretion nor had not moderation like unto him: so as they grew to that dissention, as there was no meanes to pacifie it.

Of the death of Motezuma, and the Spaniards departure out of Mexico. Chap. 26.

When as Cortes was absent from Mexico, he that remayned his Lieutenant, resolved to punish the Mexicans severely, causing a great number of the Nobilitie to be slaine at a maske, which they made in the Palace, the which did so farre exceed, as all the people mutined, and in a furious rage, tooke Armes to be revenged and to kill the Spaniards. They therefore besieged them in the Palace, pressing them so neere, that all the hurt the Spaniards could doe them with their Artillerie and Crossebowes, might not terrifie them, not force them to retyre from their enterprise, where they continued many dayes, stopping their victuals, not suffering any one to enter or issue forth. They did fight with stones, and cast Darts after their manner, with a kind of Lances like unto Arrowes, in the which there are foure or sixe very sharpe Rasors, the which are such (as the Histories report) that in these warres, an Indian with one blow of these Rasors, almost cut off the necke of a Horse, and as they did one day fight with this resolution and furie, the Spaniards to make them cease, shewed forth Moteçuma, with an other of the chiefe Lords of Mexico, upon the top of a platforme of the house, covered with the Targets of two Souldiers that were with them. The Mexicans seeing their Lord Moteçuma, stayed with great silence. Then Moteçuma caused the Lord to advise them to pacifie themselves, and not to warre against the Spaniards, seeing that (he being a prisoner) it could little profit him. The which being understood by a yong man, called Quicuxtemoc, whom they now resolved to make their King, hee spake with a loud voyce to Moteçuma, willing him to retyre like a Villaine, that seeing he had beene such a Coward, as to suffer himselfe to bee taken, they were no more bound to obey him, but rather should punish

Indian armies.

[III. v. 1024.]

him as he deserved, calling him Woman for the more reproach, and then he began to draw his Bowe and to shoot at him, and the people began to cast stones at him, and to continue their combate. Many say that Moteçuma was then hurt with a stone, whereof hee dyed. The Indians of Mexico affirme the contrarie, and that hee dyed as I will shew hereafter. Alvaro, and the rest of the Spaniards seeing themselves thus pressed, gave intelligence to Captaine Cortes, of the great danger they were in: who having with an admirable dexteritie and valour, given order to Narvaes affaires, and assembled the greatest part of his men, hee returned with all speed to succour them of Mexico, where observing the time the Indians rest (for it was their custome in warre, to rest every fourth day) Hee one day advanced with great policy and courage, so as both he and his men entred the Palace, where as the Spaniards had fortified themselves: they then shewed great signes of joy, in discharging their Artillerie. But as the Mexicans fury increased (being out of hope to defend themselves) Cortes resolved to passe away secretly in the night without bruit. Having therefore made Bridges to passe two great and dangerous passages, about mid-night they issued forth as secretly as they could, the greatest part of his people having passed the first bridge, they were discovered by an Indian woman before they could passe the second, who cryed out their enemies fled, at the which voyce all the people ranne together with a horrible furie: so as in passing the second bridge, they were so charged and pursued, as there remayned above three hundred men slaine and hurt in one place; where at this day there is a small Hermitage, which they unproperly call of Martyrs. Many Spaniards (to preserve the gold and jewels which they had gotten) perished, and others staying to carry it away, were taken by the Mexicans, and cruelly sacrificed to their Idols. The Mexicans found King Moteçuma dead, and wounded as they say with Poniards, and they hold opinion that that night the Spaniards slue him with other Noble-

Fourth dayes rest in warre.

300. *Spaniards lost.*

A.D. c. 1588.

men. The Marquesse in his Relation sent to the Emperor, writes the contrary, and that the Mexicans killed him that night with a sonne of Moteçuma, which he led with him amongst other Noblemen, saying, that all the treasure of gold, stones, and silver, fell into the Lake, and was never more seene. But howsoever, Moteçuma dyed miserably, and payed his deserts to the just judgement of our Lord of Heaven for his pride and tyrannie: his body falling into the Indians power, they would make him no Obsequies of a King, no not of an ordinarie person, but cast it away in great disdaine and rage. A servant of his having pitie of this Kings miserie (who before had beene feared and worshipped as a God) made a fire thereof, and put the ashes in a contemptible place. Returning to the Spaniards that escaped, they were greatly tyred and turmoyled, the Indians following them two or three dayes very resolutely, giving them no time of rest, being so distressed for victuals, as a few graines of Mays were divided amongst them for their meate. The Relations both of the Spaniards and Indians agree, that God delivered them here miraculously, the Virgin Mary defending them on a little Hill, whereat this day three leagues from Mexico, there is a Church built in remembrance thereof, called our Lady of succour. They retyred to their ancient friends of Tlascalla, whence (by their aide, and the valour and policy of Cortes) they returned afterwards to make war against Mexico, by Water and Land, with an invention of Brigantines, which they put into the Lake, where after many combats, and above threescore dangerous battailes, they conquered Mexico, on Saint Hippolitus day, the 13. of August, 1521. The last King of the Mexicans (having obstinately maintayned the warres) was in the end taken in a great Canoe, whereinto hee fled, who being brought with some other of the chiefest Noblemen before Fernando Cortes, this petie King with a strange resolution and courage, drawing his dagger, came neere to Cortes, and said unto him, Untill this day I have done my best indevour for

And can you blame him to write the best of himselfe?

Succession of superstition.

Royall courage.

the defence of my people: now am I no farther bound, but to give thee this dagger to kill me therewith. Cortes answered, that he would not kill him, neither was it his intention to hurt them: but their obstinate folly was guiltie of all the miserie and afflictions they had suffered, neither were they ignorant how often he had required peace and amitie at their hands. Hee then commanded them to be intreated curteously. Many strange and admirable things chanced in this Conquest of Mexico: for I neither hold it for an untruth, nor an addition, which many write, that God favoured the Spaniards by many miracles.

You here hear a Jesuit. Gold is a miracle-working God in covetous hearts. Quid non mortalia pectora cogit Auri sacra fames? this sacerrima fames wrought miracles in all the Spanish Indies, and still doth at Saints shrines, and in European pilgrimages, and Purgatorie visions, &c.

It is most certaine by the Relations of many, and by the Histories which are written, that in divers battailes which the Spaniards had, as well in New Spaine, as in Peru, the Indians their enemies did see a Horseman in the ayre, mounted on a white horse, with a Sword in his hand, fighting for the Spaniards, whence comes the great reverence they beare at the Indies to the glorious Apostle Saint James. Otherwhiles they did see in some battailes, the Image of our Lady, from whom the Christians have received in those parts incomparable favours and benefits, &c. And therefore we ought not to condemne all these things of the first Conquerors of the Indies, as some religious and learned men have done, doubtlesse with a good zeale, but too much affected: For although for the most part they were covetous men, cruell, and very ignorant in the course that was to be observed with the Infidels, who had never offended the Christians, yet can we not denie, but on their part there was much malice against God and our Men, which forced them to use rigour and chastisement.

[III. v. 1025.] *Great is (cryed the shrine-makers) Diana of the Ephesians.*

Si ego (might America say) digna sim hac contumeliâ maximè; At tu (Hispane) indignus qui facerestamen.

Every one may understand by the Relation and Discourse I have written in these Bookes, as well at Peru, as in New Spaine, when as the Christians first set footing, that these Kingdomes and Monarchies were come to the height and period of their power. The Inguas of Peru, possessing from the Realme of Chille beyond Quitto,

which are a thousand leagues, being most abundant in gold, silver, sumptuous services, and other things: as also in Mexico, Moteçuma commanded from the North Ocean Sea, unto the South, being feared and worshipped not as a man, but rather as a god. Then was it, that the most high Lord had determined that that stone of Daniel, which dissolved the Realmes and Kingdomes of the World, should also dissolve those of this new World. And as the Law of Christ came when as the Roman Monarchie was at her greatnesse: so did it happen at the West Indies, wherein wee see the just providence of our Lord: For being then in the World, I meane in Europe, but one head and temporall Lord, as the holy Doctors doe note, whereby the Gospell might more easily bee imparted to so many People and Nations; Even so hath it happened at the Indies, where having given the knowledge of Christ to the Monarchs of so many Kingdomes, it was a meanes that afterwards the knowledge of the Gospell was imparted to all the people: yea, there is herein a speciall thing to be observed, that as the Lords of Cusco and Mexico conquered new Lands, so they brought in their owne language: for although there were (as at this day) great diversitie of tongues, yet the Courtly speech of Cusco, did and doth at this day runne above a thousand leagues, and that of Mexico did not extend farre lesse, which hath not beene of small importance, but hath much profited in making the preaching easie, at such a time, when as the Preachers had not the gift of many tongues, as in old times. He that would know what a helpe it hath beene for the conversion of this people in these two great Empires, and the great difficultie they have found to reduce those Indians to Christ, which acknowledge no Soveraigne Lord, let him goe to Florida, Bresil, the Andes, and many other places, where they have not prevayled so much by their preaching in fiftie yeeres, as they have done in Peru and new Spaine in lesse then five. If they will impute the cause to the riches of the Country: I will not altogether denie it. Yet were it impossible to have so

What difference twixt Wordes and Swords, twixt Apostles and greedie Souldiers? The Prince of peace sent men not to kill, but to be killed, & came to bee a slaine Lamb, that the World might be saved; not to slay a World that himselfe might be a covetous worldly saver and conqueror. Nimrod or Alexander had been fitter Preachers in this kinde then Peter and Paul: their examples (not of these) did Cortes and Pizarro follow: and the Christianitie of those parts more smells of the Sword then the Word, as

great wealth, and to be able to preserve it, if there had not beene a Monarchie. This is also a worke of God in this age, when as the Preachers of the Gospell are so cold and without zeale, and Merchants with the heat of covetousnesse and desire of command, search and discover new people whither we passe with our commodities; for as Saint Augustine saith, the prophesie of Esay is fulfilled, in that the Church of Christ is extended, not onely to the right hand, but also to the left: which is (as hee declareth) by humane and earthly meanes, which they seeke more commonly then Jesus Christ. It was also a great providence of our Lord, that when as the first Spaniards arrived there, they found aide from the Indians themselves, by reason of their partialities and great divisions.

the Jesuit in bookes de procuranda Ind. sal. hath shewed, as is shewed sup. To. 1. l. 2. c. 1. in bayting the Popes Bull. Avgust. lib. 2. de com. evang. c. 36.

This is well knowne in Peru, that the division betwixt the two brothers Atahualpa and Guasca, the great King Guanacapa their father being newly dead, gave entrie to the Marquesse Don Francis Pizarre, and to the Spaniards, for that either of them desired his alliance being busied in warre one against the other. The like experience hath beene in new Spaine, that the aide of those of the Province of Tlascalla, by reason of their continuall hatred against the Mexicans, gave the victorie and siegniorie of Mexico, to the Marquesse Fernando Cortes and his men, and without them it had beene impossible to have wonne it, yea, to have maintayned themselves within the Country.

This was the greatest helpe of the Spanish conquest. Indian quarrels made that easie which their gold made desirable.

They are much deceived that so little esteeme the Indians, and judge that (by the advantage the Spaniards have over them in their Persons, Horses, and Armes, both offensive and defensive) they might easily conquer any Land or Nation of the Indies.

Chille stands yet, or to say better, Arauco and Tuecapel, which are two Cities, where our Spaniards could not yet win one foot of ground, although they have made warre there above five and twentie yeeres, without sparing of any cost. For this barbarous Nation, having once lost the apprehension of horse and shot, and knowing that the

Divers Nations which the Spaniards could never conquer to this day.

Spaniards fall as well as other men, with the blow of a stone or of a dart, they hazard themselves desperately, entring the Pikes upon any enterprise. How many yeeres have they levied men in new Spaine, to send against the Chychymequos, which are a small number of naked Indians, armed onely with bowes and arrowes? yet to this day they could not be vanquished, but contrariwise, from day to day they grow more desperate and resolute. But what shall we say of the Chucos, of the Chiraguanas, of the Piscocones, and all the other people of the Andes? Hath not all the flower of Peru beene there, bringing with them so great provision of Armes and Men as we have seene? What did they? With what victories returned [III. v. 1026.] they? Surely, they returned very happy in saving of their lives, having lost their baggage and almost all their horses. Let no man thinke (speaking of the Indians) that they are men of nothing; but if they thinke so, let them goe and make triall. Wee must then attribute the glorie to whom it appertaynes, that is, principally to God, and to his admirable disposition: for if Moteçuma in Mexico, and the Ingua in Peru, had beene resolute to resist the Spaniards, and to stop their entrie, Cortes and Pizarre had prevayled little in their landing, although they were excellent Captaines. It hath also beene a great helpe to induce the Indians to receive the Law of Christ, the subjection they were in to their Kings and Lords, and also the servitude and slaverie they were held in by the Devils tyrannies and insupportable yoke. This was an excellent disposition of the divine Wisedome, the which drawes profit from ill to a good end, and receives his good from an others ill, which it hath not sowen. It is most certaine that no people of the West Indies have beene more apt to receive the Gospell, then those which were most subject to their Lords, and which have beene charged with the heaviest burthens, as well of Tributes and Services, as of Customes and bloudie Practises. All that which the Mexican Kings and those of Peru did possesse, is at this day most planted with Christian

Devill insupportable.

Religion, and where there is least difficultie in the Government and Ecclesiasticall Discipline. The Indians were so wearied with the heavy and insupportable yoke of Satans lawes, his sacrifices and ceremonies, whereof wee have formerly spoken, that they consulted among themselves, to seeke out a new Law, and an other God to serve. And therefore the Law of Christ seemed unto them, and doth at this day seeme just, sweet, cleane, good, and full of happinesse.

And that which is difficult in our Law, to beleeve so high and soveraigne Mysteries, hath beene easie among them, for that the Devill had made them comprehend things of greater difficultie, and the selfe-same things which hee had stolen from our Evangelicall Law, as their manner of Communion and Confession, their adoration of Three in One, and such other like, the which against the will of the Enemie, have holpen for the easie receiving of the Truth by those who before had embraced Lyes. God is wise and admirable in all his workes, vanquishing the Adversarie even with his owne weapon, hee takes him in his owne snare, and kills him with his owne sword. Finally, our God (who had created this People, and who seemed to have thus long forgot them) when the houre was come, hee would have the same Devils, enemies to mankinde, whom they falsly held for gods; should give a testimonie against their will, of the true Law, the power of Christ, and the triumph of the Crosse, as it plainly appeares by the presages, prophesies, signes, and prodigies, here before mentioned, with many others happened in divers parts, and that the same ministers of Satan, Sorcerers, Magicians, and other Indians have confessed it. And wee cannot denie it (being most evident and knowne to all the World) that the Devill dareth not hisse, and that the Practises, Oracles, Answers, and visible Apparitions, which were so ordinarie throughout all this Infidelitie, have ceased, whereas the Crosse of Christ hath beene planted, where there are Churches, and where the Name of Christ hath beene confessed. And if there be at this

day any cursed minister of his, that doth participate thereof, it is in Caves, and on the tops of Mountaines, and in secret places, farre from the name and communion of Christians. The Soveraigne Lord be blessed for his great mercies, and for the glorie of his holy Name: And in truth, if they did governe this people temporally and spiritually, in such sort as the Law of Jesus Christ hath set it downe, with a milde yoke and light burthen, and that they would impose no more upon them then they can well beare, as the Letters Patents of the good Emperour of happy memorie doe command, and that they would imploy halfe the care they have to make profit of these poore mens sweats and labours, for the health of their soules, it were the most peaceable and happy Christian part of all the World, &c.

Chap. V.

Of the ancient superstitions of the Mexicans and Indians of America, gathered out of the fifth Booke of Josephus Acosta.

They acknowledge one supreme Deitie.

FIrst, although the darknesse of Infidelitie holdeth these Nations in blindnesse, yet in many things the light of Truth and Reason workes somewhat in them. And they commonly acknowledge a supreme Lord and Author of all things, which they of Peru called Unachocha, and gave him names of great excellence, as Pachacamac, or Pachayachachic, which is, the Creator of Heaven and Earth: and Usapu, which is, admirable, and other like names. Him they did worship, as the chiefest of all, whom they did honor in beholding the Heaven. The like wee see amongst them of Mexico, and China, and all other Infidels. Which accordeth well with that which is said of Saint Paul, in the Acts of the Apostles, where he did see the Inscription of an Altar; Ignoto Deo: to [III. v. 1027.]

the unknowne God. Whereupon the Apostle tooke occasion to preach unto them, saying, Hee whom you worship without knowing, him doe I preach unto you. In like sort, those which at this day doe preach the Gospell to the Indians, finde no great difficultie to perswade them that there is a High God and Lord over all, and that this is the Christians God, and the true God. And yet it hath caused great admiration in mee, that although they had this knowledge, yet had they no proper Name for God, if wee shall seeke into the Indian tongue for a word to answere to this Name of God, as in Latin, Deus; in Greeke, Theos; in Hebrew, El; in Arabike, Alla; but we shall not finde any in the Cuscan or Mexican tongues. So as such as preach or write to the Indians, use our Spanish name Dios, fitting it to the accent or pronunciation of the Indian tongues, the which differ much, whereby appeares the small knowledge they had of God, seeing they cannot so much as name him, if it bee not by our very name: yet in truth they had some little knowledge, and therefore in Peru they made him a rich Temple, which they called Pachacamac, which was the principall Sanctuarie of the Realme. And as it hath beene said, this word of Pachacamac, is as much to say, as the Creator, yet in this Temple they used their Idolatries, worshipping the Devill and Figures. They likewise made Sacrifices and Offerings to Viracocha, which held the chiefe place amongst the worships which the Kings Inguas made. Hereof they called the Spaniards Virocochas, for that they hold opinion they are the sonnes of Heaven, and divine; even as others did attribute a Deitie to Paul and Barnabas, calling the one Jupiter, and the other Mercurie, so would they offer sacrifices unto them, as unto gods: and as the Barbarians of Melite (which is Maltè) seeing that the Viper did not hurt the Apostle, they called him God.

Acts 17.

Ne proper name for God.

Acts 18.

Of the first kinde of Idolatrie, upon naturall and universall things. Chap. 4.

Sunne their second God: and then other heavenly Bodies in their order.

NExt to Viracocha, or their supreme God, that which most commonly they have and doe adore amongst the Infidels, is the Sunne; and after, those things which

are most remarkeable in the celestiall or elementarie nature, as the Moone, Starres, Sea, and Land. The Guacas, or Oratories, which the Inguas Lords of Peru had in greatest reverence, next to Viracocha and the Sunne, was the Thunder, which they called by three divers names, Chuquilla, Catuilla, and Intiillapa, supposing it to be a man in heaven, with a Sling and a Mace, and that it is in his power to cause Raine, Haile, Thunder, and all the rest that appertaines to the Region of the Aire, where the Cloudes engender. It was a Guaca (for so they called their Oratories) generall to all the Indians of Peru, offering unto him many sacrifices: and in Cusco, which is the Court and Metropolitan Citie, they did sacrifice children unto him, as to the Sunne. They did worship these three, Viracocha, the Sunne, and Thunder, after another manner then all the rest, as Pollo writes, who had made triall thereof, they did put as it were a Gantlet or Glove upon their hands, when they did lift them up to worship them. They did worship the Earth; which they called Pachamama, as the Ancients did the goddesse Tellus: and the Sea likewise, which they call Mamacocha, as the Ancients worshipped Thetis, or Neptune. Moreover, they did worship the Raine-bowe, which were the Armes and Blazons of the Ingua, with two Snakes stretched out on either side. Amongst the Starres they all did commonly worship that which they called Colca, and wee here Cabrille. They did attribute divers offices to divers Starres, and those which had neede of their favour did worship them, as the Shepherd did sacrifice to a Starre, which they called Urcuhillay, which they hold to be a Sheepe of divers colours, having the care to preserve their Cattell; and they imagine it is that which the Astronomers call Lyra. These Shepherds worship two other Starres, which walke neere unto them, they call them Catuchillay, and Urcuchillay; and they fayne them to be an Ewe and a Lambe. Others worshipped a Starre which they called Machacuay, to which they attribute the charge and power over Serpents, and Snakes, to keepe them from hurting

Temples to the Thunder their third God. Jupiters fulmen.

Humane sacrifices.

Earth, Sea, Raine-bow, Starres worshipped.

of them. They ascribe power to another Starre, which they called Chuguinchinchay (which is as much as Tigre) over Tigres, Beares, and Lions, and they have generally beleeved, that of all the beasts of the earth, there is one alone in heaven like unto them, the which hath care of their procreation and increase. And so they did observe and worship divers Starres, as those which they called Chacana, Topatarca, Mamanan, Mirco, Miquiquicay, and many other. So as it seemed they approched somwhat neere the propositions of Platoes Idees. The Mexicans almost in the same manner after the supreme God, worshipped the Sunne: And therefore they called Hernando Cortez (as he hath written in a Letter sent unto the Emperor Charles the fifth) Sonne of the Sunne, for his care and courage to compasse the Earth. But they made their greatest adoration to an Idoll, called Vitzliputzli, the which in all this Region they called the most puissant, and Lord of all things: for this cause the Mexicans built him a Temple, the greatest, the fairest, the highest, and the most sumptuous of all other. The situation and beautie thereof, may well be conjectured by the ruines which yet remaine in the midst of the Citie of Mexico. But here the Mexicans Idolatrie hath beene more pernicious and hurtfull then that of the Inguas, as wee shall see playner hereafter, for that the greatest part of their adoration and Idolatrie, was imployed to Idols, and not to naturall things, although they did attribute naturall effects to these Idols, as Raine, multiplication of Cattell, Warre, and Generation, even as the Greekes and Latines have forged Idols of Phœbus, Mercurie, Jupiter, Minerva, and of Mars. To conclude, who so shall neerly looke into it, shall finde this manner which the Devill hath used to deceive the Indians, to be the same wherewith he hath deceived the Greekes and Romans, and other ancient Gentiles, giving them to understand that these notable creatures, the Sunne, Moone, Starres, and Elements, had power and authority to doe good or harme to men. Their manner to pray to Viracocha, to the Sunne, the Starres,

Mexicans worship the Sunne &c.

Vitzliputzlis Temple.

[III. v. 1028.]

Idolatrising rite the same to all their Idols with words different.

and the rest of their Idols, was to open their hands, and to make a certaine sound with their mouthes (like people that kissed) and to aske that which every one desired in offering his Sacrifices; yet was there great difference betwixt the words they used in speaking to the great Ticiviracocha, to whom they did attribute the chiefe power and commandement over all things, and those they used to others, the which every one did worshippe privately in his house, as Gods or particular Lords, saying, that they were their Intercessors to this great Ticciviracocha. This manner of worship, opening the hands, and as it were *kissing, hath something like to that which Job had in horrour, as fit for Idolaters, saying, If I have kissed my hands with my mouth, beholding the Sunne when it shines, or the Moone when it is light, the which is a great iniquitie, and to deny the most great God.

Lares: as Poüish mediators of intercession.

**Adoration had the name of ad and os: kissing the hand with bowing of the body, &c. See Min. Fæl. Job. 31.*

THe Devill hath not beene contented to make these blinde Indians to worshippe the Sunne, Moone, Starres, Earth, and Sea, and many other generall things in nature, but he hath passed on further, giving them for God, and making them subject to base and abject things, and for the most part, filthy and infamous: for they worshipped Rivers, Fountaines, the mouthes of Rivers, entries of Mountaines, Rockes or great Stones, Hils and the tops of Mountaines, which they call Apachitas, and they hold them for matters of great devotion. To conclude, they did worship all things in nature, which seemed to them remarkable and different from the rest, as acknowledging some particular deitie.

Of the Idolatry the Indians used to particular things. Chap. 5.

These shewed me in Caxamalca of Nasca a little hill or great mount of Sand, which was the chiefe Idoll or Guaca of the Ancients. I demaunded of them what divinity they found in it? They answered, that they did worship it for the wonder, being a very high mount of Sand, in the midst of very thicke Mountaines of Stone. We had neede in the Citie of Kings, of great store of great wood; for the melting of a Bell, and therefore they

cut downe a great deformed Tree, which for the greatnesse and antiquity thereof had beene a long time the Oratorie and Guaca of the Indians. And they beleeved there was a certaine Divinity in any thing that was extraordinary and strange in his kinde, attributing the like unto small Stones and Mettals; yea unto rootes and fruites of the earth, as the rootes they call Papas. There is a strange kinde which they call Lallahuas, which they kissed and worshipped. They did likewise worship Beares, Lyons, Tygres and Snakes, to the end they should not hurt them: and such as their gods be, such are the things they offer unto them in their worship. They have used as they goe by the way, to cast in the crosse wayes, on the hils, and toppes of Mountaines, which they call Apachittas, olde shooes, Feathers, and Coca chewed, being an hearbe they use much. And when they have nothing left, they cast a Stone as an offring, that they might passe freely, and have greater force, the which they say increaseth by this meanes, as it is reported in a provinciall Counsell of Peru. And therefore they finde in the hiewaies great heapes of Stones offred, and such other things. They used another offring no lesse pleasant and ridiculous, pulling the haire from the eyebrowes to offer it to the Sunne, Hils, Apachittas, to the Windes, or to any other thing they feare. Such is the miseries that many Indians have lived in, and doe to this day, whom the Devill doth abuse like very Babes, with any foolish illusion whatsoever.

Concil. Limensia p. 2. cap. 99.

They report of one of the Kings Inguis, a man of a subtile spirit, who (seeing that all his predecessours had worshipped the Sunne) said, that he did not take the Sunne to be God, neither could it be, for that God was a great Lord, who with great quiet and leasure performed his workes, and that the Sunne doth never cease his course, saying, that the thing which laboured so much could not seeme to be God.

Of another kinde of Idolatry upon the dead.

They came to the height of Idolatry by the same meanes the Scripture maketh mention of: first they had

Chap. 6. Wisd. 14.

A.D. c. 1588.

a care to keepe the bodies of their Kings and Noblemen whole, from any ill scent of corruption above two hundred yeeres. In this sort were their Kings Inguas in Cusco, every one in his Chappell and Oratory, so as the Marquesse of Canette beeing Viceroy, to root out Idolatry, caused three or foure of their Gods to be drawne out and carried to the Citie of Kings, which bred a great admiration, to see these bodies (dead so many yeeres before) remayne so faire and also whole. Every one of these Kings Inguas left all his Treasure and Revenues, to entertayne the place of worship where his body was laid, and there were many Ministers with all his Family dedicated to his service: for no King Successor did usurpe the Treasures and Plate of his Predecessor, but he did gather all new for himselfe, and his Palace. They were not content with this Idolatry to dead bodies, but also they made their figures and representations: and every King in his life time caused a figure to be made wherein he was represented, which they called Guaoigui, which signifieth Brother, for that they should doe to this Image, during his life and death, as much honour and reverence as to himselfe. They carried this Image to the warres, and in procession for raine or faire weather, making sundry Feasts and Sacrifices unto them. There have beene many of these Idols in Cusco, and in that Territory, but now they say that this Superstition of worshipping of stones hath altogether ceased, or for the most part, after they had beene discovered by the diligence of the Licentiate Pollo, and the first was that of the Inguas Rocha, chiefe of the faction or race of Hanam Cusco. And we find that among other Nations they had in great estimation and reverence the bodies of their Predecessors, and did likewise worship their Images.

[III. v. 1029.]

Of Superstitions they used to the dead. Chap. 7.

Immortality of soules beleeved but not resurrection of the bodies: as ar. 17.

THe Indians of Peru beleeved commonly that the Soules lived after this life, and that the good were in glorie, and the bad in paine, so as there is little difficultie to perswade them to these Articles. But they are not yet come to the knowledge of that point, that the bodies

should rise with the Soules. And therefore they did use a wonderfull care, as it is said, to preserve the bodies which they honoured after death: to this end their Successors gave them Garments, and made Sacrifices unto them, especially the Kings Inguas, being accompanied at their Funerals, with a great number of servants and women for his service in the other life: and therefore on the day of his decease, they did put to death the woman he had loved best, his Servants and Officers, that they might serve him in the other life.

When as the Guanacapa dyed (who was father to Atagualpa, at what time the Spaniards entred) they put to death above a thousand persons of all ages and conditions, for his service to accompany him in the other life, after many songs and drunkennesse they slew them; and these that were appointed to death, held themselves happy. They did sacrifice many things unto them, especially yong children, and with the bloud they made a stroake on the dead mans face, from one eare to the other. This superstition and inhumanity, to kill both men and women, to accompany and serve the dead in the other life, hath beene followed by others, and is at this day used amongst some other barbarous Nations. And as Pollo writes, it hath beene in a manner generall throughout all the Indies. The reverent Beda reports, that before the Englishmen were converted to the Gospell, they had the same custome, to kill men to accompany and serve the dead. It is written of a Portugal, who being captive among the Barbarians, had beene hurt with a dart, so as he lost one eye, and as they would have sacrificed him to accompany a Nobleman that was dead, he said unto them, that those that were in the other life, would make small account of the dead, if they gave him a blinde man for a companion; and that it were better to give him an attendant that had both his eyes. This reason being found good by the Barbarians, they let him goe. Besides this superstition of sacrificing men to the dead, being used but to great Personages, there is another farre more generall and

1000. slaine to attend one dead man.

Superstitions of the old English.

Portugall wile.

common in all the Indies, which is, to set meate and drinke upon the grave of the dead, imagining they did feede thereon: the which hath likewise beene an errour amongst the Auncients, as Saint Austine writes, and therefore they gave them meate and drinke. At this day many Indian Infidels, do secretly draw their dead out of the Churchyard, and bury them on hils, or upon passages of Mountaines, or else in their owne houses. They have also used to put Gold and Silver in their mouth, hands, and bosome, and to apparell them with new Garments durable, and well lined under the herse. They beleeve that the soules of the dead wandred up and downe and indure cold, thirst, hunger and travel, and for this cause they make their anniversaries, carrying them cloathes, meate and drinke.

Purgatory fancies as in Popish legends.

Of the manner of burying the dead among the Mexican and sundry other Nations. Chap. 8.

HAving reported what many Nations of Peru have done with their dead, it shall not be from the purpose, to make particular mention of the Mexicans in this point, whose mortuaries were much solemnised, and full of notable follies. It was the office of the Priests and religious of Mexico (who lived there with a strange observance, as shall be said hereafter) to interre the dead, and doe their obsequies. The places where they buried them, was in their Gardens, and in the Courts of their owne houses: others carried them to the places of sacrifices which were done in the Mountaines: others burnt them, and after buried the ashes in their Temples; and they buried them all, with whatsoever they had, of Apparell, Stones and Jewels. They did put the ashes of such as were burnt into pots, and with them, the Jewels, Stones, and Eare-rings of the dead, how rich and precious soever. They did sing the Funerall offices, like to answeres, and did often lift up the dead bodies, doing many ceremonies. At these mortuaries they did eate and drinke; and if it were a person of quality, they gave apparell to all such as came to the interment. When any one dyed, they laid him open in a chamber, untill that all

Places of buriall.

his kinsfolks and friends were come, who brought presents unto the dead, and saluted him as if he were living. And if he were a King or Lord of some towne, they offered him slaves to be put to death with him, to the end they might serve him in the other world. They likewise put to death his Priest, or Chaplaine (for every Nobleman had a Priest which administred these ceremonies within his house) and then they killed him, that he might execute his office with the dead. They likewise killed his Cook, his Butler, his Dwarfes, and deformed men, by whom he was most served: neither did they spare the very brothers, of the dead, who had most served them: for it was a greatnesse amongst the Noblemen, to be served by their brethren and the rest. Finally, they put to death all of his traine, for the entertaining of his house in the other world: and lest poverty should oppresse them, they buried with them much wealth, as Gold, Silver, Stones, Curtins of exquisite worke, Bracelets of Gold, and other rich peeces. And if they burned the dead, they used the like with all his Servants, and ornaments they gave him for the other world. Then tooke they all the ashes they buried with very great solemnity. The obsequies continued tenne dayes with songs of plaints and lamentations, and the Priests carried away the dead with so many ceremonies, and in so great number, as they could scarce accompt them. To the Captaines and Noblemen they gave trophees and markes of honour, according to their enterprises and valor imployed in the wars and governments; for this effect they had armes and particular blasons. They carried these markes or blazons to the place where he desired to be buried or burnt, marching before the body, and accompanying it, as it were in procession, where the Priests and officers of the Temple went with divers furnitures and ornaments, some casting incense, others singing, and some sounding of mournfull Flutes and Drums, which did much increase the sorrow of his kinsfolkes and subjects. The Priest who did the office was decked with the markes of the Idoll which the

Chaplen and other Officers killed.

[III. v. 1030.]

Nobleman had represented; for all Noblemen did represent Idols, and carried the name of some one; and for this occasion they were esteemed and honoured. The order of Knighthood did commonly carry these foresaid markes. He that should be burnt, being brought to the place appointed, they invironed him with wood of Pine trees, and all his baggage, then set they fire unto it, increasing it still with goomie wood, untill that all were converted into ashes, then came there forth a Priest attired like a Devil, having mouthes upon every joynt of him, and many eyes of glasse, holding a great staffe, with the which he did mingle all the ashes very boldly, and with so terrible a gesture, as he terrified all the assistants. Sometimes this Minister had other different habits, according to the quality of the dead.

The fourth & last kinde of Idolatry the Indians used, especially the Mexicans to Images and Idols. Chap. 9.

There hath beene great curiosity at the Indies in making of Idols and Pictures of divers formes and matters, which they worshipped for Gods, and in Peru they called them Guacas, being commonly of foule and deformed beasts, at the least, such as I have seene, were so. I beleeve verily that the Devill, in whose honour they made these Idols, was pleased to cause himselfe to be worshipped in these deformities, and in truth it was found so, that the Devill spake and answered many of these Guacas or Idols, and his Priests and Ministers came to these Oracles of the father of lies, and such as he is, such were his Counsels and Prophecies. In the Provinces of New Spaine, Mexico, Tescuco, Tlascalla, Cholula, and in the neighbour Countries to this Realme, this kinde of Idolatry hath beene more practised than in any other Realme of the world. And it is a prodigious thing to heare the superstitions rehearsed that they have used in that point, of the which it shall not be unpleasant to speake something. The chiefest Idoll of Mexico was, as I have said, Vitziliputzli. It was an image of wood like to a man, set upon a stoole of the color of azure, in a brankard or litter, at every corner was a piece of wood in forme of a Serpents head. The stoole signified that he was set in heaven:

Images the fourth kinde of Indian Idolatry.

this Idoll had all the forehead Azure, and had a band of Azure under the nose from one eare to another: upon his head he had a rich plume of Feathers, like to the beake of a small Bird, the which was covered on the top with Gold burnished very browne: he had in his left hand a white Target, with the figures of five pine Apples, made of white Feathers, set in a crosse: and from above issued forth a crest of gold, and at his sides he had foure darts, which (the Mexicans say) had beene sent from heaven to doe those acts and prowesses which shall be spoken of: In his right hand he had an Azured staffe, cut in fashion of a waving snake. All these ornaments with the rest he had, carried this sence as the Mexicans doe shew the name of Vitziliputzli signifies the left hand of a shining Feather.

I will speake hereafter of the proud Temple, the Sacrifices, Feasts and Ceremonies of this great Idoll, being very notable things. But at this present we will onely shew, that this Idoll thus richly apparelled and deckt, was set upon an high Altar, in a small peece or boxe, well covered with linnen cloathes, Jewels, Feathers, and ornaments of Gold, with many rundles of Feathers, the fairest and most exquisite that could be found: he had alwaies a curtaine before him for the greater veneration. Joyning to the chamber or chappell of this Idoll, there was a peece of lesse worke, and not so well beautified, where there was another Idoll they called Tlaloc. These two Idols were alwaies together, for that they held them as companions, and of equall power. There was another Idoll in Mexico much esteemed, which was the god of repentance, and of Jubilies and pardons for their sinnes. They called this Idoll Tezcallipuca, he was made of a blacke shining stone like to Jayel, being attired with some Gentile devises after their manner; it had earerings of gold and silver, and through the nether lip a small canon of Christall, in length halfe a foote: in the which they sometimes put a greene feather, and sometimes an azured, which made it resemble sometimes an Emerald, and sometimes a Turquois: it had

The Devils Pœnitentiary.

the haire broided and bound up with a haire-lace of gold burnished, at the end whereof did hang an eare of gold, with two firebrands of smoake painted therein, which did signifie the praiers of the afflicted and sinners that he heard, when they recommended themselves unto him. Betwixt the two eares hanged a number of small herons. He had a Jewell hanging at his necke, so great that it covered all his stomacke: upon his armes bracelets of Gold, at his navill a rich greene stone: and in his left hand a Fanne of precious Feathers, of Greene, Azure, and Yellow, which came forth of a Looking-glasse of Gold, shining and well burnished, and that signified, that within this Looking-glasse he saw whatsoever was done in the world. They called this Glasse or Chaston of gold Irlacheaya which signifies his Glasse for to looke in. In his right hand he held foure darts, which signified the chastisement he gave to the wicked for their sinnes. And therefore they feared this Idoll most, least he should discover their faults and offences. At his feast they had pardon of their sinnes, which was made every foure yeares, as shall be declared hereafter. They held this Idoll Tescatlipuca for the god of drought, of famine, barrennesse and pestilence. And therefore they painted him in another forme, being set in great majesty upon a stoole compassed in with a red Curtin, painted and wrought with the heads and bones of dead men. In the left hand it had a Target with five Pines, like unto pine Apples of Cotton: and in the right a little dart with a threatning countenance, and the arme stretcht out, as if he would cast it; and from the Target came foure darts. It had the countenance of an angry man, and in choller, the body all painted blacke, and the head full of Quailes feathers. They used great superstition to this Idoll, for the feare they had of it. In Cholula which is a Commonwealth of Mexico, they worshipt a famous Idoll which was the god of Marchandise, being to this day greatly given to trafficke. They called it Quetzaalcoalt.

[III. v. 1031.]

Their Nemesis.

Varro makes this difference betwixt Religion and Superstition. Qui Deum non verentur ut patrem, timebunt ut hostem.

This Idoll was in a great place in a Temple very high:

it had about it, Gold, Silver, Jewels, very rich Feathers, and habits of divers colours. It had the forme of a man, but the visage of a little Bird, with a red bill; and above a combe full of warts, having rankes of teeth, and the tongue hanging out. It carried upon the head a pointed myter of painted paper, a sithe in the hand, and many toyes of gold on the legges; with a thousand other foolish inventions, whereof all had their significations, and they worshipt it, for that he enriched whom he pleased, as Memnon and Plutus. In truth this name which the Choluanos gave to their god, was very fit, although they understood it not: they called it Quetzaalcoalt, signifying colour of a rich Feather, for such is the devill of covetousnesse. These barbarous people contented not themselves to have gods onely, but they had goddesses also, as the Fables of Poets have brought in, and the blinde gentility of the Greekes and Romans worshipt them. The chiefe goddesse they worshipt was called Tozi, which is to say, our Grandmother, who as the Histories of Mexico report, was daughter to the King of Culhuacan, who was the first they slayed by the commandement of Vitzliputzli, whom they sacrificed in this sort, being his sister; and then they began to slay men in their sacrifices, and to clothe the living with the skins of the sacrificed, having learned that their gods were pleased therwith as also to pul the hearts out of them they sacrificed, which they learned of their god, who pulled out the hearts of such as he punished in Tulla, as shall be said in his place. One of these goddesses they worshipt had a son, who was a great hunter, whom they of Tlascalla afterwards tooke for a god, and those were enemies to the Mexicans, by whose aide the Spaniards won Mexico. The Province of Tlascalla is very fit for hunting, and the people are much given therunto. They therfore made a great feast unto this Idoll, whom they painted of such a forme, as it is not now needfull to loose any time in the description thereof. The feast they made was pleasant, and in this sort: They sounded a Trumpet at the breake of day, at the sound

Indian Mercury.

Goddesses.

See former Chap.

whereof they all assembled with their Bowes, Arrows, Nets, and other instruments for hunting: then they went in procession with their Idoll, being followed by a great number of people to a high Mountaine, upon the top whereof they had made a bower of leaves, and in the middest thereof an Altar richly deckt, where-upon they placed the Idoll. They marched with a great bruit of Trumpets, Cornets, Flutes & Drums, and being come unto the place, they invironed this Mountain on all sides, putting fire to it on all parts: by meanes whereof many beasts flew forth, as Stags, Conies, Hares, Foxes, and Woolves, which went to the top flying from the fire. These hunters followed after with great cries and noise of divers instruments, hunting them to the top before the Idoll, whither fled such a number of beasts, in so great a presse, that they leaped one upon another, upon the people, and upon the Altar, wherein they tooke great delight. Then tooke they a great number of these beasts, and sacrificed them before the Idoll, as Stagges and other great beasts, pulling out their hearts, as they use in the sacrifice of men, and with the like ceremony: which done, they tooke all their prey upon their shoulders, and retired with their Idoll in the same manner as they came, and entered the City laden with all these things, very joyfull, with great store of musick, Trumpets, and Drums, untill they came to the Temple, where they placed their Idoll with great reverence and solemnity. They presently went to prepare their venison, wherewith they made a banquet to all the people; and after dinner they made their playes, representations, and dances before the Idoll. They had a great number of other Idols, of gods and goddesses; but the chiefe were of the Mexican Nation, and the neighbour people as is said.

They sat down to eate and drinke and rose up to play.

Of a strange manner of Idolatry practised amongst the Mexicans. Ch. 10.

AS we have said that the Kings Inguas of Peru caused Images to be made to their likenesse, which they called their Guacos or brothers, causing them for to be honored like themselves: even so the Mexicans have done

of their gods, which was in this sort. They tooke a captive, such as they thought good, & afore they did sacrifice unto him their Idols; they gave him the name of the Idoll, to whom he should be sacrificed, and apparelled him with the same ornaments like their Idoll, saying, that he did represent the same Idoll. And during the time that this representation lasted, which was for a yeare in some Feasts, in others six moneths, and in others lesse: they reverenced and worshipped him in the same manner, as the proper Idoll; and in the meane time he did eate, drinke, and was merry. When he went through the streetes, the people came forth to worship him, and every one brought him an almes, with children and sicke folkes, that he might cure them, and blesse them, suffering him to doe all things at his pleasure, onely he was accompanied with ten or twelve men lest he should flye. And he (to the end he might be reverenced as he passed) sometimes sounded upon a small Flute, that the people might prepare to worship him. The feast being come, and he growne fat, they killed him, opened him, and eate him, making a solemne sacrifice of him. It followes that we treate of their Religion, or rather Superstition, which they use in their Sacrifices, Temples, Ceremonies, and the rest. [III. v. 1032.]

How the Devil hath laboured to make himselfe equall unto God, and to imitate him in his Sacrifices, Religion and Sacraments. Chap. 11.

That which God by his wisedome hath decreed for his honour and service, and for the good and health of man, the Devill strives to imitate and to pervert, to be honored, and to cause man to be damned: for as we see the great God hath Sacrifices, Priests, Sacraments, Religious Prophets, and Ministers, dedicated to his divine Service and holy ceremonies: so the Devill hath his Sacrifices, Priests, his kindes of Sacraments, his Ministers appointed, his secluded and fained holinesse, with a thousand sorts of false Prophets.

Of the Temples that were found at the Indies. Chap. 12.

BEginning then with their Temples, even as the great God would have a house dedicated where his holy name might be honoured, and that it should be particularly vowed to his service; even so the Devill, by his wicked

practises, perswaded Infidels to build him proud Temples, and particular Oratories and Sanctuaries. In every Province of Peru, there was one principall Guaca, or house of adoration; and besides it, there was one Generall throughout all the Kingdome of the Inguas; among the which there hath beene two famous and notable, the one which they called Pachamana, is foure leagues from Lima, where at this day they see the ruines of a most auncient and great building, out of the which Francis Pizarre and his people drew infinite treasure, of vessels and pots of Gold and Silver, which they brought when they tooke the Ingua Altagualpa. There are certaine memories and discourses which say, that in this Temple the Devill did speake visibly, and gave answers by his Oracle, and that sometimes they did see a spotted Snake: and it was a thing very common and approved at the Indies, that the Devill spake and answered in these false Sanctuaries deceiving this miserable people. But where the Gospell is entred, and the Crosse of Christ planted, the father of lyes becomes mute, as Plutarch writes of his time, Cur cessaverit Pithias fundere oracula: and Justine Martyr treates amply of the silence which Christ imposed to Devils, which spake by Idols, as it had beene before much prophesied of in the holy Scripture. The manner which the Infidell Ministers and Inchanters had to consult with their gods, was as the Devill had taught them. It was commonly in the night, they entred backward to their Idoll, and so went bending their bodies and head, after an ugly manner, and so they consulted with him. The answere he made, was commonly like unto a fearefull hissing, or to a gnashing which did terrifie them; and all that he did advertise or command them, was but the way to their perdition and ruine. There are few of these Oracles found now, through the mercy of God, and great power of Jesus Christ. There hath beene in Peru another Temple and Oratory, most esteemed, which was in the Citie of Cusco, where at this day is the Monastery of Saint Dominicke. We may see it hath beene a goodly and

Flu. lib. de tract. Just. in apol. pro christ.

a stately worke, by the pavement and stones of the building, which remaine to this day. This Temple was like to the Pantheon of the Romans, for that it was the house and dwelling of all the gods; for the Kings Inguas did there behold the gods of all the Nations and Provinces they had conquered, every Idoll having his private place, whither they of that Province came to worship it with an excessive charge of things which they brought for his service. And thereby they supposed to keepe safely in obedience, those Provinces which they had conquered, holding their gods, as it were in hostage. In this same house was the Pinchao, which was an Idoll of the Sunne, of most fine Gold, wrought with great riches of Stones, the which was placed to the East, with so great Art, as the Sunne at his rising did cast his beames thereon: and as it was of most fine mettall, his beames did reflect with such a brightnesse, that it seemed another Sunne. The Inguas did worship this for their god, and the Pachayacha, which signifies the Creator of Heaven. They say, that at the spoile of this so rich a Temple, a Souldier had for his part this goodly plate of gold of the Sunne. And as play was then in request, he lost it all in one night at play, whence came the proverbe they have in Peru for great gamesters, saying, that they play the Sunne before it riseth.

Of the proud Temples at Mexico. Cha. 13.

THe Superstitions of the Mexicans, have without comparison beene greater then the rest, as well in their ceremonies, as in the greatnesse of their Temples, the which in old time the Spaniards called by this word Cu, which word might be taken from the Ilanders of Saint Dominique, or of Cuba, as many other words that are in use, the which are neither from Spaine, nor from any other language now usuall among the Indians, as is Mays, Chico, Vaquiano, Chapeton, and other like. There was in Mexico, this Cu, the famous Temple of Vitzliputzli, it had a very great circuit, and within a faire Court. It was built of great stones, in fashion of Snakes tyed one to [III. v. 1033.]

another, and the circuit was called Coatepantli, which is, a circuit of Snakes: upon the top of every Chamber and Oratorie where the Idols were, was a fine Pillar wrought with small stones, blacke as jeat, set in goodly order, the ground raysed up with white and red, which below gave a great light. Upon the top of the Pillar were battlements very artificially made, wrought like Snailes, supported by two Indians of stone, sitting, holding Candle-sticks in their hands, the which were like Croisants garnished and enriched at the ends, with yellow and greene feathers and long fringes of the same. Within the circuit of this Court, there were many Chambers of religious men, and others that were appointed for the service of the Priests and Popes, for so they call the soveraigne Priests which serve the Idoll. This Court is so great and spacious, as eight or ten thousand persons did dance easily in round, holding hands, the which was an usuall custome in that Realme, although it seeme to many incredible.

Mexican Popes.

There were foure Gates or Entries, at the East, West, North, and South; at every one of these Gates began a faire Cawsey of two or three leagues long. There was in the midst of the Lake where the Citie of Mexico is built, foure large Cawseys in crosse, which did much beautifie it; upon every Portall or Entrie, was a God or Idoll, having the visage turned to the Cawsey, right against the Temple gate of Vitzliputzli. There were thirtie steps of thirtie fathome long, and they divided from the circuit of the Court by a street that went betwixt them; upon the top of these steps there was a walke of thirtie foot broad, all playstered with chalke, in the midst of which walke was a Pallisado artificially made of very high Trees, planted in order a fathome one from another. These Trees were very bigge, and all pierced with small holes from the foote to the top, and there were rods did run from one Tree to another, to the which were chayned or tyed many dead mens heads. Upon every rod were twentie Sculls, and these rankes of Sculls continue from the foot to the top of the Tree. This Pallisado was full of dead mens Sculls

from one end to the other, the which was a wonderfull mournfull sight and full of horror. These were the heads of such as had beene sacrificed; for after they were dead, and had eaten the flesh, the head was delivered to the Ministers of the Temple, which tyed them in this sort untill they fell off by morsels; and then had they a care to set others in their places. Upon the top of the Temple were two Stones or Chappels, and in them were the two Idols, which I have spoken of, Vitziliputzli, and his companion Tlalot. These Chappels were carved and graven very artificially, and so high, that to ascend up to it, there was a staire of stone of sixscore steps. Before these Chambers or Chappels, there was a Court of fortie foot square, in the midst whereof, was a high stone of five hand breadth, pointed in fashion of a Pyramide, it was placed there for the sacrificing of men; for being laid on their backs, it made their bodies to bend, and so they did open them and pull out their hearts, as I shall shew hereafter. There were in the Citie of Mexico, eight or nine other Temples, the which were joyned one to another within one great circuit, and had their private Stayres, their Courts, their Chambers, and their Dortoires. The entries of some were to the East, some to the West, others to the South, and some to the North. All these Temples were curiously wrought, and compassed in with divers sorts of Battlements and Pictures, with many figures of stones, being accompanyed and fortified with great and large Spurres or Plat-formes. They were didicated to divers gods: but next to the Temple of Vitziliputzli, was that of Tescalipuca, which was the god of Penance and of Punishments, very high and well built.

There were four steps to ascend: on the top was a Flat or Table of sixscore foot broad, and joyning unto it was a Hall hanged with Tapistrie and Curtins of divers colours and workes. The Doore thereof being low and large, was alwayes covered with a vaile, and none but the Priests might enter in. All this Temple was beautified with divers Images and Pictures most curiously; for that these

two Temples were as the Cathedrall Churches; and the rest in respect of them as Parishes and Hermitages: they were so spacious, and had so many Chambers, that there were in them places for the Ministerie, Colleges, Schooles, and Houses for Priests, whereof wee will intreat hereafter.

Of the Priests and their offices. Ch. 14.

The Devill had his Popes or Vicars at Mexico for the new World, as at Rome for the old, and now for both.

The Devil counterfaiting the use of the Church of God, hath placed in the order of his Priests, some greater or superiors, and some lesse, the one as Acolites, the other as Levites, and that which hath made me most to wonder, was, that the Devill would usurpe to himselfe the service of God; yea, and use the same name: for the Mexicans in their ancient tongue called their high Priests Papas, as they should say Soveraigne Bishops, as it appeares now by their Histories. The Priests of Vitzliputzli succeeded by Linages of certaine quarters of the Citie, deputed for that purpose, and those of other Idols came by election, or being offered to the Temple in their infancie. The daily exercise of the Priests was to cast Incense on the Idols, which was done foure times in the space of a naturall day. The first at breake of day, the second at noone, the third at Sunne setting, and the fourth at mid-night. At mid-night all the chiefe officers of the Temple did rise, and in stead of Bells, they sounded a long time upon Trumpets, Cornets, and Flutes very heavily, which being ended, he that did the office that weeke, stept forth, attyred in a white Robe after the Dalmatike manner, with a Censor in his hand full of coales, which hee tooke from the harth burning continually before the Altar; in the other hand he had a Purse full of Incense, which he cast into the Censor, and as he entred the place where the Idoll was, he incensed it with great reverence, then tooke he a cloth, with the which he wiped the Altar and the Curtins. This done, they went all into a Chappell, and there did a certaine kinde of rigorous and austere penance, beating themselves, and drawing of bloud, as I shall shew in the Treatise of Penance, which the Devill hath taught to his Creatures; and hereof they never fayled at these Mattins

Mid-night Mattins.

[III. v. 1034.]

at mid-night. None other but the Priests might entermeddle with their sacrifices, and every one did imploy himselfe according to his dignitie and degree. They did likewise preach to the people at some feasts, as I will shew when wee treat thereof. They had Revenues, and great Offerings were made unto them. I will speake hereafter of their Unction in consecrating their Priests. In Peru the Priests were entertayned of the Revenues and Inheritance of their god, which they called Chacaras, which were many, and also very rich.

Of the Monasterie of Virgins which the Devill hath invented for his service. Chap. 15.

There were in Peru many Monasteries of Virgins (for there are no other admitted) at the least one in every Province. In these Monasteries there were two sorts of women, one ancient, which they called Mamacomas, for the instruction of the young; and the other was of young Maidens, placed there for a certaine time, and after they were drawne forth, either for their gods or for the Ingua. They called this House or Monasterie Aclaguagi, which is to say, the House of the Chosen. Every Monasterie had his Vicar or Governour called Appopanaca, who had libertie and power to choose whom he pleased, of what qualitie soever, being under eight yeeres of age, if they seemed to be of a good stature and constitution.

Vestall Virgins, or Nunns of Peru.

These Virgins thus shut up into these Monasteries, were instructed by the Momacomas, in divers things needfull for the life of man, and in the customes and ceremonies of their gods; and afterwards they tooke them from thence, being above fourteene, sending them to the Court with sure guards, whereof some were appointed to serve the Guacas and Sanctuaries, keeping their Virginities for ever: some others were for the ordinarie sacrifices that were made of Maidens, and other extraordinarie sacrifices, they made for the health, death, or warres of the Ingua; and the rest served for Wives and Concubines to the Ingua, and unto other his Kinsfolks and Captains, unto whom hee gave them, which was a great and honorable recompence: This distribution was used every yeere. These Monasteries possessed Rents and Revenues for the

maintenance of these Virgins, which were in great numbers. It was not lawfull for any father to refuse his daughters when the Appopanaca required them for the service of these Monasteries. Yea, many fathers did willingly offer their daughters, supposing it was a great merit to be sacrificed for the Ingua. If any of these Momacomas or Acllas were found to have trespassed against their honor, it was an inevitable chastisement to burie them alive, or to put them to death by some other kind of cruell torment.

The Devill hath even in Mexico had some kinde of religious women, although their possession was but for one yeere, and it was in this sort: Within this great circuit whereof wee have spoken, which was in the principall Temple, there were two Houses like Cloysters, the one opposite to the other, one of Men, the other of Women: In that of women, they were Virgins onely, of twelve or thirteene yeeres of age, which they called the Maides of Penance. They were as many as the men, and lived chastely and regularly, as Virgins dedicated to the service of their god. Their charge was, to sweep and make cleane the Temple, and every morning to prepare meat for the Idoll and his Ministers, of the Almes the religious gathered. The foode they prepared for the Idoll were small loaves in the forme of hands and feet, as of March-pane: and with this bread they prepared certaine sawces which they cast daily before the Idoll, and his
Dan. 14. Priests did eate it, as those of Baal, that Daniel speaketh of. These Virgins had their haire cut, and then they let them grow for a certaine time: they rose at mid-night to the Idolls Mattins, which they daily celebrated, performing the same exercises the Religious did. They had their Abbesses who imployed them to make cloth of divers fashions for the ornament of their Idolls and Temples. Their ordinarie habit was all white, without any worke or colour. They did their penance at mid-night, sacrificing and wounding themselves, and piercing the top of their eares, they laid the bloud which issued forth upon their

cheekes: and after (to wash off the bloud) they bathed themselves in a Poole which was within their Monasterie. They lived very honestly and discreetly; and if any were found to have offended, although but lightly, presently they were put to death without remission, saying, she had polluted the House of their god. They held it for an augure and advertisement, that some one of the Religious, Man, or Woman, had committed a fault, when they saw a Rat or a Mowse passe, or a Bat in the Chappell of their Idoll, or that they had gnawed any of the vailes, for that they say, a Rat or a Bat would not adventure to commit such an indignitie, if some offence had not gone before, and then they began to make search of the fact, and having discovered the Offendor or Offendors, of what qualitie soever, they presently put them to death.

None were received into this Monasterie, but the daughters of one of the sixe quarters, named for that purpose: and this profession continued, as I have said, the space of one whole yeere: during the which time, their fathers, and they themselves had made a vow to serve the Idoll in this manner, and from thence they went to be married. [III. v. 1035.]

Of the Monasteries of religious men, that the Devil hath invented for superstition. Chap. 16.

I doe not know that in Peru there is any proper houses for men, but for the Priests and Sorcerers, whereof there is an infinite number. But it seemeth, that in Mexico the Devill hath set a due observation: for within the circuit of the great Temple there were two Monasteries, as before hath beene said, one of Virgins, whereof I have spoken, the other of young men secluded of eighteen or twentie yeeres of age, which they called religious. They weare shaved crownes, as the Friars in these parts, their haire a little longer, which fell to the middest of their eare, except the hinder part of the head, which they let grow the breadth of foure fingers down to their shoulders and which they tyed up in tresses. These young men that served in the Temple of Vitzliputzli lived poore and chastly, and did the Office of Levites, ministring to the Priests and chiefe of the Temple, their Incense, Lights,

Indian shaven Friars, & their show of sanctitie, with poverty, chastity, &c.

& garments; they swept and made cleane the holy places, bringing Wood for a continuall fire to the harth of their god, which was like a lampe that still burnt before the Altar of their Idoll. Besides these young men, there were other little boyes, as novices, that served for manuall uses, as to deck the Temple with boughs, roses, & reeds, give the Priests water to wash with, give them their rasors to sacrifice, and goe with such as begged almes to carry it. All these had their superiors, who had the government over them, they lived so honestly, as when they came in publike, where there were any women, they carried their heads very low, with their eyes to the ground, not daring to behold them: they had linnen garments, and it was lawfull for them to goe into the Citie foure or sixe together, to aske Almes in all quarters: and when they gave them none, it was lawfull to goe into the Corne fields, and gather the eares of Corne, or clusters of Mays, which they most needed, the Master not daring to speake, nor hinder them. They had this libertie, because they lived poorely, and had no other revenues, but Almes. There might not be above fiftie live in penance, rising at midnight to sound the Cornets and Trumpets to awake the people. Every one watched the Idoll in his turne, lest the fire before the Altar should die: they gave the Censor, with the which the Priest at midnight incensed the Idoll, and also in the morning, at noone, & at night. They were very subject and obedient to their superiors, and passed not any one point that was commaunded them. And at midnight after the Priest had ended his censing, they retired themselves into a secret place, apart, sacrificing, and drawing blood from the calfes of their legs with sharpe bodkins: with this bloud they rubbed their temples, and under their eares: and this sacrifice finished, they presently washt themselves in a little poole appointed to that end. These young men did not annoint their heads and bodies with any Petum as the Priests did: their garments were of course white linnen cloth they doe make there. These exercises and strict-

nesse of penance continued a whole yeere, during which time they lived with great austeritie and solitarinesse.

Of Penance, & the strictnesse the Indians have used at the Devils perswasion. Ch. 17.

It hath beene said that the Priests and religious of Mexico, rose at midnight, and having cast Incense before the Idoll, they retired themselves into a large place, where there were many Lighs; and sitting downe, every one tooke a point of Manguay, which is like unto an awle or sharpe bodkin, with the which, or with some other kindes of Launcets or Rasors, they pierced the calfes of their legs neere to the bone, drawing forth much bloud, with the which they anointed their temples, and dipt these bodkins or lancets in the rest of the bloud, then set they them upon the batelements of the Court, stickt in gloabes or bowles of straw, that all might see and know the penance they did for the people: they doe wash off the bloud in a lake appointed for that purpose, which they call Ezapangue, which is to say, water of bloud.

There were in the Temple a great number of bodkins or lancets, for that they might not use one twice. Moreover, these Priests and Religious men, used great Fastings, or five or ten dayes together, before any of their great Feasts, and they were unto them as our foure Ember weekes: they were so strict in continence, that some of them (not to fall into any sensualitie) slit their members in the midst, and did a thousand things to make themselves unable, lest they should offend their gods. They drunke no Wine, and slept little, for that the greatest part of their exercises were by night, committing great cruelties and martyring themselves for the Devill, and all to bee reputed great fasters and penitents. They did use to discipline themselves with cords full of knots, and not they onely, but the people also used this punishment and whipping, in the procession and feast they made to the Idoll Tezcalipuca, the which (as I have said before) is the god of penance; for then they all carried in their hands new cordes of the threed of Manguay a fadome long, with a knot at the end, and wherewith they whipped themselves, giving great lashes over their shoulders. The

Their severe Fasts.

Monsters of Wil-worship.

Priests did fast five dayes before this Feast, eating but once a day, and they lived apart from their wives, not going out of the Temple during those five dayes, they did whip themselves rigorously in the manner aforesaid.

In Peru to solemnize the feast of the Yta, which was great, all the people fasted two dayes; during the which, they did not accompanie with their Wives, neither did they eate any meate with Salt or Garleeke, nor drinke Chica. They did much use this kinde of fasting for some sins, and did penance, whipping themselves with sharpe stinging Nettles, and often they strooke themselves over the shoulders with certayne stones. This blind Nation, by the perswasion of the Devill, did transport themselves into craggie Mountaynes, here sometimes they sacrificed themselves, casting themselves downe from some high Rocke.

[III. v. 1036.]

Of the Sacrifices the Indians made to the Devill, & whereof. Chap. 18.

Sacrifices of things insensible.

Wee may draw all the Sacrifices the Infidels use into three kindes, one of insensible things; another of beasts, and the third of men. They did use in Peru to sacrifice Coca, which is an hearbe they esteeme much, of Mays, which is their Wheate, of coloured feathers, and of Chaquira, which otherwise they call Mollo, of shels or Oysters, and sometime Gold and Silver, being in figures of little beasts. Also of the fine stuffe of Cumbi, of carved and sweet wood, and most commonly Tallow burnt. They made these Offerings or Sacrifices for a prosperous winde, and faire weather, or for their health, and to be delivered from some dangers and mishaps. Of the second kind, their ordinary Sacrifice was of Cuyes, which are small beasts like Rabbets, the which the Indians eate commonly. And in matters of importance, or when they were rich men, they did offer Pacos, or Indian sheepe, bare, or with Wooll, observing curiously the numbers, colours, and times. The manner of killing their Sacrifices, great or small, which the Indians did use according to their ancient Ceremonies, is the same the Moores use at this day, the which they call Alqulble, hanging the beast by the right fore-legge, turning his eyes towards

Sacrifices of beasts.

the Sunne, speaking certayne words, according to the qualitie of the Sacrifice they slue: for if it were of colour, their words were directed to Chuquilla, and to the Thunder, that they might want no water: if it were white and smoothe, they did offer it to the Sunne with certaine words: if it had a fleece, they did likewise offer it him with some others, that he might shine upon them, and favour their generation: If it were a Guanaco, which is gray, they directed their sacrifice to Viracocha. In Cusco they did every yeere kill and sacrifice with this Ceremony, a shorne sheepe to the Sunne, and did burne it, clad in a red Waste-coate, and when they did burne it, they cast certayne small baskets of Coca into the fire, which they call Vilcaronca; for which Sacrifice, they have both men and beasts appointed which serve to no other use. They did likewise sacrifice small Birds, although it were not so usuall in Peru as in Mexico, where the sacrificing of Quailes was very ordinary. Those of Peru did sacrifice the Birds of Puna, (for so they call the Desart when they should goe to the Warres, for to weaken the forces of their adversaries Guacas.) They called these Sacrifices Cuzcovicca, or Contevicca, or Huallavicca, or Sophavicca, and they did it in this manner: they tooke many kinds of small Birds of the Desart, and gathered a great deale of a thorny wood, which they call Yanlli, the which beeing kindled, they gathered together these small Birds. This assembly they called Quico, then did they cast them into the fire, about the which the Officers of the Sacrifice went with certayne round stones carved, whereon were painted many Snakes, Lions, Toades, and Tygres, uttering this word Usachum, which signifies, Let the victorie be given unto us, with other words, whereby they sayd the forces of their enemies Guacas were confounded. And they drew forth certayne blacke sheepe, which had beene kept close some dayes without meate, the which they called Urca, and in killing them they spake these words; As the hearts of these beasts bee weakened, so let our enemies be weakned. And if they found in these sheepe

Sacrifices of Birds.

Blacke sheepe.

that a certayne piece of flesh behind the heart were not consumed by fasting and close keeping, they then held it for an ill Augure. They brought certayne blacke Dogges, which they call Appuros, and slue them, casting them into a Playne, with certayne Ceremonies, causing some kinde of men to eate this flesh, the which Sacrifices they did, lest the Ingua should bee hurt by poyson: and for this cause they fasted from morning untill the starres were up, and then they did glut and defile themselves like to the Moores. This Sacrifice was most fit for them to withstand their enemies Gods: and although at this day a great part of these customes have ceased, the warres being ended, yet remaynes there some Relikes, by reason of the private or generall quarrels of the Indians, or the Caciques, or in their Cities. They did likewise offer and sacrifice shels of the Sea, which they call Mollo, and they offered them to the Fountaynes and Springs, saying, that these shels were daughters of the Sea, the mother of all waters. They gave unto these shels sundry names, according to the colour, and also they use them to divers ends. They used them in a manner in all kinde of Sacrifices, and yet to this day they put beaten shels in their Chica, for a superstition. Finally, they thought it convenient to offer Sacrifices of every thing they did sow or raise up. There were Indians appointed to doe these Sacrifices to the Fountayne, Springs, and Rivers which passed through the Townes, or by their Charcas, which are their Farmes, which they did after Seed time, that they might not cease running, but alwayes water their grounds. The Sorcerers did conjure, to know what time the Sacrifices should be made, which beeing ended, they did gather of the contribution of the people, what should be sacrificed, and delivered them to such as had the charge of these Sacrifices. They made them in the beginning of Winter, at such time as the Fountaynes, Springs, and Rivers, did increase by the moystures of the weather, which they did attribute to their Sacrifices. They did not sacrifice to the Fountaynes and Springs of the

Extispicia.
Blacke Dogs.
Fasting till stars appeared.
Shel-offerings.

Desarts. To this day continues the respect they had to Fountaynes, Springs, Pooles, Brookes, or Rivers, which passe by their Cities or Charcas, even unto the Fountaynes and Rivers of the Desarts. They have a speciall regard and reverence to the meeting of two Rivers, and there they wash themselves for their health, annoynting themselves first with the flower of Mays, or some other things, adding thereunto divers Ceremonies, the which they doe likewise in their Bathes. [III. v. 1037.]

THe most pittifull disaster of this poore people, is their slavery unto the Devill, sacrificing men unto him, which are the Images of God. In many Nations they had used to kill (to accompany the dead, as hath beene declared) such persons as had beene agreeable unto him, and whom they imagined might best serve him in the other World. Besides this, they used in Peru, to sacrifice young children of foure or sixe yeeres olde unto ten: and the greatest part of these Sacrifices were for the affaires that did import the Ingua, as in sicknesse for his health: and when he went to the warres for victory, or when they gave the wreathe to their new Ingua, which is the mark of a King, as here the Scepter and the Crowne be. In this Solemnitie they sacrificed the number of two hundred children, from foure to ten yeeres of age, which was a cruell and inhumane spectacle. The manner of the Sacrifice was to drowne them and bury them with certayne representations and ceremonies: sometimes they cut off their heads annoynting themselves with the bloud from one eare to another.

Of the Sacrifices they made of men. Cha. 19.

Two hundred children sacrificed.

They did likewise sacrifice Virgins, some of them that were brought to the Ingua from the Monasteries, as hath beene said. In this case there was a very great and generall abuse: If any Indian qualified, or of the common sort, were sicke, and that the Divine told him confidently that he should dye, they did then sacrifice his owne sonne to the Sunne, or to Virachoca, desiring them to be satisfied with him, and that they would not deprive the father of

Patricide.

life. This crueltie is like to that the holy Scripture speaks of which the King of Moab used in sacrificing his first-born Sonne upon the wall, in the sight of all Israel, to whom this act seemed so mournfull, as they would not presse him any further, but returned to their houses.

Of the horrible Sacrifices of men which the Mexicans used. Chap. 20.

ALthough they of Peru have surpassed the Mexicans in the slaughter and Sacrifice of their Children (for I have not read nor understood that the Mexicans used any such Sacrifices) yet they of Mexico have exceeded them, yea all the Nations of the World, in the great number of men which they had sacrificed, and in the horrible manner thereof. And to the end wee may see the great misery wherein the Devill holds this blind Nation, I will relate particularly the custome and inhumane manner which they have observed: First the men they did sacrifice were taken in the warres, neyther did they use these solemne Sacrifices but of Captives: so as it seemes therein they have followed the custome of the Ancients. For as some Authors say, they called the Sacrifice Victima, for this reason, because it was of a conquered thing: they also called it Hostia quasi ab hoste, for that it was an Offering made of their enemies, although they have applyed this word to all kinds of Sacrifices. In truth the Mexicans did not sacrifice any to their Idols, but Captives, and the ordinary warres they made, was onely to have Captives for their Sacrifices: and therefore when they did fight, they laboured to take their enemies alive, and not to kill them, to enjoy their Sacrifices. And this was the reason which Moteçuma gave to the Marquise du Val, when he asked of him, why being so mightie, and having conquered so many Kingdomes, he had not subdued the Province of Tlascalla, which was so neere? Moteçuma answered him, that for two reasons he had not conquered that Province, although it had bin easie, if he would have undertaken it: the one was for the exercise of the youth of Mexico, lest they should fall into idleness and delight: the other and the chiefe cause why hee had

Captives only sacrificed. Victima & hostia.

reserved this Province, was to have Captives for the Sacrifices of their Gods. The manner they used in these Sacrifices, was, they assembled within the Palissadoe of dead mens Sculles (as hath beene said) such as should be sacrificed, using a certayne Ceremony at the foot of the Palissadoe, placing a great guard about them. Presently there stept forth a Priest, attyred with a short Surplice full of tassels beneath, who came from the top of the Temple with an Idoll made of Paste of Wheate and Mays mingled with Honey, which had the eyes made of the graines of greene glasse, and the teeth of the graines of Mays, he descended the steps of the Temple with all the speed he could, and mounted on a great stone planted upon a high Terrasse in the midst of the Court. This stone was called Quauxicalli, which is to say, the stone of Eagle, whereon he mounted by a little Ladder, which was in the fore-part of the Terrasse, and descended by another staire on the other side, still imbracing his Idoll. Then did he mount to the place where those were that should be sacrificed, shewing this Idoll to every one in particular, saying unto them; this is your God. And having ended his shew, he descended by the other side of the staires, and all such as should dye, went in procession unto the place where they should bee sacrificed, where they found the Ministers ready for that Office. The ordinary manner of sacrificing was, to open the stomake of him that was sacrificed, and having pulled out his heart halfe alive, they tumbled the man downe the staires of the Temple, which were all imbrewed and defiled with bloud: And to make it the more plaine, sixe Sacrificers being appointed to this dignitie, came into the place of Sacrifice, foure to hold the hands and feet of him that should be sacrificed, the fift to hold his head, and the sixt to open his stomake, and to pull out the heart of the sacrificed. They called them Chachalmua, which in our Tongue is as much, as the Ministers of holy things. It was a high dignitie and much esteemed amongst them, wherein they did inherit and succeed as in a Fee-simple.

Manner of humane (immane) sacrificing.

Bloudie Rites.

[III. v. 1038.]

The Minister who had the Office to kill, which was the sixt amongst them, was esteemed and honoured as the Sovereigne Priest and Bishop, whose name was different, according to the difference of times and Solemnities. Their habits were likewise divers when they came forth to the Sacrifice, according to the diversitie of times. The *Their Papa.* name of their chiefe dignitie was Papa and Topilzin, their Habite and Robe was a red Curtayne after the Dalmatike fashion, with tassels below, a Crowne of rich Feathers, greene, white, and yellow upon his head, and at his eares like pendants of Gold, wherein were set greene stones, and under the lip upon the middest of the beard he had a Peece like unto a small Canon of an azured stone. These Sacrificers came with their faces and hands coloured *The other five Priests.* with a shining blacke. The other five had their haire much curled, and tyed up with Laces of Leather, bound about the middest of the head: upon their forehead they carried small Roundelets of Paper painted with divers colours, and they were attyred in a Dalmatike Robe of white, wrought with blacke. With this attyre they represented the very figure of the Devill, so as it did strike feare and terrour into all the people, to see them come forth with so horrible a representation. The Sovereigne Priest carried a great Knife in his hand, of a large and sharpe flint: another Priest carried a coller of wood wrought in forme of a Snake: All six put themselves in order, joyning to this Pyramidall stone, whereof I have spoken, being directly against the doore of the Chappell of their Idoll. This stone was so pointed, as the man which was to be sacrificed, being laid thereon, upon his backe, did bend in such sort, as letting the Knife but fall upon his stomack it opened very easily in the middest. When the Sacrificers were thus in order, they drew forth such as had beene taken in warre, which were to bee sacrificed at that Feast, and being accompanied with a guard of men all naked, they caused them to mount up these large staires in ranke, to the place where the Ministers were prepared: and as every one of them

came in their order, the six Sacrificers tooke the Prisoner, one by one foote, another by the other, and one by one hand, another by the other, casting on his backe upon this pointed stone, where the fift of these Ministers put the coller of wood about his necke, and the High Priest opened his stomack with the Knife, with a strange dexteritie and nimblenesse, pulling out his heart with his hands, the which hee shewed smoking unto the Sunne, to whom hee did offer this heate and fume of the heart, and presently he turned towards the Idoll and did cast the heart at his face, then did they cast away the body of the sacrificed, tumbling it downe the staires of the Temple, the stone being set so neere the staires, as there were not two foote space betwixt the stone and the first step, so as with one spurne with their foote, they cast the bodie from the top to the bottome. In this sort one after one they did sacrifice all those that were appointed. Being thus slaine, and their bodies cast downe, their Masters, or such as had taken them, went to take them up, and carried them away: then having divided them amongst them, they did eate them, celebrating their Feast and Solemnitie. There were ever fortie or fiftie at the least thus sacrified, for that they had men very expert in taking them. The neighbour Nations did the like, imitating the Mexicans in the Customes and Ceremonies of the Service of their Gods.

Devillish dexteritie.

Fume of the heart offered to the Sunne.

THere was another kind of Sacrifice which they made in divers feasts, which they call Racaxipe Velitzli, which is as much as the flaying of men. They call it so, for that in some Feasts they tooke one or more slaves, as they pleased, and after they had flayed him, they with that skinne apparelled a man appointed to that end. This man went dancing and leaping thorow all the houses and Market places of the Citie, every one being forced to offer something unto him: and if any one fayled, he would strike him over the face with a corner of the skin, defiling him with the congealed bloud. This

Of other kinds of Sacrifices of men which the Mexicans used. Chap. 21. Flaying Sacrifices.

invention continued untill the skinne did stinke: during which time, such as went, gathered together much almes, which they employed in necessary things for the Service of their Gods. In many of these Feasts they made a Challenge, betwixt him that did sacrifice, and him that should bee sacrificed thus: they tyed the slave by one foote to a Wheele of stone, giving him a Sword and Target in his hands to defend himselfe: then presently stept forth hee that sacrificed him; armed with another Sword and Target: if hee that should bee sacrificed defends himselfe valiantly against the other, and resisted him, hee then remayned freed from the Sacrifice, winning the name of a famous Captayne, and so was reputed: but if hee were vanquished, they then sacrificed him on the stone whereunto hee was tyed. It was another kinde of Sacrifice, when as they appointed any slave to bee the representation of the Idoll, saying that it was his Picture: They every yeere gave one slave to the Priests, that they might never want the lively Image of their Idoll. At his first entry into the Office, after he had beene well washed, they attyred him with all the ornaments of the Idoll, giving him the same name. Hee was that whole yeere reverenced and honoured as the Idoll it selfe, and had alwayes with him twelve men for his Guard, lest hee should flye, with which Guard they suffered him to goe freely and where he would: and if by chance he fled, the chiefe of the Guard was put in his place to represent the Idoll, and after to bee sacrificed. This Indian had the most honourable lodging in all the Temple, where hee did eate and drinke, and whither all the chiefe Ministers came to serve and honour him, carrying him meate after the manner of great Personages. When hee went through the streets of the Citie, hee was well accompanied with Noblemen, hee carried a little Flute in his hand, which sometimes hee sounded, to give them knowledge when he passed: then presently the women came forth with their little children in their armes, which they presented unto him, saluting him as God. All the rest of the people

Challenge sacrifices.

Idols-Idol-sacrifice.

[III. v. 1039.]

did the like: at night they put him in a strong Prison or Cage, lest he should flye; and when the Feast came, they sacrificed him, as hath beene said.

By these and many other meanes hath the Devill abused and entertayned these poore wretches, and such was the multitude of those that had beene sacrificed by this infernall crueltie, as it seemes a matter incredible, for they affirme there were some dayes five thousand or more, and that there were above twentie thousand sacrificed in divers places. The Devill to entertaine this murther of men, used a pleasant and strange invention, which was, when it pleased the Priests of Satan they went to their Kings, telling them how their Gods dyed for hunger, and that they should remember them. Presently they prepared themselves, and advertised one another, that their Gods required meate, and therefore they should command their people to bee readie to goe to the Warres; and thus the people assembled, and the companies appointed went to field, where they mustred their forces; and all their quarrell and fight was to take one another for sacrifice, striving on either side to take what Captives they could, so as in these battels they laboured more to take, then to kill, for that all their intention was to take men alive, to give them to their Idols to eate, for after that manner brought they their Sacrifice unto their Gods. And wee must understand, that never King was crowned untill he had subdued some Province, from the which he brought a great number of Captives for the Sacrifices of their Gods, so as it was an infinite thing to see what bloud was spilt in the honour of the Devill.

Incredible numbers sacrificed.

Devill hungry for mans flesh.

MAny of these Barbarians were now wearied and tyred with such an excessive crueltie, in shedding so much bloud, and with so tedious a Tribute, to bee alwayes troubled to get Captives, for the feeding of their Gods, seeming unto them a matter insupportable; yet left they not to follow and execute their rigorous Lawes, for the great awe the Ministers of these Idols kept them

How the Indians grew weary, and could not endure the crueltie of Satan. Chap. 22.

in, and the cunning wherewith they abused this poore people. But inwardly they desired to be freed from so heavie a yoke. And it was a great providence of God; that the first which gave them knowledge of the Law of Christ, found them in this disposition: for without doubt it seemed to them a good Law, and a good God, to bee served in this sort. Heereupon a grave religious man in New Spaine told me, that when he was in that Countrey he had demanded of an ancient Indian, a man of qualitie, for what reason the Indians had so soone received the Law of Jesus Christ, and left their owne, without making any other proofe, tryall, or dispute thereon, for it seemed they had changed their Religon, without any sufficient reason to moove them. The Indian answered him, Beleeve not Father, that we have embraced the Law of Christ so rashly as they say: for I will tell you, that we were alreadie wearie and discontented with such things as the Idols commanded us, and were determined to leave it, and to take another Law. But when as wee found that the Religion that you preached had no cruelties in it, and that it was fit for us, and both just and good, we understood and beleeved that it was the true Law, and so we received it willingly. Which answere of this Indian agrees well with that we reade in the first Discourse, that Fernand Cortes sent to the Emperour Charles the fift, wherein hee reports, that after he had conquered the Citie of Mexico, being in Cuyoacan, there came Ambassadours to him from the Province and Commonwealth of Mechoacan requiring him to send them his Law, and that hee would teach them to understand it, because they intended to leave their owne, which seemed not good unto them, which Cortez granted, and at this day they are the best Indians, and the truest Christians that are in New Spaine. The Spaniards that saw these cruell Sacrifices, resolved with all their power to abolish so detestable and cursed a butchering of men, and the rather, for that in one night before their eyes they saw threescore or threescore and tenne Spaniards sacrificed,

Spaniards sacrificed.

which had beene taken in a battaile given at the Conquest of Mexico: and another time they found written with a Coale in a Chamber in Tezcusco these wordes; Heere such a miserable man was Prisoner with his Companions whom they of Tezcusco did sacrifice.

There happened a very strange thing upon this subject and yet true, beeing reported by men worthy of credit, which was, that the Spaniards beholding these Sacrifices, having opened and drawne out the heart of the lustie young man, and cast him from the top of the stayres (as their custome was) when hee came at the bottome, hee said to the Spaniards in his Language, Knights, they have slaine mee, the which did greatly moove our men to horrour and pitie. It is no incredible thing, that having his heart pulled out, hee might speake, seeing that Galen reports that it hath often chanced in the Sacrifice of beasts, after the heart hath beene drawne out, and cast upon the Altar, the beasts have breathed, yea, they did bray and cry out aloude, and sometimes did runne.

A man speakes after his heart is out.

Galen. lib. 2. de Hip. & Platon. placit. cap. 4.

In the first moneth, which in Peru they called Rayme, and answereth to our December, they made a most solemne feast, called Capacrayme, wherein they made many sacrifices and ceremonies, which continued many dayes: during the which, no stranger was suffered to bee at the Court which was in Cusco. These dayes being past, they then gave libertie to strangers to enter, that they might be partakers of the feasts and sacrifices, ministering to them in this manner. The Mamacomas of the Sunne, which were a kinde of Nunnes of the Sunne, made little loaves of the flower of Mays, dyed and mingled with the bloud of white Sheepe, which they did sacrifice that day; then presently they commanded that all strangers should enter, who set themselves in order, and the Priests which were of a certaine Linage, descending from Liuquiyupangui, gave to every one a morsell of these small loaves, saying unto them, that they gave these pieces, to the end they should be united and confederate with the Ingua, and that they advised them not to speake

[III. v. 1040.] *How the Devill hath laboured to imitate and counterfait the Sacraments of the holy Church. Chap. 25. Indian Communion.*

nor thinke any ill against the Ingua, but alwayes to beare him good affection, for that this piece should bee a witnesse of their intentions and will, and if they did not as they ought, hee would discover them and bee against them. They carried these small loaves, in great Platters of gold and silver appointed for that use, and all did receive and eate these pieces, thanking the Sunne infinitely for so great a favour which hee had done them, speaking wordes and making signes of great contentment and devotion: protesting that during their lives, they would neither doe nor thinke any thing against the Sunne nor the Ingua: and with this condition they received this foode of the Sunne, the which should remaine in their bodies for a witnesse of their fidelitie which they observed to the Sunne and to the Ingua their King. This manner of devillish communicating they likewise used in the tenth moneth, called Coyarayme, which was September, in the solemne feast which they called Cytua, doing the like ceremonies. And besides this Communion (if it be lawfull to use this word in so devillish a matter) which they imparted to all strangers that came, they did likewise send of these loaves to all their Guacas, Sanctuaries, or Idols of the whole Realme, and at one instant they found people of all sides, which came expressly to receive them, to whom they said (in delivering them) that the Sunne had sent them that, in signe that hee would have them all to worship and honor him, and likewise did send them in honor of the Caciques. Some perhaps will hold this for a fable and a fiction: yet is it most true, that since the Ingua Yupangi (the which is hee that hath made most Lawes, Customes, and Ceremonies, as Numa did in Rome) this manner of Communion hath continued, untill that the Gospell of our Lord Jesus Christ thrust out all these superstitions, giving them the right foode of life, which unites their soules to God: who so would satisfie himselfe more amply, let him reade the Relation which the Licenciate Pollo did write.

JOSEPH ACOSTA

A.D. c. 1588.

In what manner the Devill hath laboured in Mexico to counterfait the feast of the holy Sacrament used in the Popish Church. Chap. 24.

IT is a thing more worthy admiration, to heare speake of the Feast and solemnitie of the Communion which the Devill himselfe, the Prince of Pride, ordained in Mexico, the which (although it be somewhat long) yet shall it not be from the purpose to relate, as it is written by men of credite. The Mexicanes in the moneth of May, made their principall Feast to their god Vitziliputzli, and two dayes before this Feast the Virgins whereof I have spoken (the which were shut up and secluded in the same Temple, and were as it were Religious women) did mingle a quantitie of the seede of Beetes with roasted Mays, and then they did mould it with honey, making an Idoll of that paste, in bignesse like to that of wood, putting in stead of eyes, graines of greene glasse, of blue, or white; and for teeth, graines of Mays, set forth with all the ornament and furniture that I have said. This being finished, all the Noblemen came and brought it an exquisite and rich garment, like unto that of the Idoll, wherewith they did attyre it. Being thus clad and deckt, they did set it in an azured Chaire, and in a Litter to carry it on their shoulders. The morning of this feast being come, an houre before day, all the Maidens came forth attyred in white, with new ornaments, the which that day were called the sisters of their god Vitzliputzli, they came crowned with Garlands of Mays roasted and parched, being like unto Azahar or the flower of Orange, and about their necks they had great chaines of the same, which went bauldrickwise under their left arme. Their cheekes were dyed with Vermillion, their armes from the elbow to the wrist, were covered with red Parrots feathers. And thus attyred, they tooke the Idoll on their shoulders, carrying it into the Court, where all the young men were, attyred in garments of an artificiall red, crowned after the same manner, like unto the women. When as the Maidens came forth with the Idoll, the young men drew neere with much reverence, taking the Litter wherein the Idoll was, upon their shoulders, carrying it to the foote of the staires of the Temple, where all the people did

humble themselves, laying earth upon their heads, which was an ordinarie ceremonie which they did observe at the chiefe feast of their gods. This ceremonie being ended, all the people went in Procession with all the diligence and speede they could, going to a Mountayne which was a league from the Citie of Mexico, called Chapulteper, and there they made sacrifices. Presently they went from thence with like diligence, to goe to a place neere unto it, which they called Atlacuyavaya, where they made their second station: and from thence they went to another Burgh or Village a league beyond Cuyoacan, from whence they parted, returning to the Citie of Mexico, not making any other station. They went in this sort above foure leagues in three or foure houres, calling this Procession Ypayna Vitzliputzli. Being come to the foot of the staires, [III. v. 1041.] they set downe the Brancard or Litter with the Idoll, tying great Cordes to the armes of the Brancard, then with great observance and reverence, they did draw up the Litter with the Idoll in it to the top of the Temple, some drawing above, and others helping below, in the meane time there was a great noyse of Flutes, Trumpets, Cornets, and Drummes. They did mount it in this manner, for that the stayres of the Temple were very steepe and narrow, so as they could not carry up the Litter upon their shoulders, while they mounted up the Idoll, all the people stood in the Court with much reverence and feare. Being mounted to the top, and that they had placed it in a little Lodge of Roses, which they held readie, presently came the young men, which strewed many flowers of sundrie kindes, wherewith they filled the Temple both within and without. This done, all the Virgins came out of their Covent, bringing pieces of paste compounded of Beetes, and roasted Mays, which was of the same paste whereof their Idoll was made and compounded, and they were of the fashion of great bones. They delivered them to the young men, who carried them up and laid them up, and laid them at the Idols feete, wherewith they filled the whole place, that it could

The Devill liking that unchristian, Antichristian prodigious opinion of transubstantiation, and the consequents, elevation, adoration, reservation, Corpus Christi mad solemnities and idolatrous processions, with rites beyond any former paganisme, in disgrace of the

A.D. c. 1588.

receive no more. They called these morsels of paste, the flesh and bones of Vitzliputzli. Having laid abroad these bones, presently came all the Ancients of the Temple, Priests, Levites, and all the rest of the Ministers, according to their Dignities and Antiquities, for herein there was a strict order amongst them, one after another, with their vailes of divers colours and workes, every one according to his Dignitie and Office, having Garlands upon their heads, and Chaines of flowers about their necks: after them came their gods and goddesses whom they worshipt, of divers figures, attyred in the same liverie; then putting themselves in order about those morsels and pieces of paste, they used certaine ceremonies with singing and dancing. By meanes whereof they were blessed and conscrated for the flesh and bones of this Idoll.

true Sacrament, falsly calling this their Idoll an unbloudy sacrifice, which hath cost so many thousands their bloud in fire and otherwise (the Papists at once disputing of Christs naturall body and despiting and renting his mysticall body) hath found nothing fitter to transport into the Indies, nothing more contrarie to sense, reason, religion, humanitie, or wherein more to triumph over mankinde in all these, then this brutish opinion and bloudie solemnitie, here described.

This ceremonie and blessing (whereby they were taken for the flesh and bones of the Idoll) being ended, they honored those pieces in the same sort as their god. Then came forth the Sacrificers, who began the sacrifice of men, in the manner as hath beene spoken, and that day they did sacrifice a greater number then at any other time, for that it was the most solemne feast they observed. The sacrifices being ended, all the young Men and Maides came out of the Temple attyred as before, and being placed in order and ranke one directly against another, they danced by Drummes the which sounded in praise of the Feast, and of the Idoll which they did celebrate. To which song all the most ancient and greatest noblemen did answere, dancing about them, making a great circle as their use is, the young Men and Maides remayning alwayes in the middest. All the Citie came to this goodly spectacle, and there was a commandement very strictly observed throughout all the Land, that the day of the feast of the Idoll Vitziliputzli, they should eate no other meate, but this paste with hony, whereof the Idoll was made. And this should be eaten at the point of day, and they should drinke no water nor any other thing till after noone: they held it for an ill signe, yea for

sacrilege, to doe the contrarie: but after the ceremonies ended, it was lawfull for them to eate any thing. During the time of this ceremonie, they hid the water from their little children, admonishing all such as had the use of reason, not to drinke any water; which if they did, the anger of God would come upon them, and they should die, which they did observe very carefully and strictly. The ceremonies, dancing, and sacrifice ended, they went to unclothe themselves, and the Priests and Superiors of the Temple tooke the Idoll of paste, which they spoyled of all the ornaments it had, and made many pieces, as well of the Idoll it selfe as of the Tronchons which were consecrated, and then they gave them to the Communion, beginning with the greater, and continuing unto the rest, both Men, Women, and little Children; who received it with such teares, feare, and reverence, as it was an admirable thing, saying, that they did eate the flesh and bones of God, wherewith they were grieved. Such as had any sicke folkes demanded thereof for them, and carried it with great reverence and veneration.

Communicating.

Idol-sermon.

All such as did communicate, were bound to give the tenth of this seede, whereof the Idoll was made. The solemnitie of the Idoll being ended, an old man of great authoritie stept up into a high place, and with a loud voice preached their Law and Ceremonies.

Of Confessors and Confession which the Indians used. Chap. 25.

THe father of lyes would likewise counterfait the (Romish) Sacrament of Confession, and in his Idolatries seeke to be honored with ceremonies very like to the manner of Christians. In Peru they held opinion, that all diseases and adversities came for the sinnes which they had committed: for remedie whereof they used sacrifices: moreover, they confessed themselves verbally, almost in all Provinces, and had Confessors appointed by their Superiors to that end, there were some sinnes reserved for the Superiors. They received penance, yea somtimes very sharply, especially when the Offendor was a poore man, and had nothing to give his Confessor.

Reserved cases as in Papall penance.

This office of Confessor was likewise exercised by Women. The manner of these Confessors Sorcerers whom they call Ychuiri or Ychuri, hath beene most generall in the Provinces of Collasuio. They hold opinion, that it is a haynous sinne to conceale any thing in confession. The Ychuiri or Confessors discovered by lots, or by the view of some beast Hides, if any thing were concealed, and punished them with many blowes with a stone upon the shoulders, untill they had revealed all, then after they gave him penance, and did sacrifice. They doe likewise use this confession, when their children, wives, husbands, or their Caciques be sicke, or in any great exploit. And when their Ingua was sicke, all the Provinces confessed themselves, chiefly those of the Province of Collao. The Confessors were bound to hold their Confessions secret, but in certaine cases limited. The sinnes that they chiefly confessed, was first to kill one another out of warre, then to steale, to take another mans wife, to give poyson or sorcerie to doe any harme: and they held it to be a grievous sinne, to be forgetfull in the reverence of their Guacas, or Oratories, not to observe the Feasts, or to speake ill of the Ingua, and to disobey him. They accused not themselves of any secret acts and sinnes. But according to the report of some Priests, after the Christians came into that Country, they accused themselves of their thoughts. The Ingua confessed himselfe to no man, but onely to the Sunne, that hee might tell them to Virachoca, and that hee might forgive them. After the Ingua had beene confessed, he made a certaine bath to cleanse himselfe in a running River, saying these wordes: I have told my sinnes to the Sunne, receive them, O thou River, and carry them to the Sea, where they may never appeare more. Others that confessed, used likewise these baths, with certaine ceremonies very like to those the Moores use at this day, which they call Guadoy, and the Indians call them Opacuna. When it chanced that any mans children dyed, hee was held for a great sinner, saying, that it was for his sinnes that the sonne

[III. v. 1042.]

Sinnes of omission.

dyed before the father. And therefore those to whom this had chanced, after they were confessed, were bathed in this bath called Opacuna, as is said before. Then some deformed Indian, crooke-backt, and counterfait by nature, came to whip them with certaine Nettles. If the Sorcerers or Inchanters by their lots and divinations, affirmed that any sicke body should die, the sicke man makes no difficultie to kill his owne sonne, though he had no other, hoping by that meanes to escape death, saying, that in his place he offered his sonne in sacrifice. And this crueltie hath beene practised in some places, even since the Christians came into that Country. In truth it is strange, that this custome of confessing their secret sinnes, hath continued so long amongst them, and to doe so strict penances, as, to fast, to give apparell, gold and silver, to remaine in the Mountaynes, and to receive many stripes upon the shoulders. Our men say, that in the Province of Chiquito, even at this day they meet with this plague of Confessors or Ychuris, where as many sicke persons repaire unto them: but now, by the grace of God, this people begins to see cleerly the effect and great benefit of our Confession, whereunto they come with great devotion.

Wicked effect of devillish divinations.

Penances.

Japon confession.

I will report the manner of a strange confession the Devill hath invented at Japon, as appeares by a Letter that came from thence, which saith thus: There are in Ocaca very great and high and steepe Rocks, which have pricks or points on them, above two hundred fathom high. Amongst these Rocks there is one of these pikes or points so terribly high, that when the Xamabusis (which be Pilgrimes) doe but looke up unto it, they tremble, and their haire stares, so fearfull and horrible is the place. Upon the top of this point there is a great rod of Iron of three fathom long, placed there by a strange device, at the end of this rod is a ballance tyed, whereof the scales are so bigge, as a man may sit in one of them: and the Goquis (which be Devils in humane shape) command these Pilgrimes to enter therein one after another, not

leaving one of them: then with an engine or instrument which mooveth, by meanes of a wheele, they make this rod of Iron whereon the ballance is hanged, to hang in the aire, one of these Xamabusis being set in one of the scales of the ballance. And as that wherein the man is set hath no counterpoise on the other side, it presently hangeth downe, and the other riseth untill it meets with and toucheth the rod: then the Goquis telleth them from the Rocke, that they must confesse themselves of all the sinnes they have committed, to their remembrance, and that with a loud voyce, to the end that all the rest may heare him. Then presently hee beginneth to confesse, whilest some of the standers by doe laugh at the sinnes they doe heare; and others sigh, and at every sinne they confesse, the other scale of the ballance falls a little, untill that having told all his sinnes, it remaines equall with the other, wherein the sorrowfull penitent sits: then the Goquis turnes the wheele, and drawes the rod and ballance unto him, and the Pilgrime comes forth; then enters another, untill all have passed. A Japonois reported this after he was christned, saying, that hee had beene in this pilgrimage, and entred the ballance seven times, where he had confessed himselfe publikely. Hee said moreover, that if any one did conceale any sinne, the emptie scale yeelded not: and if hee grew obstinate after instance made to confesse himselfe, refusing to open all his sinnes, the Goquis cast him downe from the top, where in an instant he is broken into a thousand pieces. Yet this Christian, who was called John, told us, that commonly the feare and terror of this place is so great to all such as enter therein, and the danger they see with their eyes, to fall out of the ballance, and to be broken in pieces, that seldom there is any one but discovers all his sinnes. This place is called by another name Sangenotocoro, that is to say, the place of Confession.

Of the abominable Unction which the Mexican Priests and other Nations used, and of their witchcrafts. Chap. 26.

The Priests of the Idols in Mexico were anointed in this sort; they anointed the body from the foote to the head, and all the haire likewise, which hung like tresses,

[III. v. 1043.] *Haire-superstition.*

or a Horse mane, for that they applyed this Unction wet and moist. Their haire grew so, as in time it hung downe to their hammes, so heavily, that it was troublesome for them to beare it, for they did never cut it, untill they dyed, or that they were dispensed with for their great age, or being employed in governments or some honorable charge in the Commonwealth. They carried their haire in tresses, of sixe fingers breadth, which they dyed blacke with the fume of Sapine, of Firre trees, or Rosin; for in all Antiquitie it hath beene an offering they made unto their Idols, and for this cause it was much esteemed and reverenced. They were alwayes dyed with this tincture from the foot to the head, so as they were like unto shining Negroes, and that was their ordinary Unction: yet when as they went to sacrifice and give Incense in the Mountaines, or on the tops thereof, or in any darke and obscure Caves, where their Idols were, they used an other kinde of unction very different, doing certaine ceremonies to take away feare, and to give them courage. This unction was made with divers little venemous beasts, as Spiders, Scorpions, Palmers, Salamanders and Vipers, the which the Boyes in the Colledges tooke and gathered together, wherein they were so expert, as they were alwayes furnished when the Priests called for them. The chiefe care of these Boyes was, to hunt after these beasts; if they went any other way, and by chance met with any of these beasts, they stayed to take them, with as great paine, as if their lives depended thereon. By the reason whereof the Indians commonly feared not these venemous beasts, making no more account then if they were not so, having beene all bred in this exercise. To make an ointment of these beasts, they tooke them all together, and burnt them upon the harth of the Temple, which was before the Altar, untill they were consumed to ashes: then did they put them in Morters with much Tobacco or Petum (being an herbe that Nation useth much, to benum the flesh, that they may not feele their travell) with the which they mingle

the ashes, making them lose their force; they did likewise mingle with these ashes, Scorpions, Spiders, and Palmers alive, mingling all together, then did they put to it a certaine seede being grownd, which they call Ololuchqui, whereof the Indians make a drinke to see visions, for that the vertue of this herbe is to deprive man of sense. *Vision ointment.* They did likewise grinde with these ashes blacke and hayrie wormes, whose haire onely is venemous, all which they mingled together with blacke, or the fume of Rosin, putting it in small pots, which they set before their god, saying it was his meat. And therefore they called it a divine meat. By meanes of this ointment they became Witches, and did see and speake with the Devill. *Like lips, like Lettuce.* The Priests being slubbered with this ointment, lost all feare, putting on a Spirit of crueltie. By reason whereof they did very boldly kill men in their sacrifices, going all alone in the night to the Mountaines, and into obscure Caves, contemning all wilde beasts, and holding it for certaine and approved, that both Lions, Tigres, Serpents, and other furious beasts which breed in the Mountaines, and Forests, fled from them, by the vertue of this Petum of their god.

And in truth, though this Petum had no power to make them flie, yet was the Devils picture sufficient whereinto they were transformed. This Petum did also serve to cure the sicke, and for children: and therefore all called it the divine Physicke: and so they came from all parts to the Superiors and Priests, as to their Saviours, that they might apply this divine physicke, wherewith they anointed those parts that were grieved. They said that they felt hereby a notable ease, which might be, for that Tobacco and Ololuchqui have this propertie of themselves, to benum the flesh, being applyed in manner of an emplayster, which must bee by a stronger reason being mingled with poysons, and for that it did appease and benum the paine, they held it for an effect of health, and a divine vertue. And therefore ran they to these Priests as to holy men, who kept the blinde and ignorant in this *Benumming force of Tobacco.*

error, perswading them what they pleased, and making them runne after their inventions and devillish ceremonies, their authoritie being such, as their wordes were sufficient to induce beliefe as an article of their Faith. And thus made they a thousand superstitions among the vulgar people, in their manner of offering Incense, in cutting their haire, tying small flowers about their necks, and strings with small bones of Snakes, commanding them to bathe at a certaine time; and that they should watch all night at the harth, lest the fire should die, that they should eate no other bread but that which had beene offered to their gods, that they should upon any occasion repayre unto their Witches, who with certaine graines told fortunes, and divined, looking into Keelers and Pailes full of water. The Sorcerers and Ministers of the Devill used much to besmeare themselves. There were an infinite number of these Witches, Diviners, Enchanters, and other false prophets. There remaynes yet at this day of this infection although they bee secret, not daring publikely to exercise their sacrileges, devillish ceremonies and superstitions, but their abuses and wickednesse are discovered more at large and particularly in the confessions made by the Prelates of Peru.

Divinations.

Strange Sorcerers.

There is a kinde of Sorcerers amongst the Indians allowed by the Kings Inguas, which are as it were Soothsayers, they take upon them what forme and figure they please, flying far through the aire in a short time, beholding all that was done. They talke with the Devill, who answereth them in certaine stones or other things which they reverence much. They serve as Conjurers, to tell what hath passed in the farthest parts, before any newes can come. As it hath chanced since the Spaniards arrived there, that in the distance of two or three hundred leagues, they have knowne the Mutinies, Battailes, Rebellions, and Deaths, both of Tyrants, and of those of the Kings partie, and of private men, the which have beene knowne the same day they chanced, or the day after, a thing impossible by the course of nature. To worke this

[III. v. 1044.]

divination, they shut themselves into a house, and became drunke untill they lost their senses, a day after they answered to that which was demanded. Some affirme they use certaine Unctions. The Indians say, that the old women doe commonly use this office of witchcraft, and specially those of one Province, which they call Coaillo, and of another Towne called Manchey, and of the Province of Guarochiri. They likewise shew what is become of things stollen and lost. There are of these kindes of Sorcerers in all parts, to whom commonly doe come the Anaconas, and Cyva, which serve the Spaniards, and when they have lost any thing of their Masters, or when they desire to know the successe of things past or to come, as when they goe to the Spaniards Cities for their private affaires, or for the publike, they demand if their voyage shall bee prosperous, if they shall be sick, if they shall die, or returne safe, if they shall obtaine that which they pretend: and the Witches or Conjurers answer, Yea, or No, having first spoken with the Devill, in an obscure place: so as these Anaconas do well heare the sound of the voyce, but they see not to whom these Conjurers speake, neither doe they understand what they say. They make a thousand ceremonies and sacrifices to this effect, with the which they mocke the Devill and grow exceeding drunke, for the doing whereof, they particularly use an herb called Villea, the juyce whereof they mingle with their Chica, or take it in some other sort.

Of other Ceremonies and Customes of the Indians, which are like unto ours. Chap. 27.

THe Indians had an infinite number of other ceremonies and customes, which resembled to the ancient Law of Moses, and some to those which the Moores use, and some approched neere to the Law of the Gospell, as their Bathes or Opacuna, as they call them: they did wash themselves in water, to clense them from their sinnes. The Mexicans had also amongst them a kinde of Baptisme, the which they did with ceremonie, cutting the eares and members of young children new borne, counterfaiting in some sort the Circumcision of the Jewes.

Mexican Baptisme.

This ceremonie was done principally to the sonnes of Kings and Noblemen: presently upon their birth the Priests did wash them, and did put a little Sword in the right hand, and in the left a Target. And to the Children of the vulgar sort, they put the markes of their offices, and to their Daughters instruments to spin, knit, and labour. This ceremonie continued foure dayes, being made before some Idoll. They contracted marriage after their manner, whereof the Licenciate Pollo hath written a whole Treatise, and I will speake somewhat thereon hereafter. In other things their customes and ceremonies have some shew of reason. The Mexicans were married by the hands of their Priests in this sort. The Bridegroome and the Bride stood together before the Priest, who tooke them by the hands, asking them if they would marry; then having understood their wills, he tooke a corner of the vaile wherewith the woman had her head covered, and a corner of the mans gowne the which he tyed together on a knot, and so led them thus tyed to the Bridegroomes house, where there was a harth kindled, and then he caused the wife to goe seven times about the harth, and so the married couple sate downe together, and thus was the marriage contracted. The Mexicans were very jealous of the integritie of their wives: so as if they found they were not as they ought to bee (the which they knew either by signes or dishonest wordes) they presently gave notice thereof to their fathers and kinsfolks of their wives, to their great shame and dishonour, for that they had not kept good guard over them. When they went to the house they made an Inventorie of all the man and wife brought together, of provisions for the house, of land, of jewels and ornaments, which Inventories every father kept, for if it chanced they made any divorce (as it was common amongst them when they agree not) they divided their goods according to the portion that every one brought, every one having libertie in such a case, to marry whom they pleased: and they gave the Daughters to the Wife, and

Marriage ceremonies.

the Sonnes to the Husband. It was defended upon paine of death, not to marry againe together, the which they observed very strictly. And although it seeme that many of their ceremonies agree with ours, yet differ they much for the great abomination they mingle therewithall. It is common and generall to have usually one of these three things, either Crueltie, Filthinesse, or Slouth: for all their ceremonies were cruell and hurtfull, as to kill men and to spill bloud; or filthy and beastly, as to eate and drinke to the name of their Idols, and also to pisse in the honour of them, carrying them upon their shoulders, to anoint and besmeare themselves filthily, and to doe a thousand sorts of villanies, which were at the least, vaine, ridiculous, and idle, and more like the actions of children then of men. Whereas the temporall power was greatest, there superstition hath most increased, as we see in the Realmes of Mexico and Cusco, where it is incredible to see the number of Idols they had: for within the Citie of Mexico there were above three hundred. Mango Ingua Yupangui, amongst the Kings of Cusco, was he that most augmented the service of their Idols, inventing a thousand kindes of sacrifices, feasts, and ceremonies. The like did King Iscoalt in Mexico, who was the fourth King. There was also a great number of superstitions and sacrifices in other Nations of the Indians, as in the Province of Guatimala, at the Ilands in the new Kingdome, in the Province of Chille, and others that were like Commonwealths and Comminalties. But it was nothing in respect of Mexico and Cusco, where Satan was as in Rome, or in his Jerusalem.

300. *Mexican Idols. Mangos mangled devotions.*

The Inguas Lords of Peru, had two kindes of Feasts. Some were ordinarie, which fell out in certayne moneths of the yeere: and others extraordinarie, which were for certayne causes of importance, as when they did crowne a new King, when they beganne some warre of importance, when they had any great need of water or drought, or other like things. For the ordinary Feasts, wee must understand, that every moneth of the yeere they made

[III. v. 1045.] *Feasts celebrated by them of Cusco, and how the Devill would imitate the mystery of the holy Trinitie. Chap.* 28.

Feasts, and divers Sacrifices, and although all of them had this alike, that they offered a hundred sheepe: yet in colour, and in forme they are very divers. In the *Rayme-feast.* first moneth which they call Rayme, which is the moneth of December, they made their first Feast, which was the principall of all others, and for that cause they called it Capacrayme, which is to say, A rich and principall Feast. In this Feast they offered a great number of sheepe and Lambes in Sacrifice, and they burnt them with sweet wood, then they caused Gold and Silver to bee brought upon certayne sheepe, setting upon them three Images of the Sunne, and three of the Thunder, the Father, the Sonne, and the Brother. In these Feasts they dedicated the Inguas children, putting Guaras, or Ensignes upon them, and they pierced their eares: then some old man did whip them with slings and annoynted their faces with bloud, all in signe that they should be true Knights to the Ingua. No stranger might remayne in Cusco during this moneth, and this Feast, but at the end thereof they entred, and they gave unto them pieces of the paste of Mays with the bloud of the Sacrifice, which they did eate in signe of confederation with the Ingua, as hath beene said before. It is strange that the Devill after his manner *Indian Trinity.* hath brought a Trinitie into Idolatry, for the three Images of the Sunne called Apomti, Churunti, and Intiquaoqui which signifieth Father and Lord Sunne, the Sonne Sunne, and the Brother Sunne. In the like manner they named the three Images of Chuquilla, which is the God that rules in the Region of the Ayre, where it Thunders, Raines and Snowes. I remember, that beeing in Cuquisaca, an honourable Priest shewed me an information, which I had long in my hands, where it was prooved that there was a certayne Guaca or Oratory, whereas the Indians did worship an Idoll called Tangatanga, which they said was one in three, and three in one. Comming then to the Feast of the second moneth, which they *Camey-feast.* called Camey, besides the Sacrifices which they made, they did cast the ashes into the River, following five or sixe

leagues after, praying it to carry them into the Sea, for that the Virochoca should there receive this present. In the third, fourth and fift moneth, they offered a hundred blacke sheepe, speckled, and grey, with many other things, which I omit for being too tedious. The sixt moneth is called Hatuncuzqui Aymorey, which answereth to May, in the which they sacrificed a hundred sheepe more, of all colours: in this Moone and moneth, which is when they bring Mays from the fields into the house, they made a Feast, which is yet very usuall among the Indians, and they doe call it Aymorey.

Aymorey-feast.

This Feast is made comming from the Chacra or Farme unto the house, saying certayne Songs, and praying that the Mays may long continue, the which they call Mamacora. They take a certayne portion of the most fruitfull of the Mays that growes in their Farmes, the which they put in a certayne Granier which they doe call Pirva, with certayne Ceremonies, watching three nights: they put this Mays in the richest garments they have, and being thus wrapped and dressed, they worship this Pirva, and hold it in great veneration, saying it is the Mother of the Mays of their Inheritances, and that by this meanes the Mays augments and is preserved. In this moneth they make a particular Sacrifice, and the Witches demand of this Pirva, if it hath strength sufficient to continue untill the next yeere: and if it answeres No, then they carry this Mays to the Farme to burne, whence they brought it, according to every mans power; then make they another Pirva, with the same Ceremonies, saying, that they renew it, to the end the Seed of Mays may not perish, and if it answers that it hath force sufficient to last longer, they leave it untill the next yeere. This foolish vanitie continueth to this day, and it is very common amongst the Indians to have these Pirvas, and to make the Feast of Aymorey. The seventh moneth answereth to June, and is called Aucaycuzqui Intiraymi, in it they made the Feast that is called Intiraymi, in the which they sacrificed a hundred sheepe called Guanacos,

Intiraymi-feast.

and said it was the Feast of the Sunne. In this moneth they made many Images of Quinua wood carved, all attired with rich garments, and they made their dancings which they doe call Cayo. At this Feast they cast flowers in the high wayes, and thither the Indians came painted, and their Noblemen had small plates of Gold upon their beards, and all did sing; we must understand that this Feast falleth almost at the same time, when as the Christians observe the Solemnitie of the holy Sacrament, which doth resemble it in some sort, as in dancing, singing and representations. And for this cause there hath beene, and is yet among the Indians (which celebrated a Feast somewhat like to ours of the holy Sacrament) many Superstitions in celebrating this ancient Feast of Intiraymi. The eight moneth is called Chahua Huarqui, in the which they did burne a hundred sheep more, all grey, of the colour of Viscacha, according to the former order, which moneth doth answere to our July. The ninth moneth was called Yapaguis, in which they burnt an hundred sheepe more, of a Chesnut colour, and they doe likewise kill and burne a thousand Cuyes, to the end that neither the Frost, the Ayre, the water, nor the Sunne should hurt their Farmes: and this moneth doth answere unto August. The tenth moneth was called Coyarami, in the which they burnt a hundred white sheepe that had fleeces. In this moneth which answereth to September, they made the Feast called Situa, in this manner. They assembled together the first day of the Moone before the rising thereof: and in seeing it they cryed aloude, carrying Torches in their hands, and saying, Let all harme goe away, striking one another with their Torches. They that did this, were called Panconcos: which being done, they went to the common Bath, to the Rivers and Fountaines, and every one to his owne Bath, setting themselves to drinke foure dayes together. In this moneth the Mamacomas of the Sunne made a great number of small Loaves with the bloud of the Sacrifices, and gave a piece to every stranger; yea, they sent to every Guaca

Corpus Christi day resembled.

[III. v. 1046.]

Situa-feast.

throughout the Realme, and to many Curacas, in signe of confederation and loyaltie to the Sun and the Ingua, as hath beene said.

The Bathes, drunkennesse and some Relickes of this Feast Situa, remayne even unto this day, in some places, with the Ceremonies a little different, but yet very secretly, for that these chiefe and principall Feasts have ceased. The eleventh moneth Homaraymi Punchaiquis, wherein they sacrificed a hundred sheepe more. And if they wanted water, to procure raine, they set a blacke sheepe tyed in the middest of a Plaine, powring much Chica about it, and giving it nothing to eate untill it rayned, which is practised at this day in many places, in the time of our October. The twelfth and last moneth was called Aymara, wherein they did likewise sacrifice a hundred sheepe, and made the Feast called Raymicantara Raquis. In this moneth which answered to our November, they prepared what was necessary for the Children that should bee made Novices, the moneth following, the Children with the old men made a certayne shew, with rounds and turnings: and this Feast was called Ituraymi, which commonly they make when it raines too much, or too little, or when there is a plague.

Among the extraordinary Feasts which were very many, the most famous was that which they called Ytu. This Feast Ytu hath no prefixed time nor season, but in time of necessitie. To prepare themselves thereunto, all the people fasted two dayes, during the which they did neither company with their wives, nor eate any meate with Salt or Garlicke, nor drinke any Chica. All did assemble together in one place, where no stranger was admitted, nor any beast: they had Garments and Ornaments, which served onely for this Feast. They marched very quietly in Procession, their heads covered with their Veiles, sounding of Drummes, without speaking one to another. This continued a day and a night; then the day following they danced and made good cheere for two dayes and two nights together, saying, that their Prayer was accepted.

And although that this Feast is not used at this day, with all this ancient Ceremony, yet commonly they make another which is very like, which they call Ayma, with Garments that serve onely to that end, and they make this kinde of Procession with their Drummes, having fasted before, then after they make good cheere, which they usually doe in their urgent necessities. And although the Indians forbeare to sacrifice beasts, or other things publikely, which cannot be hidden from the Spaniards, yet doe they still use many Ceremonies that have their beginnings from these Feasts and ancient Superstitions: for at this day they doe covertly make this Feast of Ytu, at the dances of the Feast of the Sacrament, in making the dances of Lyamallama, and of Guacon, and of others, according to their ancient Ceremonies.

Of the feast of Jubilee which the Mexicans celebrated. Chap. 29.

THe Mexicans have beene no lesse curious in their Feasts and Solemnities, which were of small charge, but of great effusion of mans bloud. We have before spoken of the principall Feast of Vitziliputzli, after the which the Feast of Tezcalipuca was most solemnized. This Feast fell in May, and in their Kalender they called it Tozcolt: it fell every foure yeere with the feast of Penance, where there was given full indulgence and remission of sinnes. In this day they did sacrifice a Captive which resembled the Idoll Tezcalipuca, it was the nineteenth day of May: upon the Even of this Feast, the Noblemen came to the Temple, bringing a new Garment like unto that of the Idoll, the which the Priest put upon him, having first taken off his other Garments, which they kept with as much, or more reverence then wee doe our Ornaments. There were in the Coffers of the Idoll many Ornaments, Jewels, Earerings, and other Riches, as Bracelets, and precious Feathers which served to no other use, but to be there, and was worshipped as their God it selfe. Besides the Garment wherewith they worshipped the Idoll that day, they put upon him certayne ensignes of Feathers, with fannes, shadowes and

other things, being thus attired and furnished, they drew the Curtayn or Veile from before the doore, to the end he might be seene of all men: then came forth one of the chiefe of the Temple, attyred like to the Idoll, carrying flowres in his hand, and a Flute of earth, having a very sharpe sound, and turning towards the East, he sounded it, and then looking to the West, North and South he did the like. And after he had thus sounded towards the foure parts of the World (shewing that both they that were present and absent did heare him) he put his finger into the Aire, and then gathered up earth, which hee put in his mouth, and did eate it in signe of adoration. The like did all they that were present, and weeping, they fell flat to the ground, invocating the darknesse of the night, and the winds, intreating them not to leave them, nor to forget them, or else to take away their lives, and [III. v. 1047.] free them from the labours they endured therein. Theeves, Adulterers, and Murtherers, and all other offenders had great feare and heavinesse, whilest this Flute sounded; so as some could not dissemble nor hide their offences. By this meanes they all demanded no other thing of their God, but to have their offences concealed, powring forth many teares, with great repentance and sorrow, offering great store of Incense to appease their Gods. The couragious and valiant men, and all the old Souldiers, that followed the art of Warre, hearing this Flute demanded with great devotion of God the Creator, of the Lord for whom we live, of the Sun, and of other their Gods, that they would give them victory against their enemies, & strength to take many Captives, therewith to honour their Sacrifices. This Ceremony was done ten dayes before the Feast: During which ten dayes the Priest did sound this Flute, to the end that all might doe this worship in eating of earth, and demand of their Idoll what they pleased: they every day made their Prayers, with their eyes lift up to Heaven, and with sighs and groanings, as men that were grieved for their sinnes and offences. Although this contrition was onely for

feare of the corporall punishment that was given them, and not for any feare of the eternall, for they certainly beleeved there was no such severe punishment in the other life. And therefore they offered themselves voluntarily to death, holding opinion that it is to all men an assured rest.

No feare but of temporall punishment.

The first day of the Feast of this Idoll Tezcalipuca beeing come, all they of the Citie assembled together in a Court, to celebrate likewise the Feast of the Kalender, whereof we have already spoken, which was called Toxcoalth, which signifies A dry thing: which Feast was not made to any other end, but to demand raine, in the same manner that wee solemnize the Rogations: and this Feast was alwayes in May, which is the time that they have most need of raine in those Countreyes. They beganne to celebrate it the ninth of May, ending the nineteenth. The last day of the Feast the Priests drew forth a Litter well furnished with Curtaynes and Pendants of divers fashions. This Litter had so many armes to hold by as there were Ministers to carrie it. All which came forth besmeered with blacke and long haire, halfe in tresses with white strings, and attyred in the livery of the Idoll. Upon this Litter they set the personage of the Idoll, appointed for this Feast, which they called the resemblance of their God Tezcalipuca, and taking it upon their shoulders, they brought it openly to the foot of the staires: then came forth the young men and Maydens of the Temple, carrying a great coard wreathed of chaines of roasted Mays, with the which they environed the Litter, and putting a chaine of the same about the Idols necke, and a Garland upon his head. They called the coard Toxcalt, signifying the drought and barrennesse of the time. The young men came wrapped in red Curtaines, with Garlands and chaines of roasted Mays. The Maydes were clothed in new Garments, wearing chaines about their neckes of roasted Mays; and upon their heads Mytres made of rods covered with this Mays, they had their feet covered with feathers, and their armes and

cheekes painted. They brought much of this roasted Mays, and the chiefe men put it upon their heads, and about their neckes, taking flowres in their hands. The Idoll being placed in his Litter, they strewed round about a great quantitie of the boughes of Manguey, the leaves whereof are large and pricking.

This Litter being set upon the religious mens shoulders, they carried it in Procession within the circuit of the Court, two Priests marching before with Censors, giving often Incense to the Idoll; and every time they gave Incense, they lifted up their armes as high as they could to the Idoll, and to the Sunne, saying, that they lifted up their Prayers to Heaven, even as the smoke ascended on high. Then all the people in the Court turned round to the place whither the Idoll went, every one carrying in his hand new coards of the threed of the Manguey, a fadome long, with a knot at the end, and with them they whipped themselves upon the shoulders; even as they doe here upon holy Thursday. All the wals of the Court and Battlements were full of boughes and flowres, so fresh and pleasant, as it did give a great contentment. This Procession being ended, they brought the Idoll to his usuall place of abode. Then came a great multitude of people with flowres, dressed in divers sorts wherewith they filled the Temple and all the Court, so as it seemed the ornament of an Oratory. All this was put in order by the Priests, the young men administring these things unto them from without. The Chappell or Chamber where the Idoll remayned was all this day open without any Veile.

This done, every one came and offered Curtines, and pendants of Sandally, precious Stones, Jewels, Incence, sweet wood, Grapes, or eares of Mays, Quailes: and finally, all they were accustomed to offer in such solemnities. When as they offered Quailes (which was the poore mans offering) they used this ceremonie, they delivered them to the Priests, who taking them, pulled off their heads, and cast them at the foote of the Altar,

where they lost their bloud, and so they did of all other things which were offered. Every one did offer meate and fruite according to their power, the which was laid at the foote of the Altar, and the Ministers gathered them up, and carried them to their Chambers. This solemne offering done, the people went to dinner, every one to his village or house, leaving the feast suspended untill after dinner. In the meane time, the yong Men and Maidens of the Temple, with their ornaments, were busied to serve the Idoll, with all that was appointed for him to eate: which meate was prepared by other women, who had made a vow that day to serve the Idoll. And therefore such as had made this vow, came by the point of day, offering themselves to the Deputies of the Temple, that they might command them what they would have done, the which they did carefully performe. They did prepare such variety of meates, as it was admirable. This meate being ready, and the houre of dinner come, all these Virgins went out of the Temple in procession, every one carrying a little basket of bread in her hand, and in the other, a dish of these meates; before them marched an old man, like to a steward, with a pleasant habit, he was cloathed in a white Surples downe to the calves of his legges, upon a doublet without sleeves of red leather, like to a jacket, he carried wings instead of sleeves, from the which hung broad ribbands, at the which did hang a small Calibasse or pumpion, which was covered with flowers, by little holes that were made in it, and within it were many superstitious things. This old man thus attyred, marched very humbly and heavily before the preparation, with his head declining: and comming neere the foote of the staires, he made a great obeisance and reverence. Then going on the one side, the Virgins drew neere with the meate, presenting it in order one after another, with great reverence. This service presented, the old man returned as before, leading the Virgins into their convent. This done, the yong men and ministers of the Temple, came forth and gathered up this meate,

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the which they carried to the Chambers of the chiefe Priests of the Temple, who had fasted five dayes, eating onely once a day, and they had also abstained from their wives, not once going out of the Temple in these five dayes. During the which they did whip themselves rigorously with cords; they did eate of this divine meate (for so they called it) what they could, nor was it lawfull for any other to eate thereof. All the people having dined, they assembled againe in the court to see the end of the feast, whither they brought a captive, which by the space of a whole yeare, had represented the Idoll, being attired, decked, and honoured, as the Idoll it selfe, and doing all reverence unto him, they delivered him into the hands of the sacrificers, who at that instant presented themselves, taking him by the feete and hands. The Pope did open his stomacke, and pull out his heart, then did he lift up his hand as high as he could, shewing it to the Sunne, and to the Idoll, as hath beene said. Having thus sacrificed him that represented the Idoll, they went into a holy place appointed for this purpose, whither came the yong Men and Virgins of the Temple, with their ornaments, the which being put in order, they danced and sung with Drummes and other instruments, on the which the chiefe Priests did play and sound. Then came all the Noblemen with ensignes and ornaments like to the yong men, who danced round about them. They did not usually kill any other men that day, but him that was sacrificed, yet every fourth yeare they had others with him, which was in the yeare of Jubile and full pardons. After Sunne set, every one being satisfied with sounding, eating, and drinking, the Virgins went all to their convent, they tooke great dishes of earth full of bread mixt with hony, covered with small panniers, wrought and fashioned with dead mens heads and bones, and they carried the collation to the Idoll, mounting up to the Court, which was before the doore of the Oratorie: and having set them downe, they retired in the same order as they came, the steward going still before. Presently came forth all

the yong men in order, with canes or reedes in their hands, who began to runne as fast as they could to the top of the staires of the Temple, who should come first to the dishes of the collation. The Elders or chiefe Priests observed him that came first, second, third, and fourth, without regarding the rest. This collation was likewise all carried away by the yong men, as great Relicks. This done, the foure that arrived first were placed in the midst of the Ancients of the Temple, bringing them to their chambers with much honour, praising them, and giving them ornaments; and from thence forth they were respected and reverenced as men of marke. The taking of this collation being ended, and the feast celebrated with much joy and noise, they dismissed all the yong men and maides which had served the Idoll; by meanes whereof they went one after another, as they came forth. All the small children of the Colledges and Schooles, were at the gate of the court, with bottomes of rushes and hearbs in their hands, which they cast at them, mocking and laughing, as of them that came from the service of the Idoll: they had liberty then to dispose of themselves at their pleasure, and thus the Feast ended.

Of the Feast of Marchants, which those of Cholutecas did celebrate. Ch. 30.

ALthough I have spoken sufficiently of the service the Mexicans did unto their gods; yet will I speake something of the feast they called Quetzacoalt, which was the god of riches, the which was solemnised in this manner. Fortie dayes before the Marchants bought a slave well proportioned, without any fault or blemish, either of sicknesse or of hurt, which they did attire with the ornaments of the Idoll, that he might represent it forty dayes. Before his cloathing they did clense him, washing him twice in a lake, which they called the lake of the gods; and being purified, they attired him like the Idoll. During these forty dayes, he was much respected for his sake whom he represented. By night they did imprison him (as hath beene said) lest he should flye, and in the morning they tooke him out of prison,

setting him upon an eminent place, where they served him, giving him exquisite meates to eate. After he had eaten, they put a chaine of flowers about his necke, and many nosegaies in his hand. He had a well appointed guard, with much people to accompany him. When he went through the Citie, he went dancing and singing through all the streetes, that he might be knowne for the resemblance of their god, and when he beganne to sing, the women and little children came forth of their houses to salute him, and to offer unto him as to their god. Two old men of the Ancients of the Temple, came unto him nine dayes before the feast, and humbling themselves before him, they said with a low and submisse voyce, Sir, you must understand that nine dayes hence the exercise of dancing and singing doth end, and thou must then dye; and then he must answer, in a good houre. They call this ceremony, Neyola Maxiltleztli, which is to say, the advertisement: and when they did thus advertise him, they tooke very carefull heede whither he were sad, or if he danced as joyfully as he was accustomed, the which if he did not as cheerefully as they desired, they made a foolish superstition in this manner. They presently tooke the sacrificing rasors, the which they washed and clensed from the bloud of men, which remained of the former sacrifices. Of this washing they made a drinke mingled with another liquor made of Cacao, giving it him to drinke; they said that this would make him forget what had beene said unto him, and would make him in a manner insensible, returning to his former dancing and mirth. They said moreover, that he would offer himselfe cheerefully to death, being inchanted with this drinke. The cause why they sought to take from him this heavinesse, was, for that they held it for an ill augure, and a fore-telling of some great harme. The day of the Feast being come, after they had done him much honour, sung, and given him incense, the sacrificers tooke him about midnight and did sacrifice him, as hath beene said, offering his heart unto the

[III. v. 1049.]

Moone, the which they did afterwards cast against the Idoll, letting the body fall to the bottome of the staires of the Temple, where such as had offered him tooke him up, which were the Marchants, whose feast it was. Then having carried him into the chiefest mans house amongst them, the body was drest with divers sawces, to celebrate (at the breake of day) the banquet and dinner of the feast, having first bid the Idoll good morrow, with a small dance, which they made whilst the day did breake, and that they prepared the sacrifice. Then did all the Marchants assemble at this banket, especially those which made it a trafficke to buy and sell slaves, who were bound every yeere to offer one, for the resemblance of their god. This Idoll was one of the most honored in all the Land: and therefore the Temple where he was, was of a great authoritie. There were threescore staires to ascend up unto it, and on the top was a Court of an indifferent largenesse, very finely drest and plastered, in the midst whereof, was a great round thing like unto an Oven, having the entrie low and narrow: so as they must stoope very low that should enter into it. This Temple had Chambers and Chappels as the rest, where there were convents of Priests, yong Men, Maides, and Children, as hath beene said: and there was one Priest alone resident continually, the which they changed weekely: For although there were in every one of these Temples, three or foure Curates or Ancients, yet did every one serve his weeke without parting. His charge that weeke (after he had instructed the children) was to strike up a Drum every day at the Sunne-setting, to the same end that we are accustomed to ring to Evensong. This Drum was such as they might heare the house sound thereof throughout all the parts of the Citie, then every man shut up his merchandise, and retired unto his house, and there was so great a silence, as there seemed to be no living creature in the Towne. In the morning when as the day began to breake, they began to sound the Drum, which was a signe of the day beginning, so as

Stately Temple.

Drums used in stead of Bels.

travellers and strangers attended this signall to begin their journies, for till that time it was not lawfull to goe out of the Citie.

There was in this Temple a Court of reasonable greatnesse, in the which they made great dances, and pastimes, with games or comedies the day of the Idols feast; for which purpose there was in the middest of this court a Theatre of thirty foote square very finely decked and trimmed, the which they decked with flowers that day, with all the art and invention that might be, being invironed round with Arches of divers flowers and feathers, and in some places there were tied many small Birds, Conies, and other tame beasts. After dinner all the people assembled in this place, and the Players presented themselves, and plaied Comedies, some counterfeit *Comedies.* the deafe, and the rheumatike, others the lame, some the blinde, and without hands, which came to seeke for cure of the Idol, the deafe answered confusedly, the rheumaticke did cough, the lame halted, telling their miseries and griefes, wherewith they made the people to laugh; others come forth in the forme of little beasts, some were attired like Snailes, others like Toades, and some like Lizards: then meeting together, they told their offices, and every one retyring to his place, they sounded on small flutes, which was pleasant to heare. They likewise counterfeited Butterflies and small Birds of divers colours, and the children of the Temple represented these formes, then they went into a little Forrest planted there for the nonce, where the Priests of the Temple drew them forth with instruments of musicke. In the meane time they used many pleasant speeches, some in propounding, others in defending, wherewith the assistants were pleasantly intertained. This done, they made a Maske or Mummerie with all these personages, and so the Feast ended: the which were usually done in their principall Feasts.

[Chap. VI.

[III. v. 1050.]

Chap. VI.

Civill Customes and Arts of the Indians taken out of Acostas 6. Booke.

Of the supputation of times and the Kalender the Mexicans used. Cha. 2.

Will first shew in what sort the Mexicans counted and divided their yeere, their moneths, their Kalender, their computations, their worlds and ages. They divided the yeare into eighteene moneths, to which they gave twentie dayes, wherein the three hundred and threescore dayes are accomplished, not comprehending in any of these Moneths the five daies that remaine, and make the yeare perfect. But they did reckon them apart, and called them the dayes of nothing: during the which, the people did not any thing, neither went they to their Temples, but occupied themselves onely in visiting one another, and so spent the time: the sacrificers of the Temple did likewise cease their sacrifices. These five dayes being past, they began the computation of the yeare, whereof the first moneth and beginning was in March, when the leaves began to grow greene, although they tooke three dayes of the moneth of February; for the first day of their yeare was, as it were, the six and twentieth day of February, as appeareth by their Kalender, within the which ours is likewise comprehended and contained with a very ingenious Art, which was made by the ancient Indians that knew the first Spaniards. I have seene this Kalender, and have it yet in my custodie, which well deserveth the sight, to understand the discourse and industrie the Mexican Indians had. Everie one of these eighteene moneths had his proper name, and his proper picture, the which was commonly taken of the principall Feast that was made in that moneth, or from the diversitie of times, which the yeare caused in that moneth. They had in this Kalender certaine daies marked and distin-

Mexican yeare & 18 moneths.

New yeares day.

Their Kalender.

guished for their feasts. And they accounted their weekes by thirteene dayes, marking the daies with a Zero or cipher, which they multiplied unto thirteene, and then began to count, one, two, &c. They did likewise marke the yeares of these wheeles, with foure signes or figures, attributing to everie yeare a peculiar signe, whereof one was of a House, another of a Conie, the third of a Reede, and the fourth of a Flint. They painted them in this sort, noting by those figures the yeare that did runne, saying of so many Houses, of so many Flints, of such a Wheele, happened such a thing. For we must understand that their wheele, which was an age, contained foure weekes of yeares, everie weeke containing thirteene yeares, which in all made fiftie two yeares. In the midst of this wheele they painted a Sun, from the which went foure beames or lines in crosse to the circumference of the wheele, and they made their course, even as the circumference was divided into foure equall parts, everie one with his line, having a distinct colour from the rest, and the foure colours were, Greene, Blew, Red, and Yellow: every portion of these foure had thirteene separations which had all their signes or particular figures, of a House, a Conie, a Reede, or a Flint, noting by every signe a yeare, and upon the head of this signe they painted what had happened that yeare.

Weeke of 13. *daies, or years. See this in the Mexican Chronicle in their owne figures.*

And therefore I did see in the Kalender mentioned the yeare when the Spaniards entered Mexico, marked by the picture of a man clad in red, after our manner, for such was the habit of the first Spaniard, whom Fernando Cortes sent, at the end of the two and fiftie yeares, which finished the wheele. They used a pleasant ceremonie, which was, the last night they did breake all their vessels and stuffe, and put out their fire, and all the lights, saying, that the world should end at the finishing of one of these wheeles, and it might be at that time: for (said they) seeing the world must then end, what neede is there to provide meate to eate, and therefore they had no further neede of Vessels nor fire. Upon this conceit they passed the

night in great feare, saying, it might happen there would be no more day, and they watched verie carefully for the day; when they saw the day begin to breake, they presently beat many Drums, and sounded Cornets, Flutes, and other instruments of joy and gladnesse, saying, that God did yet prolong the time with another age, which were fiftie two yeares. And then began another wheele. The first day and beginning of this age they tooke new fire, and bought new Vessels to dresse their meate, and all went to the high Priest for this new fire, having first made a solemne Sacrifice, and given thanks for the comming of the day, and prolongation of another age. This was their manner of accounting their yeares, moneths, weekes, and ages.

New Age.

How the Kings Inguas accounted the yeares and moneths.

ALthough this supputation of times practised amongst the Mexicans, be ingenious enough and certaine, for men that had no learning; yet in my opinion they wanted discourse and consideration, having not grounded their computation according unto the course of the Moone, nor distributed their months accordingly, wherein those of Peru have farre surpassed them: for they divided their yeare into as manie daies, perfectly accomplished as we doe here, and into twelve moneths or Moones, in the which they imploied and consumed the eleven daies that remaind of the Moone, as Polo writes. To make the computation of their yeare sure and certaine, they used this industrie; upon the Mountaines which are about the Citie of Cusco (where the Kings Inguas held their Court, being the greatest sanctuarie of those Realms, and as we should say another Rome) there were twelve Pillars set in order, and in such distance the one from the other, as everie moneth one of these Pillars did note the rising and setting of the Sunne. They called them Succanga, by meanes whereof they taught and shewed, the Feasts, and the seasons fit to sowe and reape, and to doe other things. They did certaine sacrifices to these Pillars of the Sunne. Every moneth had his proper name, and

Better computation of times in Peru.

[III. v. 1051.]

12. *Pillars of the Sunne.*

peculiar Feasts. They began the yeare by Januarie as we doe. But since, a King Ingua called Pachacuto, which signifies a reformer of the Temple, began their yeare by December, by reason (as I conjecture) that then the Sunne returneth from the last point of Capricorne, which is the tropike neerest unto them. I know not whether the one or the other have observed any Bisexte, although some hold the contrarie. The weekes which the Mexicans did reckon, were not properly weekes, being not of seven daies: the Inguas likewise made no mention thereof which is no wonder, seeing the count of the weeke is not grounded upon the course of the Sunne, as that of the yeare, nor of the Moone, as that of the moneth; but among the Hebrewes it is grounded upon the creation of the world, as Moyses reporteth; and amongst the Greekes and Latins upon the number of the seven Planets, of whose names the daies of the weeke have taken their denomination; yet was it much for those Indians, being men without bookes and learning, to have a yeare, seasons, and feasts, so well appointed as I have said.

That no Nation of the Indies hath beene found to have had the use of Letters. Chap. 4.

LEtters were invented to signifie properly the words we doe pronounce, even as words (according to the Philosopher) are the signes and demonstrations of mans thoughts and conceptions. And both the one and the other (I say the letters and words) were ordained to make things knowne. The voice of such as are present, and letters for the absent, and such as are to come. Signes and markes which are not properly to signifie words, but things, cannot be called, neither in truth are they letters, although they be written, for we cannot say that the picture of the Sunne is a writing of the Sunne, but onely a picture; and the like may be said of other signes and characters, which have no resemblance to the thing, but serve onely for memorie: for he that invented them, did not ordaine them to signifie words, but onely to noate the thing: neither doe they call those characters, letters, or writings, as indeede they are not, but rather ciphers,

or remembrances, as those be which the Spherists or Astronomers doe use, to signifie divers signes or planets of Mars, Venus, Jupiter, &c.

Such characters are ciphers, and no letters: for what name soever Mars may have in Italian, France, or Spanish, this character doth alwaies signifie it, the which is not found in letters: for although they signifie the thing, yet is it by meanes of words. So as they which know not the thing, understand them not: as for example, the Greekes nor the Hebrews, cannot conceive what this word Sol does signifie, although they see it written; for that they understand not the Latine word: so as writing and letters are onely practised by them, which signifie words therewith. For if they signifie things mediately, they are no more letters nor writings, but ciphers and pictures: whereby we may observe two notable things. The one, that the memorie of Histories and Antiquities may be preserved by one of these three meanes, either by letters and writings, as hath beene used amongst the Latines, Greekes, Hebrewes, and manie other Nations; or by painting, as hath beene used almost throughout all the world, for it is said in the second Nicene Counsell, Painting is a Booke for fooles which cannot reade: or by ciphers and characters, as the cipher signifies the number of a hundred, a thousand and others, without noting the word of a hundred, or a thousand. The other thing we may observe thereby, is that which is propounded in this Chapter, which is, that no Nation of the Indies discovered in our time, hath had the use of letters and writings, but of the other two sorts, Images, and figures. The which I observe, not onely of the Indies of Peru, and New Spaine, but also of Jappon and China.

Three wayes of remembrance to posterity; letters, as we have; pictures, as the Mexicans; characters, as in China.

Such fooles did that wise counsell make the Christian Church, in decreeing Images not onely to be bookes for such as cannot reade, but objects of worship to learned and unlearned.

It is difficult to understand how the Chinois can write proper names in their tongue, especially of strangers, being things they have never seene, and not able to invent figures proper unto them. I have made triall thereof being in Mexico with the Chinois, willing them to write this proposition in their language, Joseph Acosta is come

from Peru, and such like: whereupon the Chinese was long pensive, but in the end hee did write it, the which other Chinois did after reade, although they did vary a little in the pronuntiation of the proper name. For they use this devise to write a proper name: they seeke out some thing in their tongue, that hath resemblance to that name, and set downe the figure of this thing. And as it is difficult among so many proper names, to finde things to resemble them in the prolation, so is it very difficult and troublesome to write such names. Upon this purpose, Father Allonso Sanchez told us, that when hee was in China, being led into divers Tribunal Seates, from Manderin to Manderin, they were long in putting his name in writing in their Caphas, yet in the end they did write it after their manner, and so ridiculously, that they scarce came neere to the name: and this is the fashion of Letters and Writings which the Chinois used. That of the Japponois approached very neere, although they affirme that the Noblemen of Jappon that came into Europe, did write all things verie easily in their Language, were they of our proper names: yea, I have had some of their Writing shewed me, whereby it seemes they should have some kinde of Letters, although the greatest part of their Writings, be by the Characters and figures, as hath beene said of the Chinois. [III. v. 1052.]

An Indian of Peru or Mexico, that hath learned to read & write, knowes more then the wisest Mandarin that is amongst them: for that the Indian with foure and twentie Letters which hee hath learned, will write all the words in the World: and a Mandarin with his hundred thousand Letters, will be troubled to write some proper name, as of Martin, or Alonso, and with greater reason he shall bee lesse able to write the names of things hee knowes not. So as the writing in China, is no other thing but a manner of painting or ciphering.

A.D. c. 1588.

Of the fashion of Letters and writings which the Mexicans used. Chap. 7.

WE find among the Nations of New Spaine a great knowledge and memorie of antiquitie; and therefore searching by what meanes the Indians had preserved their Histories, and so many particularities, I learned, that although they were not so subtill and curious as the Chinois, and those of Jappon, yet had they some kind of Letters and Bookes amongst them, whereby they preserved (after their manner) the deeds of their Predecessors. In the Province of Yucatan, where the Bishopricke is, which they call de Honduras, there were Bookes of the leaves of Trees, folded and squared, after their manner in the which the wise Indians contained the distribution of their times, the knowledge of the Planets, of beasts and other naturall things, with their Antiquities, a thing full of great curiositie and diligence. It seemed to some Pendant that all this was an Inchantment and Magicke Arte, who did obstinately maintayne, that they ought to be burnt, so as they were committed to the fire. Which since not onely the Indians found to be ill done, but also the curious Spaniards, who desired to know the secrets of the Countrey. The like hath happened in other things: for our men thinking that all was but Superstition, have lost many memorials of ancient and holy things, which might have profited much. This proceedeth of a foolish and ignorant zeale, who not knowing, nor seeking to know what concerned the Indians, say prejudicately, that they are all but Witch-crafts, and that all the Indians are but Drunkards, incapable to know or learne any thing. For such as would be curiously informed of them, have found many things worthy of consideration. One of our company of Jesuits, a man very wittie and well experienced, did assemble in the Province of Mexico, the Ancients of Tescuco, of Talla, and of Mexico, conferring at large with them, who shewed unto him their Bookes, Histories and Kalenders, things very worthy the sight, because they had their figures and Hierogliphicks, whereby they represented things in this manner: Such as had forme

Bookes of leaves of trees heere folium & liber, or codex, from the rinde in which the Ancients writ.

Blind zeale.

or figure, were represented by their proper Images, and such as had not any, were represented by Characters that signified them, and by this meanes they figured and writ what they would. And to observe the time when any thing did happen, they had those painted Wheeles, for every one of them contayned an Age, which was two and fiftie yeeres, as hath beene said; and of the side of those Wheeles, they did paint with figures and Characters right against the yeere, the memorable things that happened therein. As they noted the yeere when as the Spaniards entred their Countrey, they painted a man with a Hat and a red Jerkin, upon the signe of a Reed, which did rule then, and so of other accidents. But for that their Writings and Characters were not sufficient as our Letters and Writings be, they could not so plainly expresse the words, but onely the substance of their conceptions. And forasmuch as they were accustomed to rehearse Discourses and Dialogues by heart, compounded by their Oratours and ancient Rhethoricians, and many Caphas made by their Poets (which were impossible to learne by their Hierogliphickes and Characters) the Mexicans were very curious to have their Children learne those Dialogues and compositions by heart. For the which cause they had Schooles, and as it were, Colledges or Seminaries, where the Ancients taught Children these Orations, and many other things, which they preserved amongst them by tradition from one to another, as perfectly, as if they had beene written; especially the most famous Nations had a care to have their children (which had any inclination to be Rhetoritians, and to practise the Office of Orators) to learne these Orations by heart: So as when the Spaniards came into their Countrey, and had taught them to reade and write our Letters, many of the Indians then wrote these Orations, as some grave men doe witnesse that had read them. Which I say, for that some which shall happily reade these long and eloquent Discourses in the Mexican History, will easily beleeve they have beene invented

by the Spaniards, and not really taken and reported from the Indians. But having knowne the certaine truth, they will give credit (as reason is) to their Histories. They did also write these Discourses after their manner, by Characters and Images: and I have seene for my better satisfaction, the Pater noster, Avie Maria, and Symboll, or generall Confession of our Faith, written in this manner by the Indians.

Confession by picture.

And in truth whosoever shall see them, will wonder thereat. For, to signifie these words, I a Sinner doe confesse my selfe, they painted an Indian upon his knees, at a religious mans feet, as one that confesseth himselfe: and for this, To God most mightie, they painted three faces with their Crownes, like to the Trinitie, and To the glorious Virgin Marie, they painted the face of our Lady, and halfe the bodie of a little childe: and for Saint Peter and Saint Paul, heads with crownes, and a Key with a Sword: and whereas Images failed, they did set Characters, as Wherein I have sinned, &c. whereby we may conceive the quicknesse of spirit of these Indians, seeing this manner of writing of our Prayers and matters of Faith hath not beene taught them by the Spaniards, neither could they have done it, if they had not had an excellent conception of that was taught them. And I have seene in Peru, a confession of sinnes brought by an Indian, written in the same sort with Pictures and Characters, painting every one of the tenne Commandements, after a certayne manner, where there were certayne markes like Ciphers, which were the sinnes hee had committed against the Commandements. I nothing doubt but if any of the most sufficient Spaniards were imployed to make memorials of the like things by their Images and markes, they would not attayne unto it in a whole yeere, no not in tenne.

[III. v. 1053.]

JOSEPH ACOSTA

A.D. c. 1588.

Of Registers and the manner of reckoning which the Indians of Peru used. Chap. 8.

BEfore the Spaniards came to the Indies, they of Peru had no kind of writing, either Letters, Characters, Ciphers or Figures, like to those of China and Mexico: yet preserved they the memory of their Antiquities, and mayntaine an order in all their affaires, of Peace, Warre, and Policie, for that they were carefull observers of Traditions from one to another, and the young ones learned, and carefully kept, as a holy thing, what their Superiors had told them, and taught it with the like care to their Posteritie. Besides this diligence, they supplied the want of Letters and Writings, partly by painting, as those of Mexico, (although they of Peru were very grosse and blockish) and partly, and most commonly by Quippos. These Quippos are *Quippos.* Memorials or Registers, made of Bowes, in the which there are divers knots and colours, which doe signifie divers things, and it is strange to see what they have expressed and represented by this meanes: for their Quippos serve them insteed of Bookes of Histories, of Lawes, Ceremonies, and accounts of their affaires. There were Officers appointed to keepe these Quippos, the which at this day they call Quipocamayos, the which were bound to give an account of every thing, as Notaries and Registers doe heere. Therefore they fully beleeved them in all things, for according to the varietie of businesse, as Warres, Policies, Tributes, Ceremonies and Lands, there were sundry Quippos or branches, in every one of the which there were so many knots little and great, and strings tyed unto them, some Red, some Greene, some Blue, some White; and finally, such diversitie, that even as wee derive an infinite number of words from the foure and twentie Letters, applying them in divers sorts, so doe they draw innumerable words from their knots, and diversitie of colours. Which thing they doe in such a manner, that if at this day in Peru, any Commissary come at the end of two or three yeeres, to take information upon the life of any Officer, the Indians come with their small reckonings verified, saying,

that in such a Village they hath given him so many Egges which he hath not payed for, in such a house a Henne, in another, two burthens of grasse for his Horse, and that he hath payed but so much mony, and remaineth debtor so much. The proofe being presently made with these numbers of knots and handfuls of coards, it remaynes for a certaine testimonie and register. I did see a handfull of these strings, wherein an Indian woman carried written a generall confession of all her life, and thereby confessed her selfe, as well as I could have done it in written Paper. I asked her what those strings meant that differed from the rest: she answered me, they were certaine circumstances which the sinne required to be fully confessed. Beside these Quippos of threed, they have another, as it were a kind of writing with small stones, by meanes whereof, they learne punctually the words they desire to know by heart. It is a pleasant thing to see the old and the impotent (with a Wheele made of small stones) learne the Pater noster, with another the Ave Maria, with another the Creed: and to remember what stone signifies, Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and which, Suffered under Pontius Pilate.

Writing with small stones.

It is a pleasant thing to see them correct themselves when they doe erre; for all their correction consisteth onely in beholding of their small stones. One of these Wheeles were sufficient to make me forget all that I doe know by heart. There are a great number of these Wheeles in the Church-yards for this purpose. But it seemes a kind of Witch-craft, to see another kinde of Quippos, which they make of graines of Mays, for to cast up a hard account, wherein a good Arithmetician would bee troubled with his Penne to make a division: to see how much every one must contribute: they doe draw so many graines from one side, and adde so many to another, with a thousand other inventions. These Indians will take their graines, and place five of one side, three of another, and eight of another, and will change one grain of one side, and three of another: So

Accounts by graines of Mays.

as they finish a certaine account, without erring in any point: and they sooner submit themselves to reason by these Quippos, what every one ought to pay, then wee can doe with the Penne. Heereby we may judge if they have any understanding, or bee brutish: for my part, I thinke they passe us in those things, whereunto they doe apply themselves.

[III. v. 1054.] *Of the order the Indians hold in their Writings. Ch.* 9.

IT shall be good to adde hereunto what we have observed, touching the Indians Writings: for their manner was not to write with a continued line, but from the top to the bottome, or in circle-wise. The Latines and Greekes doe write from the left hand unto the right, which is the vulgar and common manner wee doe use. The Hebrewes contrariwise beganne at the right to the left, and therefore their Bookes began where ours did end. The Chinois write neither like the Greekes nor like the Hebrewes, but from the top to the bottome, for as they bee no Letters but whole words, and that every figure and Character signifieth a thing, they have no neede to assemble the parts one with another, and therefore they may well write from the toppe to the bottome. Those of Mexico, for the same cause did not write in line, from one side to another, but contrary to the Chinois, beginning below, they mounted upward. They used this manner of writing, in the account of their dayes, and other things which they observed: Yet when they did write in their Wheeles or Signes, they began from the middest where the Sunne was figured, and so mounted by their yeeres unto the round and circumference of the Wheele.

Divers manners of writing.

By words, Pictures, and these Memorialls, the Kings were often advertised of that which passed. For this cause there were men of great agilitie, which served as Curriers, to goe and come, whom they did nourish in this exercise of Running from their youth, labouring to have them well breathed, that they might runne to the top of a high Hill without wearinesse. And there-

fore in Mexico they gave the Prize to three or foure that first mounted up the stayres of the Temple, as hath beene said in the former Booke. And in Cusco, when they made their Solemne Feast of Capacrayme, the Novices did runne who could fastest up the Rocke of Ynacauri. And the exercise of running is generall; much used among the Indians. When as there chanced any matter of importance, they sent unto the Lords of Mexico, the thing painted, whereof they would advertise them, as they did when the first Spanish ships appeared to their sight, and when they tooke Topanchan. In Peru they were very curious of Footmen, and the Ingua had them in all parts of the Realme, as ordinary Posts called Chasquis, whereof shall bee spoken in his place.

Divers formes of government. Many Nations of the Indies have not indured any Kings, or absolute and sovereigne Lords, but live in Comminalties, creating and appointing Captaynes and Princes, for certayne occasions onely, to whom they obey during the time of their charge, then after they returne to their former estates. The greatest part of this New World (where there are no setled Kingdomes, nor established Common-weales, neither Princes nor succeeding Kings) they governe themselves in this manner, although there bee some Lords and principall men raised above the common sort. In this sort the whole Countrey of Chille is governed, where the Auracanes, those of Teucapell and others, have so many yeeres resisted the Spaniards. And in like sort all the new Kingdome of Granado, that of Guatimalla, the Ilands, all Florida, Bresill, Luson, and other Countreyes of great circuit: but that in some places they are yet more barbarous, scarcely acknowledging any head, but all command and governe in common, having no other thing, but will, violence, industry and disorder, so as hee that most may most commands.

They have onely found two Kingdomes or setled Empires, that of the Mexicans in New Spaine, and of

the Inguas in Peru. It is not easie to be said, which of the two was the mightiest Kingdome, for that Moteçuma, exceeded them of Peru, in Buildings, and in the greatnesse of his Court: but the Inguas, did likewise exceed the Mexicans, in treasure, riches, and greatnesse of Provinces. In regard of Antiquitie, the Monarchie of the Inguas, hath the advantage, although it be not much, and in my opinion, they have beene equall in feats of Armes and Victories. It is most certaine, that these two Kingdomes have much exceeded all the Indian Provinces, discovered in this New World, as well in good order and government, as in power and wealth, and much more in Superstition and Service of their Idols, having many things like one to another. But in one thing they differed much, for among the Mexicans, the succession of the Kingdome, was by election, as the Empire of the Romanes, and that of Peru, was hereditary, and they succeeded in bloud, as the Kingdomes of France and Spaine.

Whether the Mexican or Peru Kingdome was greater.

THe Ingua which ruled in Peru, being dead, his lawfull Sonne succeeded him, and so they held him that was borne of his chiefe Wife, whom they called Coya. The which they have alwayes observed since the time of an Ingua, called Yupangui, who married his sister: for these Kings held it an honour to marrie their Sisters. And although they had other Wives and Concubines, yet the succession of the Kingdome appertayned to the Sonne of Coya. It is true, that when the King had a legitimate Brother, he succeeded before the Sonne, and after him his Nephew, and Sonne to the first. The Curacas, and Noblemen, held the same order of succession in their goods and Offices. And after their manner they made excessive Ceremonies, and obsequies for the dead. Being dead, they presently held him for a God, making Sacrifices unto him, Images, and such like. By this meanes, there was infinite Treasure in Peru: for every one of the Inguas, had

Of the government of the Kings and Inguas of Peru. Chap. 12. Incestuous Marriages.

laboured to have his Oratorie and Treasure surpasse that of his Predecessors. The marke or ensigne, whereby *Diadem.* they tooke possession of the Realme, was a red roll of Wooll, more then fine silke, the which hung in the middest of his forehead: and none but the Ingua alone [III. v. might weare it, for that it was as a Crowne and Royall 1055.] Diademe: yet they might lawfully weare a Roll hanging on the one side, neere unto the eare, as some Noblemen did, but onely the Ingua might carrie it in the middest of his forehead. At such time as they tooke this Roll or Wreathe, they made solemne Feasts, and many Sacrifices, with a great quantitie of vessell of Gold, and Silver, a great number of small formes or Images of sheepe, made of Gold and Silver, great abundance of the stuffes of Cumby, well wrought, both fine and courser, many shels of the Sea of all sorts, many feathers, and a thousand sheepe, which must bee of divers colours. Then the chiefe Priest tooke a young Childe in his hands, of the age of sixe or eight yeeres, pronouncing these words with the other Ministers speaking to the Image of Viracocha, Lord we offer this unto thee, that thou mayest mayntayne us in quiet, and helpe us in our warres, mayntaine our Lord the Ingua in his greatnesse and estate, that hee may alwayes increase, giving him much knowledge to governe us.

There were present at this Ceremonie and Oath, men of all parts of the Realme, and of all Guacas and Sanctuaries. And without doubt, the affection and reverence which this people bare to their Kings Inguas, was very great, for it is never found that any one of his subjects committed Treason against him, for that they proceeded in their governments, not only with an *Exact Justice.* absolute power, but also with good order and Justice, suffering no man to bee oppressed: The Ingua placed Governours in divers Provinces, amongst the which, some were Superiours, and did acknowledge none but himselfe, others were of lesse command, and others more particular, with so goodly an order, and such gravitie,

as no man durst be drunke, nor take an eare of Mays from his Neighbour. These Inguas held it for a Maxime, that it was necessary to keepe the Indians alwayes in action: and therefore we see it to this day, long cawsies and workes of great labour, the which they say were made to exercise the Indians, lest they should remayne idle. When hee conquered any new Province, hee was accustomed presently to send the greatest part, and the chiefe of that Countrey into other Provinces, or else to his Court, and they call them at this day in Peru, Mitimas, and in their places he sent others of the Nation of Cusco, especially the Oreiones, which were as Knights of an ancient house. They punished faults rigorously. And therefore such as have any understanding hereof, hold opinion, that there can be no better government for the Indians, nor more assured, than that of the Inguas.

No idlenesse permitted.

Transmigration.

TO relate more particularly what I have spoken before, you must understand, that the distribution which the Inguas made of their vassals, was so exact and distinct, as hee might governe them all with great facilitie, although his Realme were a thousand leagues long: for having conquered a Province, he presently reduced the Indians into Townes and Comminalties, the which he divided into bands, he appointed one to have the charge over every ten Indians, over every hundred another, over every thousand another, and over ten thousand another, whom they called Humo, the which was one of the greatest charges. Yet above all in every Province, there was a Governour of the house of the Inguas, whom all the rest obeyed, giving unto him every yeere particular account of what had passed, that is, of such as were borne, of those that were dead and of their troupes and graine. The Governours went every yeere out of Cusco, where they remayned, and returned to the great Feast of Rayme, at the which, they brought the tribute of the whole Realme to the Court; neither might they enter

Of the distribution the Inguas made of their Vassals. Chap. 13.

Governours.

Tribute yeerely paid at Cusco.

Fourefold provinciall partition.

but with this condition. All the Kingdome was divided into foure parts, which they called Tahuantinsuyo, that is, Chinchasuyo, Collasuyo, Andesuyo, and Condesuyo, according to the foure wayes which went from Cusco, where the Court was resident, and where the generall assemblies of the Realme were made. These waies and Provinces being answerable unto them, were towards the foure quarters of the world, Collasuyo to the South, Chinchasuyo to the North, Condesuyo to the West, and Andesuyo to the East. In every Towne and Village, there were two sorts of people, which were of Hanansaya, and Urinsaya, which is as much to say, as those above, and those below. When they commanded any worke to be done, or to furnish any thing to the Ingua, the Officers knew presently how much every Province, Towne, and Family, ought to furnish: so as the division was not made by equall portions, but by Cottization, according to the qualities and wealth of the Countrey. So as for example, if they were to gather a hundred thousand Fanegues of Meys, they knew presently how much every Province was to contribute, were it a tenth, a seventh, or a fift part. The like was of Townes and Villages, Aillos, or Linages. The Quipocamayos, which were the Officers and Intendants, kept the account of all with their strings and knottes, without fayling, setting downe what every one had payed, even to a Henne, or a burthen of wood, and in a moment they did see by divers Registers what every one ought to pay.

Of the Edifices and manner of building of the Inguas. Chap. 14.

THe Edifices and Buildings which the Inguas made in Temples, Fortresses, wayes, Countrey houses, and such like, were many in number, and of an excessive labour, as doth appeare at this day by their ruines and remaynders, both in Cusco, Tyaguanaco, Tambo, and other places, where there are stones of an unmeasurable greatnesse: as men cannot conceive how they were cut, brought and set in their places. There came great numbers of people from all Provinces, to worke in these

[III. v. 1056.]

Buildings and Fortresses, which the Ingua caused to bee made in Cusco, or other parts of the Realme. As these Workes were strange, and to amaze the beholders, wherein they used no Morter nor Ciment, neither any Iron, or Steele, to cut, and set the stones in worke. They had no Engines or other Instruments to carrie them, and yet were they so artificially wrought, that in many places they could not see the joynts: and many of these stones are so bigge, that it were an incredible thing, if one should not see them. At Tiaguanaco, I did measure a stone of thirtie eight foot long, of eighteene broad, and sixe thicke. And in the wall of the Fortresse of Cusco, which is of Moallon, there are stones of a greater bignesse. And that which is most strange, these stones being not cut nor squared to joyne, but contrariwise, very unequall one with another in forme and greatnesse, yet did they joyne them together without Ciment, after an incredible manner. All this was done by the force of men, who endured their labour with an invincible patience. For to joyne one stone with another, they were forced to handle and trie many of them often, being uneven. The Ingua appointed every yeere what numbers of people should labour in these stones and buildings, and the Indians made a division amongst them, as of other things, so as no man was oppressed. Although these Buildings were great, yet were they commonly ill appointed and unfit, almost like to the Mosquites or Buildings of the Barbarians.

Neat art in joyning huge stones.

They could make no Arches in their Edifices, nor Morter or Ciment to build them withall: when they saw Arches of wood built upon the River of Xaura, the Bridge being finished, and the wood broken downe, they all began to runne away, supposing that the Bridge which was of stone should presently fall; but when they found it to stand firme, and that the Spaniards went on it, the Cacique said to his companions: It is reason we should serve these men, who in truth seeme

Arches.

Bridges. to be the children of the Sunne. The Bridges they made were of Reedes pleited, which they tyed to the bankes with great stakes, for that they could not make any Bridges of stone or wood. The Bridge which is at this day upon the current of the great Lake Chiquitto in Callao is admirable; for the course of that water is so deepe, as they cannot settle any foundation, and so broad, that it is impossible to make an Arch to passe it: so as it was altogether impossible to make a Bridge either of wood or stone. But the wit and industry of the Indians invented a meanes to *Straw Bridge.* make a firme and assured Bridge being only of straw, which seemeth fabulous, yet is it very true: For as we have said before, they did binde together certaine bundles of Reeds, and Weeds, which doe grow in the Lake that they call Torora, and being a light matter that sinkes not in the water, they cast it upon a great quantitie of Reeds, then having tyed those bundles of Weedes to either side of the River, both men and beasts goe over it with ease: passing over this Bridge I have wondred, that of so common and easie a thing, they had made a Bridge, better, and more assured then the Bridge of Boates from Seville to Triane. I have measured the length of this Bridge, and as I remember, it was above three hundred foote; and they say that the depth of this Current is very great: and it seemes above, that the water hath no motion, yet they say, that at the bottome it hath a violent and very furious course. And this shall suffice for Buildings.

Of the Inguas revenues, and the order of Tributes they imposed upon the Indians. Chap. 15.

THe Inguas riches was incomparable, for although no King did inherit the riches and treasure of his Predecessor, yet had he at command, all the riches of his Realmes, aswell Silver and Gold, as the stuffe of Cumbi, and cattell, wherein they abounded, and their greatest riches of all, was their innumerable number of vassals, which were all imployed as it pleased the King. They brought out of every Province what he had chosen

for tribute. The Chicas sent him sweet and rich woods; the Lucanas sent Brancars to carry his Litter; The Chumbilbicas, Dancers; and so the other Provinces sent him what they had of abundance, besides their generall Tribute, whereunto every one contributed. The Indians that were noted to that end, laboured in the Mynes of Gold and Silver, which did abound in Peru, whom the Ingua entertained with all they needed for their expences: and whatsoever they drew of Gold and Silver, was for him. By this meanes there were so great treasures in this Kingdome, as it is the opinion of many, that what fell in the hands of the Spaniards, (although it were very much, as wee know) was not the tenth part of that which they hid and buried in the ground, the which they could never discover, notwithstanding all the search covetousnesse had taught them. But the greatest wealth of these barbarous people, was, that their vassals were all slaves, whose labour they used at their pleasure: and that which is admirable, they employed them in such sort, as it was no servitude unto them, but rather a pleasing life. But to understand the order of Tributes which the Indians payed unto their Lord, you must know, that when the Ingua conquered any Cities, he divided all the Land into three parts, the first was, for Religion and Ceremonies, so as the Pachay-achaqui, which is the Creator, and the Sunne, the Chuquilla, which is the Thunder, the Pachamana, and the dead, and other Guacas and Sanctuaries, had every one their proper Lands, the fruits whereof were spoyled and consumed in Sacrifices, and in the nourishing of Ministers and Priests; for there were Indians appointed for every Guaca, and Sanctuarie, and the greatest part of this revenue was spent in Cusco, where was the universall and generall sanctuarie, and the rest in that Citie, where it was gathered: for that after the imitation of Cusco, there were in every Citie, Guacas, and Oratories of the same order, and with the same functions, which were served after the same manner and ceremonies to that

All slaves and none.

Lands sacred.

[III. v. 1057.]

Order in their Religion.

of Cusco, which is an admirable thing, and they have found it by proofe in above a hundred Townes, some of them distant above two hundred leagues from Cusco.

That which they sowed or reapt upon their Land, was put into houses, as Granaries or storehouses, built for that effect, and this was a great part of the Tribute which the Indians paied. I cannot say how much this part amounted unto, for that it was greater in some parts then in other, and in some places it was in a manner all: and this part was the first they put to profit. The second part of these Lands and inheritances was for the Ingua, wherewith he and his houshold were entertained, with his kinsfolks, Noblemen, Garrisons and Souldiers. And therefore it was the greatest portion of these tributes, as it appeareth by the quantity of Gold, Silver, and other Tributes, which were in houses appointed for that purpose, being longer and larger then those where they keepe the revenues of the Guacas. They brought the Tribute verie carefully to Cusco, or unto such places where it was needefull for the Souldiers, and when there was store, they kept it ten or twelve yeares, untill a time of necessitie. The Indians tilled and put to profit the Inguas Lands, next to those of the Guacas; during which time they lived and were nourished at the charges of the Ingua, of the Sunne, or of the Guacas, according to the Land they laboured. But the old men, women, and sicke folkes were reserved and exempt from this Tribute, and although whatsoever they gathered upon those Lands were for the Ingua, the Sunne, or the Guacas, yet the propertie appertained unto the Indians and their successours. The third part of these Lands were given by the Ingua for the Comminaltie, and they have not yet discovered, whither this portion were greater, or lesse, then that of the Ingua or Guacas. It is most certaine they had a care and regard, it might be sufficient for the nourishment of the people. No particular man possessed any thing proper to himselfe of this third portion, neither did the Indians ever possesse any, if it were not by speciall

Royal demesnes.

Lands of the comminaltie in common.

No proprietie of Lands.

grace from the Ingua: and yet might it not be engaged nor divided amongst his heires. They everie yeare divided these Lands of the comminaltie, in giving to every one, that which was needefull for the nourishment of their persons and families. And as the familie increased or diminished, so did they encrease or decrease his portion, for there were measures appointed for everie person. The Indians paied no tribute of that which was apportioned unto them: For all their tribute was to till and keepe in good order the Lands of the Ingua, and the Guacas, and to lay the fruits thereof in their store-houses. When the yeare was barren, they gave of these fruits thus reserved to the needie, for that there is alwaies superabundance. The Ingua did likewise make distribution of the cattell as of the Lands, which was to number and divide them; then to appoint the pastures and limits, for the cattell belonging to the Guacas, and to the Ingua, and to everie Town: and therefore one portion of their revenues was for religion, another for the Ingua, and the third for the Indians themselves. The like order was observed among the hunters, being forbidden to take or kill any females. The troupes of the Inguas and Guacas, were in great numbers and verie fruitfull; for this cause they called them Kapaëllama, but those of the common and publike, were few in number and of small value, and therefore they called them Bacchallama. The Ingua tooke great care for the preservation of Cattell, for that it hath beene, and is yet, all the wealth of the Countrie, and as it is said, they did neither sacrifice any females, nor kill them, neither did they take them when they hunted. If the mangie or the scurvie which they call Carache take anie beast, they were presently commanded to burie it quicke, lest it should infect others. They did sheare their cattell in their season, and distributed to everie one to spinne and weave Stuffes for the service of his Family. They had searchers to examine if they did employ themselves in these workes, and to punish the negligent. They made Stuffes of the wooll of the Inguas

Their Tribute, what.

Cattell distributed.

Hunter lawes.

Provisions for cattell.

Negligence punished.

cattell, for him and for his family, one sort very fine, which they called Cumbi, and another grosser, which they likewise called Abasca. There was no certaine number of these Stuffes and garment, appointed, but what was delivered to every one. The wooll that remained was put into the storehouses, whereof the Spaniards found them full, and with all other things necessary for the life of man. There are few men of judgement but doe admire at so excellent & well setled a government, seeing the Indians (being neither religious, nor Christians) maintained after their manner, this perfection, nor to hold any thing proper, and to provide for all their necessities, entertaining with such abundance matters of Religion, & that which concerned their King & Lord.

Of Arts and offices which the Indians did exercise. Ch. 16.

THe Indians of Peru had one perfection, which was, to teach their children all arts and occupations necessary for the life of man; for that there were no particular Trades-men, as amongst us, Taylers, Shoomakers, Weavers, and the rest, but every one learned what was needefull for their persons and houses, and provided for themselves. All could weave and make their garments, and therefore the Ingua furnishing them with wooll, gave them cloathes. Every man could till the ground, and put it to profit, without hyring of any labourers. All built their own houses, and the women, which understood most were not brought up in delights, but served their Husbands carefully. Other Arts and Trades which were not ordinary and common for the life of man, had their proper Companies and workemen, as Goldsmiths, Painters, Potters, Watermen, and players of Instruments. There were also Weavers and workemen for exquisite workes, which the Noblemen used: but the common people, as hath beene said, had in their houses all things necessary, having no neede to buy. This continues to this day, so as they have no neede one of another for things necessary touching his person and family, as shooes and garments, and for their house, to sowe and reape, and to make Iron

All men of all trades.

[III. v. 1058.]

workes, and necessarie instruments. It is worthy observation, although the Indians be simple in their manner and habits, yet doe we see great diversitie amongst the Provinces, especially in the attire of their head, for in some places they carried a long peece of cloath, which went often about, in some places a large peece of cloath, which went but once about, in some parts as it were little morters or hats, in some others as it were high and round Bonets, and some like the bottome of sacks, with a thousand other differences. They had a straight and inviolable law, that no man might change the fashion of the garments of his Province, although he went to live in another. This the Ingua held to be of great importance for the order and good government of his Realme, and they doe observe it to this day, though not with so great a care as they were accustomed.

Diversitie of head-tire.

Uniformity of habit.

THere were many Posts and couriers which the Ingua maintained throughout his Realme, whom they called Chasquis, and they carried commandements to the Governours, and returned their advises and advertisements to the Court. These Chasquis were placed at every course, which was a league and a halfe one from another in two small houses, where were foure Indians of every Country, and they were changed monthly. Having received the packet or message, they ranne with all their force untill they had delivered it to the other Chasquis, such as were to runne, being ready and watchfull. They ran fiftie leagues in a day and night, although the greatest part of the Countrie be very rough. They served also to carry such things as the Ingua desired to have with speede. Therefore they had alwaies Sea-fish in Cusco, of two daies old or little more, although it were above a hundred leagues off. Since the Spaniards entred, they have used of these Chasquis, in time of seditions, whereof there was great neede. Don Martin the Viceroy appointed ordinary Posts at every foure leagues, to carry and recarry dispatches, which were very necessary in this

Of the Posts and Chasquis the Indians did use. Chap. 17.

Realme, though they run not so swiftly as the ancients did, neither are there so many, yet they are well paied, and serve as the ordinaries of Spaine, to whom they give Letters which they carry foure or five leagues.

Of the Justice, Lawes, and punishments which the Inguas have established, and of their mariages. Chap. 18.

EVen as such as had done any good service in warre, or in the government of the Commonweale were honoured and recompensed with publike charges, with Lands given them in proper, with armes and titles of honour, and in marrying wives of the Inguas linage: Even so they gave severe punishments to such as were disobedient and offenders. They punished murther, theft, and adultery, with death, and such as committed incest with ascendants or descendants in direct line, were likewise punished with death. But they held it no

Adultery.

adultery to have many wives or concubines, neither were the women subject to the punishment of death, being found with any other, but onely she that was the true and lawfull wife, with whom they contracted marriage; for they had but one whom they did wedde and receive with

Marriage solemnitie.

a particular solemnitie and ceremonie, which was in this manner: The Bridegroome went to the Brides house, and led her from thence with him, having first put an Ottoya upon her foote. They call the shooe which they use in those parts Ottoya, being open like the Franciscan Friars. If the Bride were a maide, her Ottoya was of Wooll, but if she were not, it was of Reedes. All his other wives and concubines did honour and serve this as the lawfull wife, who alone after the decease of her husband carried a mourning weede of blacke, for the space of a yeare; neither did she marry untill that time were past; and commonly she was yonger then her husband. The Ingua himselfe with his owne hand gave this woman to his Governours and Captaines: and the Governours or Caciques, assembled all the yong men and maides, in one place of the Citie, where they gave to everie one his wife with the aforesaid ceremonie, in

putting on the Ottoya, and in this manner they contracted their marriages. If this woman were found with any other then her husband, she was punished with death, and the adulterer likewise: and although the husband pardoned them, yet were they punished, although dispensed withall from death. They inflicted the like punishment on him that did commit incest with his Mother, Grandmother, Daughter, or Grandchilde: for it was not prohibited for them to marrie together, or to have of their other kinsfolke for concubines; onely the first degree was defended, neither did they allow the brother to have the company of his sister, wherein they of Peru were very much deceived, beleeving that the Inguas and Noblemen might lawfully contract marriage with their sisters, yea by father and mother: for in truth it hath beene alwaies held unlawfull among the Indians, and defended to contract in the first degree; which continued untill the time of Topa Ingua Yupangui father to Guaynacapa, and grandfather to Atahualpa, at such time as the Spaniards entred Peru; for that Topa Ingua Yupangui, was the first that brake this custome, marrying with Mamaoello, his sister by the fathers side, decreeing that the Inguas might marrie with their sisters by the fathers side, and no other.

Incest forbidden.

[III. v. 1059.]

This he did, and by that marriage he had Guaynacapa, and a daughter called Coya Cussillimay: finding himselfe at the point of death, he commanded his children by father and mother to marrie together, and gave permission to the Noblemen of his Countrie, to marrie with their sisters by the fathers side. And for that this marriage was unlawfull, and against the law of nature, God would bring to an end this Kingdome of the Inguas, during the raigne of Guascar Ingua, and Atahualpa Ingua, which was the fruite that sprang from this marriage. Who so will more exactly understand the manner of marriages among the Indians in Peru, let him reade the Treatise Polo hath written at the request of Don Jeronimo Loaisa Archbishop of Kings: which Polo

made a very curious search, as he hath done of divers other things at the Indies.

Of the Originall of the Inguas Lords of Peru, with their Conquests and Victories. Chap. 19.

BY the commandement of Don Phillip the Catholike King, they have made the most diligent and exact search that could be, of the beginning, customes, and priviledges of the Inguas, the which was not so perfectly done as was desired: for that the Indians had no written Records: yet they have recovered that which I shall write, by meanes of their Quippos and Registers. First there was not in Peru in old time, any King or Lord to whom all obeyed, but they were Comminalties, as at this day there is in the Realme of Chille, and in a manner, in all the Provinces which the Spaniards have conquered in those Westerne Indies, except the Realme of Mexico. You must therefore understand, that they have found three manner of Governements at the Indies. The first and best, was a Monarchie, as that of the Inguas, and of Moteçuma, although for the most part they were tyrannous. The second was of Comminalties, where they were governed by the advise and authority of many, which are as it were Counsellors. These in time of warre, made choise of a Captaine, to whom the whole Nation or Province did obey, and in time of peace, every Towne or Comminalty did rule and governe themselves, having some chiefe men whom the vulgar did respect, and sometime (though not often) some of them assemble together about matters of importance, to consult what they should thinke necessary. The third kinde of Government, is altogether barbarous, composed of Indians without Law, without King, and without any certaine place of abode, but goe in troopes like savage beasts. As farre as I can conceive, the first Inhabitants of the Indies, were of this kinde, as at this day a great part of the Bresillians, Chiraguanas, Chunchos, Yscycingas, Pilcocones, and the greatest part of the Floridians, and all the Chichimaquas in new Spaines. Of this kinde the other sort of government by Comminalties was framed, by the industry and

wisdome of some amongst them, in which there is some more order, holding a more staied place, as at this day those of Auracono, and of Teucapell in Chille, and in the new Kingdome of Grenado, the Moscas, and the Ottomittes in new Spaine: and in all these there is lesse fiercenesse and incivilitie, & much more quiet then in the rest. Of this kinde, by the valor & knowledge of some excellent men, grew the other government more mighty and potent, which did institute a Kingdome and Monarchy. It appeares by their Registers, that their Government hath continued above three hundred yeares, but not fully foure, although their Seigniorie for a long time, was not above five or six leagues compasse about the Citie of Cusco: their originall and beginning was in the valley of Cusco: where by little and little they conquered the Lands which we call Peru, passing beyond Quitto, unto the river of Pasto towards the North, stretching even unto Chille, towards the South, which is almost a thousand leagues in length. It extended in breadth unto the South Sea towards the West, and unto the great champains which are on the other side of the Andes, where at this day is to be seene the Castell which is called the Pucara of the Ingua, the which is a fortresse built for the defence of the frontire towards the East. The Inguas advanced no farther on that side, for the abundance of water, Marshes, Lakes, and Rivers, which runne in those parts. These Inguas passed all other Nations in America, in pollicie and government, and much more in valour and armes, although the Canaries which were their mortall enemies, and favoured the Spaniards, would never confesse it, nor yeelde them this advantage: so as even at this day, if they fall into any discourse or comparisons, and that they be a little chased and incensed, they kill one another by thousands upon this quarrell, which are the most valiant, as it hath happened in Cusco. The practise and meanes which the Inguas had to make themselves Lords of all this Countrie, was in faining that since the generall deluge (whereof

Continuance of their Monarchy.

Strife twixt Inguas and Canaries.

all the Indians have knowledge) the world had beene preserved, restored, and peopled by these Inguas, and that seven of them came forth of the Cave of Pacaricambo, by reason whereof, all other men ought them tribute and vassalage, as their progenitors. Besides they said and affirmed, that they alone held the true religion, and knew how God should be served and honoured: and for this cause they should instruct all men. It is a strange thing, the ground they give to their customes and ceremonies. There were in Cusco above foure hundred Oratories, as in a holy land, and all places were filled with their misteries. As they continued in the conquests of Provinces, so they brought in the like ceremonies and customes. In this Realme the chiefe Idols they did worship, were Viracocha, Pachayachachic, which signifies the Creator of the World, and after him, the Sunne. And therefore they said, that the Sunne received his vertue and being from the Creator, as the other Idols doe, and that they were intercessors to him.

400. *Oratories in Cusco.*

[III. v. 1060.]

Of the first Ingua and his Successors. Chap. 20.

THe first man which the Indians report to be the beginning and first of the Inguas, was Mangocapa, whom they imagine, after the deluge, to have issued forth of the Cave of Tambo, which is from Cusco about five or sixe leagues. They say that hee gave beginning to two principall Races or families of the Inguas, the one was called Hanancusco, and the other Urincusco: of the first came the Lords which subdued and governed this Province, and the first whom they make the Head and Stemme of this Familie, was called Ingaroca, who founded a Familie or Aillo, as they call them, named Viçaquiquirao. This although he were no great Lord, was served notwithstanding in vessell of gold and silver. And dying, he appointed that all his treasure should be imployed for the service of his Body, and for the feeding of his Familie. His Successor did the like: and this grew to a generall custome, as I have said, that no Ingua might inherit the goods and house of his Predecessor,

but did build a new Palace. In the time of this Inguaroca, the Indians had Images of gold; and to him succeeded Yaguarguaque, a very old man: they say, hee was called by this name, which signifies teares of bloud, for that being once vanquished and taken by his Enemies, for griefe and sorrow hee wept bloud. Hee was buried in a Village called Paullo, which is upon the way to Omasugo: he founded a Familie called Aocuillipanaca. To him succeeded his sonne Viracocha Ingua, who was very rich, and made much vessell of gold and silver: he founded the Linage or Familie of Cocopanaca. Gonçales Piçarre sought out his body, for the report of the great treasure buried with him, who after hee had cruelly tormented many Indians, in the end he found it in Xaquixaquana, where as they said Piçarre was afterwards vanquished, taken, and executed by the President Guasca. Gonçales Piçarre caused the body of Viracocha Ingua to be burnt; the Indians did afterwards take the ashes, the which they preserved in a small vessell, making great sacrifices thereunto, untill Pollo did reforme it, and other Idolatries which were committed upon the bodies of their other Inguas, the which hee suppressed with an admirable diligence and dexteritie, drawing these bodies out of their hands, being whole, and much imbalmed, whereby hee extinguished a great number of Idolatries which they committed. The Indians tooke it ill, that the Ingua did intitle himselfe Viracocha, which is the name of their God: and he to excuse himselfe, gave them to understand, that the same Viracocha appeared to him in his dreame, commanding him to take this name. To him succeeded Pachacuti Ingua Yupangui, who raigned seventie yeeres, and conquered many Countries. The beginning of his conquests, was by meanes of his eldest brother, who having held the government in his fathers time, and made warre by his consent, was over-throwne in a battaile against the Changuas, a Nation which inhabites the Valley of Andaguayllas, thirtie or fortie leagues from Cusco, upon the way to Lima. This elder brother thus defeated,

retyred himselfe with few men. The which Ingua Yupangui, his younger brother seeing, devised and gave forth, that being one day alone and melancholy, Viracocha the Creator spake to him, complayning, that though hee were universall Lord and Creator of all things, and that he had made the Heaven, the Sunne, the World, and Men, and that all was under his command, yet did they not yeeld him the obedience they ought, but contrariwise did equally honour and worship the Sunne, Thunder, Earth, and other things, which had no vertue but what he imparted unto them: giving him to understand, that in heaven where hee was, they called him Viracocha Pachayachachic, which signifieth universall Creator; and to the end the Indians might beleeve it to be true, he doubted not although hee were alone, to raise men under this title, which should give him victorie against the Changuas, although they were then victorious, and in great numbers; and make himselfe Lord of those Realmes, for that hee would send him men to his aide invisibly, whereby he prevayled in such sort, that under this colour and conceit, he began to assemble a great number of people, whereof he made a mightie Armie, with the which he obtayned the victorie, making himselfe Lord of the whole Realme, taking the government from his father and brother. Then afterwards he conquered and over-threw the Changuas, and from that time commanded that Viracocha should be held for universall Lord, and that the Images of the Sunne and Thunder, should doe him reverence and honor: And from that time they began to set the Image of Viracocha above that of the Sunne and Thunder, and the rest of the Guacas. And although this Ingua Yupangui had given Farmes, Lands, and Cattell to the Sunne, Thunder, and other Guacas, yet did he not dedicate any thing to Viracocha, saying, that he had no neede, being universall Lord and Creator of all things. Hee informed his Souldiers after this absolute victorie of the Changuas, that it was not they alone that had conquered them, but certaine bearded men,

whom Viracocha had sent him, and that no man might see them but himselfe, which were since converted into stones; it was therefore necessarie to seeke them out, whom he would know well. By this meanes he gathered together a multitude of stones in the Mountaines, whereof he made choice, placing them for Guacas, or Idols, they worshipped and sacrificed unto; they called them Pururaucas, and carried them to the warre with great devotion, beleeving for certaine, that they had gotten the victorie by their helpe. The imagination and fiction of this Ingua was of such force, that by the meanes thereof hee obtayned goodly victories: He founded the Familie called Yuacapanaca, and made a great Image of gold, which hee called Indiillapa, which he placed in a Brancard of gold, very rich, and of great price, of the which gold the Indians tooke great store to carry to Xaxamalca, for the libertie and ransome of Atahualpa, when the Marquesse Francis Piçarre held him prisoner. The Licenciate Polo found in his house in Cusco, his servants and Mamacomas, which did service to his memorie, and found that the body had beene transported from Patallacta to Totocache, where the Spaniards have since founded the Parish of Saint Blaise. This body was so whole and preserved with a certaine Rosin, that it seemed alive, he had his eyes made of a fine cloth of gold, so artificially set, as they seemed very naturall eyes, he had a blow with a stone on the head, which he had received in the warres, hee was all grey and hayrie, having lost no more haire then if he had dyed but the same day, although it were seventie and eight yeeres since his decease. The foresaid Polo sent this body with some others of the Inguas, to the Citie of Lima, by the Viceroyes command which was the Marquesse of Canette, and the which was very necessarie to roote out the Idolatrie of Cusco. Many Spaniards have seene this body with others in the Hospitall of Saint Andrew, which the Marquesse built, but they were much decayed. Don Philip Caritopa, who was grand-child or great grand-child [III. v. 1061.]

to this Ingua, affirmed that the treasure hee left to his Familie was great, which should bee in the power of the Yanaconas, Amaro, Toto, and others. To this Ingua succeeded Topaingua Yupangui, to whom his sonne of the same name succeeded, who founded the Familie called Cupac Aillo.

Of the greatest and most famous Ingua called Guaynacapa, Ch. 22.

TO this latter Ingua succeeded Guaynacapa, which is to say, A young man, rich and valiant, and so was he in truth, more then any of his Predecessors, or Successors. He was very wise, planting good orders throughout his whole Realme, he was a bold and resolute man, valiant, and very happy in warre. He therefore obtayned great victories, and extended his Dominions much farther then all his Predecessors had done before him; he dyed in the Realme of Quitto, the which he had conquered, foure hundred leagues distant from his Court. The Indians opened him after his decease, leaving his heart and entrailes in Quitto, the body was carried to Cusco, the which was placed in the renowmed Temple of the Sunne. Wee see yet to this day many Cawseys, Buildings, Fortresses, and notable workes of this King: hee founded the Familie of Teme Bamba.

Guaynacapa worshipped for a god.

This Guaynacapa was worshipped of his subjects for a god, being yet alive, as the old men affirme, which was not done to any of his Predecessors. When hee dyed, they slue a thousand persons of his houshold, to serve him in the other life, all which dyed willingly for his service, insomuch that many of them offered themselves to death, besides such as were appointed: his riches and treasure was admirable. And forasmuch as the Spaniards entred soone after his death, the Indians laboured much to conceale all, although a great part thereof was carried to Xaxamalca, for the ransome of Atahualpa his sonne.

His 300. sonnes &c.

Some worthy of credit, affirme that he had above three hundred sonnes and grand-children in Cusco. His mother called Mamaoella was much esteemed amongst them. Polo sent her body with that of Guaynacapa

very well imbalmed to Lima, rooting out infinite Idolatries. To Guaynacapa succeeded in Cusco a sonne of his called Titocussigualpa, who since was called Guaspar Ingua, his body was burned by the Captaines of Atahualpa, who was likewise sonne to Guaynacapa, and rebelled in Quitto against his brother, marching against him with a mightie Armie. It happened that Quisquits and Chilicuchi, Captaines to Atahualpa, tooke Guaspar Ingua in the Citie of Cusco, being received for Lord and King (for that he was the lawfull successor) which caused great sorrow throughout all his Kingdome, especially in his Court. And as alwayes in their necessities they had recourse to sacrifices, finding themselves unable to set their Lord at libertie, aswell for the great power the Captaines had that tooke him, as also, for the great Armie that came with Atahualpa, they resolved (some say by the commandement of this Ingua) to make a great and solemne sacrifice to Viracocha Pachayachachic, which signifieth universall Creator, desiring him, that since they could not deliver their Lord, he would send men from Heaven to deliver him from prison. And as they were in this great hope, upon their sacrifice, newes came to them, that a certaine people come by Sea, was landed, and had taken Atahualpa prisoner. Hereupon they called the Spaniards Viracochas, beleeving they were men sent from God, aswell for the small number they were to take Atahualpa in Xaxamalca, as also, for that it chanced after their sacrifice done to Viracocha, and thereby they began to call the Spaniards Viracochas, as they doe at this day. And in truth, if we had given them good example, and such as we ought, the Indians had well applyed it, in saying they were men sent from God. It is a thing very well worthy of consideration, how the greatnesse and providence of God, disposed of the entrie of our men at Peru, which had beene impossible, were not the dissention of the two Brethren and their Partisans, and the great opinion they had of Christians, as of men sent from Heaven, bound

Spaniards esteemed men sent from God.

Peru could not have beene conquered but by division of themselves.

(by the taking of the Indians Country) to labour to win soules unto Almightie God.

[III. v. 1062.] *Of the last Successors Inguas. Chap.* 23.

THe rest of this subject is handled at large by the Spanish Writers in the Histories of the Indies, and for that it is not my purpose, I will speake onely of the succession of the Inguas. Atahualpa being dead in Xaxamalca, and Guascar in Cusco, and Francis Piçarre with his people having seised on the Realme, Mangocapa sonne to Guaynacapa besieged them in Cusco very straightly: but in the end he abandoned the whole Country, and retyred himselfe to Vilca Bamba, where he kept himselfe in the Mountaines, by reason of the rough and difficult accesse, and there the Successors Inguas remayned, untill Amaro, who was taken and executed in the market place of Cusco, to the Indians incredible griefe and sorrow, seeing justice done upon him publiquely whom they held for their Lord. After which time, they imprisoned others of the Linage of these Inguas. I have knowne Don Charles, grand-child to Guaynacapa, and sonne to Polo, who was baptized, and alwayes favoured the Spaniards against Mangocapa his brother, when the Marquesse of Canette governed in this Country Sarritopaingua, went from Vilcabamba, and came upon assurance to the Citie of Kings, where there was given to him the Valley of Yucay, and other things, to whom succeeded a daughter of his. Behold the succession which is knowne at this day of that great and rich Familie of the Inguas, whose raigne continued above three hundred yeeres, wherein they reckon eleven Successors, untill it was wholly extinguished. In the other Linage of Urincusco, which (as we have said before) had his beginning likewise from the first Mangocapa, they reckon eight Successors in this sort: To Mangocapa succeeded Cinchoraca, to him Capac Yupangui, to him Lluqui Yupangui, to him Maytaca paest Tarcogumam, unto whom succeeded his sonne, whom they name not, to this sonne succeeded Dou Jean Tambo, Maytapanaça. This sufficeth for the

Pedegree of Urincusco.

originall and succession of the Inguas, that governed the Land of Peru, with that that I have spoken of their Lawes, Government, and manner of Life.

Of the manner of the Mexicans Commonweale. Chap. 24.

ALthough you may see by the Historie written of the Kingdome, succession, and beginning of the Mexicans, their manner of Commonweale and Government, yet will I speake briefly what I shall thinke fit in generall to bee most observed: whereof I will discourse more amply in the Historie. The first point whereby wee may judge the Mexican government to bee very politike, is the order they had and kept inviolable in the election of their King: for since their first, called Acamapach, unto their last, which was Moteçuma, the second of that name, there came none to the Crowne by right of succession, but by a lawfull Nomination and Election. This election in the beginning was by the voice of the Commons, although the chiefe men managed it. Since in the time of Iscoalt the fourth King, by the advise and order of a wise and valiant man, called Tlacael, there were foure certaine Electors appointed, which (with two Lords or Kings subject to the Mexican, the one of Tescuco, and the other of Tucuba) had power to make this election. They did commonly choose young men for their Kings, because they went alwayes to the warres, and this was in a manner the chiefe cause why they desired them so. They had a speciall regard that they should be fit for the warres, and take delight and glorie therein. After the election they made two kindes of feasts, the one in taking possession of the Royall Estate, for the which they went to the Temple, making great ceremonies and sacrifices upon the Harth, called Divine, where there was a continuall fire before the Altar of the Idoll, and after some Rhetoricians practised therein, made many Orations and Speeches. The other feast, and the most solemne, was at his Coronation, for the which hee must first overcome in battell, and bring a certaine number of Captives, which they must sacrifice to their gods; hee

entred in triumph with great pompe, making him a solemne reception, aswell they of the Temple, who went all in procession, sounding on sundrie sorts of instruments, giving Incense, and singing like secular men, as also the Courtiers, who came forth with their devises to receive the victorious King. The Crowne or royall Ensigne was before like a Myter, and behinde it was cut, so as it was not round, for the forepart was higher, and did rise like a point. The King of Tescuco had the privilege to crown the King of Mexico. In the beginning when the Mexicans were but poore and weake, the Kings were very moderate in their expenses and in their Court, but as they increased in power, they increased likewise in pompe and state, untill they came to the greatnesse of Moteçuma, who if he had had no other thing but his house of Beasts and Birds, it had beene a proud thing, the like whereof hath not beene seene: for there was in this house all sorts of fish, birds of Xacamamas, and beasts, as in an other Noahs Arke; for Sea fish, there were Pooles of salt-water; and for River fish, Lakes of fresh-water; birds that doe prey were fed, and likewise wilde beasts in great abundance: there were very many Indians imployed for the keeping of these beasts: and when he found an impossibilitie to nourish any sort of fish, fowle, or wilde beast, he caused the Image or likenesse to be made, richly cut in precious stones, silver, or gold, in marble, or in stone: and for all sorts of entertainments, he had his severall Houses and Palaces, some of pleasure, others of sorrow and mourning, and others to treat of the affaires of the Realme. There was in this Palace many Chambers, according to the qualitie of the Noble men that served him, with a strange order and distinction.

Royall Diadem. See the picture storie.

House of living Creatures.

His Palaces.

[III. v. 1063.]

Of the Titles and Dignities the Indians used. Chap. 25.

THe Mexicans have beene very curious, to divide the degrees and dignities amongst the noble men and Lords, that they might distinguish them to whom they were to give the greatest honor. The dignitie of these

foure Electors was the greatest, and most honorable, next to the King, and they were chosen presently after the Kings election. They were commonly brothers, or very neere Kinsmen to the King, and were called Tlacohecalcalt, which signifies Prince of darts, the which they cast, being a kinde of armes they use much. The next dignitie to this, were those they doe call Tlacatecati, which is to say, Circumcisers or Cutters of men. The third dignitie were of those which they called Ezuahuacalt, which signifies, A shedder of bloud. All the which Titles and Dignities were exercised by men of warre. There was another, a fourth intituled, Tlilancalqui, which is as much to say, as, Lord of the blacke house, or of darknesse, by reason of certaine Inke wherewith the Priests anointed themselves, and did serve in their Idolatries. All these foure Dignities were of the great Counsell, without whose advise the King might not doe any thing of importance: and the King being dead, they were to choose another in his place out of one of those foure Dignities. Besides these, there were other Counsels and Audiences, and some say there were as many as in Spaine, and that there were divers Seates and Jurisdictions, with their Counsellors and Judges of the Court, and others that were under them, as Corrigidors, chiefe Judges, Captaines of Justice, Lieutenants, and others, which were yet inferior to these, with a very goodly order. All which depended on the foure first Princes that assisted the King. These foure onely had authoritie and power to condemne to death, and the rest sent them instructions of the Sentences they had given. By meanes whereof they gave the King to understand what had passed in his Realme.

Foure Electors.

Men-cutters.

Bloud-shedders.

Lord of darkenesse.

Other Officers.

See the picture historie.

There was a good order and settled policie for the Revenues of the Crowne, for there were Officers divided throughout all the Provinces, as Receivers and Treasurers, which received the Tributes and Royall Revenues. And they carried the Tribute to the Court, at the least every moneth; which Tribute was of all things that doe grow

or ingender on the Land, or in the water, aswell of Jewels and Apparell, as of Meat. They were very carefull for the well ordering of that which concerned their Religion, Superstition, and Idolatries: and for this occasion there were a great number of Ministers, to whom charge was given to teach the people the custome and ceremonies of their Law. Hereupon one day a christian Priest made his complaint that the Indians were no good Christians, and did not profit in the Law of God; an old Indian answered him very well to the purpose in these termes: Let the Priest (said he) imploy as much care and diligence to make the Indians Christians, as the Ministers of Idols did to teach them their ceremonies; for with halfe that care they will make us the best Christians in the world for that the Law of Jesus Christ is much better; but the Indians learne it not, for want of men to instruct them. Wherein he spake the very truth, to our great shame and confusion.

Priests and Teachers of the Law.

How the Mexicans made war, and of the Orders of knighthood. Chap. 26.

THe Mexicans gave the first place of honour to the profession of Armes, and therefore the Noble-men are their chiefe Souldiers, and others that were not noble, by their valour and reputation gotten in warres, came to Dignities and Honors, so as they were held for Noble-men. They gave goodly recompences to such as had done valiantly, who injoyed priviledges that none else might have, the which did much incourage them. Their Armes were of Rasors of sharpe cutting flints, which they set on either side of a staffe, which was so furious a weapon, as they affirmed that with one blow, they would cut off the necke of a Horse. They had strange and heavy Clubs, Lances, fashioned like Pikes, and other manner of Darts to cast, wherein they were very expert: but the greatest part of their combate was performed with stones. For defensive armes they had little Rondaches or Targats, and some kinde of Morions or Head-pieces invironed with feathers. They were clad in the skinnes of Tigres, Lions, and other savage beasts. They

Their Armes.

came presently to hands with the Enemie, and were greatly practised to runne and wrestle, for thir chiefe manner of combate, was not so much to kill, as to take Captives, the which they used in their sacrifices, as hath beene said. Moteçuma set Knight-hood in his highest splendor, ordayning certaine militarie orders, as Commanders, with certaine markes and ensignes. The most honorable amongst the Knights, were those that carried *Eagle-order.* the crowne of their haire tied with a little red Ribband, having a rich plume of feathers, from the which, did hang branches of feathers upon their shoulders, and rolls of the same. They carried so many of these rolls, as they had done worthy deeds in warre. The King himselfe was of this order, as may be seene in Chapultepec, where Moteçuma and his sonnes were attyred with those kindes of feathers, cut in the Rocke, the which is worthy the sight. There was another order of Knight-hood, which they called the Lions and the Tigres, the which *Order of Lions and Tigres.* were commonly the most valiant and most noted in warre, they went alwayes with their Markes and Armories. There were other Knights, as the Grey Knights, the *Gray Knights.* which were not so much respected as the rest: they had their haire cut round about the eare. They went to the warre with markes like to the other Knights, yet they were not armed, but to the girdle, and the most honorable were armed all over. All Knights might carry *Knights priviledges.* gold and silver, and weare rich Cotton, use painted and gilt vessell, and carry shooes after their manner: but the common people might use none but earthen vessell, neither might they carry shooes, nor attire themselves but [III. v. in Nequen, the which is a grosse stuffe. Every order of 1064.] these Knights had his lodging in the Pallace noted with their markes; the first was called the Princes lodging, the second of Eagles, the third of Lyons and Tigers, and the fourth of the grey Knights. The other common officers, were lodged underneath in meaner lodgings; if any one lodged out of his place he suffred death.

Of the great order and diligence the Mexicans used to instruct their youth. Chap. 27.

THere is nothing that gives me more cause to admire, nor that I finde more worthy of commendations and memory, then the order and care the Mexicans had to nourish their youth: for they knew well, that all the good hope of a Common-weale, consisted in the nurture and institution of youth, whereof Plato treates amply in his bookes De Legibus: and for this reason they laboured and tooke paines to sequester their children from delights and liberties (which are the two plagues of this age) imploying them in honest and profitable exercises. For this cause there was in their Temples, a private house for children, as Schooles, or Colledges, which was seperate from that of the yong men and maides of the Temple, whereof we have discoursed at large. There were in these Schooles a great number of children, whom their fathers did willingly bring thither, and which had teachers and masters to instruct them in all commendable exercises, to be of good behaviour, to respect their superiours, to serve and obey them, giving them to this end, certaine precepts and instructions. And to the end they might be pleasing to Noblemen, they taught them to sing and dance, and did practise them in the exercise of warre; some to shoote an Arrow, to cast a dart or a staffe burnt at the end, and to handle well a Target and a Sword. They suffered them not to sleepe much, to the end they might accustome themselves to labour in their youth, and not be men given to delights. Besides the ordinary number of these children, there were in the same Colledges, other children of Lords and Noblemen, the which were instructed more privately. They brought them their meate and ordinary from their houses, and were recommended to ancients and old men to have care over them, who continually did advise them to be vertuous and to live chastely; to be sober in their diet, to fast, and to march gravely, and with measure. They were accustomed to exercise them to travell, and in laborious exercises: and when they see them instructed in all these things, they did

See the picture story. Colledges.

Their employments and trials.

carefully looke into their inclination: if they found any one addicted unto warre, being of sufficient yeares, they sought all occasions to make triall of them, sending them to the warre, under colour to carrie victuals and munition to the Souldiers, to the end they might there see what passed, and the labour they suffered. And that they might abandon all feare, they were laden with heavie burthens, that shewing their courage therein, they might more easily be admitted into the company of Souldiers. By this meanes it happened, that many went laden to the Armie, and returned Captaines with markes of honour. Some of them were so desirous to be noted, as they were either taken, or slaine: and they held it lesse honourable to remaine a prisoner. And therefore they sought rather to be cut in peeces, then to fall captives into their enemies hands. See how Noblemens children that were inclined to the warres were imployed. The others that had their inclination to matters of the Temple; and to speake after our manner, to be Ecclesiasticall men, having attained to sufficient yeares, they were drawne out of the colledge, and placed in the Temple, in the lodging appointed for religious men, and then they gave them the order of Ecclesiasticall men. There had they Prelates and Masters, to teach them that which concerned their profession, where they should remaine being destined thereunto. These Mexicans tooke great care to bring up their children: if at this day they would follow this order, in building of houses & colledges for the instruction of youth, without doubt Christianitie should flourish much amongst the Indians. Some godly persons have begunne, and the King with his Counsell have favoured it: but for that it is a matter of no profit, they advance little, and proceede coldly.

The baine of Plantations is expectation of present and externall gain.

We have not discovered any Nation at the Indians, that live in comminalties, which have not their recreations, in plaies, dances, and exercises of pleasure. At Peru I have seene plaies in manner of combats, where the

Plaies and dances. Military games.

men of both sides were sometimes so chafed, that often their Paella (which was the name of this exercise) fell out dangerous. I have also seene divers sorts of dances, wherein they did counterfait and represent certaine trades and offices, as shepheards, labourers, fishers, and hunters, and commonly they made all those dances, with a very grave sound and pase: there were other dances and maskes, which they called Guacones, whose actions were pure representations of the devill. There were also men that dance on the shoulders one of another, as they doe in Portugall, the which they call Paellas. The greatest parts of these dances, were superstitions, and kindes of Idolatries: for that they honoured their Idols and Guacas in that manner. For this reason the Prelates have laboured to take from them these dances, all they could: but yet they suffer them, for that part of them are but sports of recreation: for alwayes they dance after their manner. In these dances, they use sundry sorts of instruments, whereof, some are like Flutes, or little Canons, others like Drums, and others like Cornets: but commonly they sing all with the voyce, and first one or two sing the song, then all the rest answer them. Some of these songs were very wittily composed, containing Histories, and others were full of superstitions and some were meere follies. Our men that have conversed among them, have laboured to reduce matters of our holy faith to their tunes, the which hath profited well: for that they employ whole dayes to rehearse and sing them, for the great pleasure and content they take in their tunes. They have likewise put our compositions of Musicke into their Language, as Octaves, Songs, and Rondels, the which they have very aptly turned, and in truth it is a goodly and very necessary meanes to instruct the people. In Peru, they commonly call Dances Tagui, in other Provinces, Areittos, and in Mexico, Mittottes. There hath not beene in any other place any such curiositie of Playes and Dances, as in New Spaine, where at this day we see Indians so excellent

Idoll games Exo. 32. a thing usuall to Heathens, as their Comedies, &c. manifest.

Musicke.

[III. v. 1065.]

Dancers, as it is admirable. Some dance upon a Cord, some upon a long and streight stake, in a thousand sundry sorts; others with the soles of their feet and their hammes, do handle, cast up and receive againe a very heavy blocke, which seemes incredible but in seeing it. They doe make many other shewes of their great agilitie, in leaping, vaulting, and tumbling, sometimes bearing a great and heavy burthen, sometimes enduring blowes able to breake a barre of Iron. But the most usual exercise of recreation among the Mexicans is the solemne Mittotte, and that is a kind of dance they held so brave and so honourable, that the King himselfe danced, but not ordinarily, as the King Don Pedro of Arragon with the Barber of Valencia. This Dance or Mittotte, was commonly made in the Courts of the Temple, and in those of the Kings houses, which were more spacious. They did place in the midst of the Court two Instruments, one like to a Drumme, and the other like a Barrell made of one piece, and hollow within, which they set upon the forme of a man, a beast, or upon a Pillar.

Curious Dancers.

Great agility.

These two Instruments were so well accorded together, that they made a good harmony: and with these Instruments they made many kinds of Ayres and Songs. They did all sing and dance to the sound and measure of these Instruments, with so goodly an order and accord, both of their feet and voyces, as it was a pleasant thing to behold. In these Dances they made two Circles or Wheeles, the one was in the middest neere to the Instruments, wherein the Ancients and Noblemen did sing and dance with a soft and slow motion; and the other was of the rest of the people round about them, but a good distance from the first, wherein they danced two and two more lightly, making divers kinds of paces, with certayne leaps to the measure. All which together made a very great Circle. They attyred themselves for these Dances with their most precious apparell and Jewels, every one according to his abilitie, holding it for a

very honourable thing: for this cause they learned these Dances from their infancie. And although the greatest part of them were done in honour of their Idols, yet was it not so instituted, as hath beene said, but only as a recreation and pastime for the people. Therefore it is not convenient to take them quite from the Indians, but they must take good heed they mingle not their superstitions amongst them. I have seene this Mittotte, in the Court of the Church of Topetzotlan, a Village seven leagues from Mexico: and in my opinion, it was a good thing to busie the Indians upon Festivall dayes, seeing they have need of some recreation: and because it is publike, and without the prejudice of any other, there is lesse inconvenience, then in others which may be done privately by themselves, if they tooke away these.

To the Reader.

READER, I here present unto thee the choisest of my Jewels. My travelling fancie hath invited many Readers to many my labours in strange births already. Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris? Japonian and China rarities, so remote from our world, are neere to our worke, and their characters communicated here to the Reader; not their arts alone. Thou hast here also Indostan, Arabike, Persian, Turkish, and other Letters, and not onely the transcript from their languages. As for translations and collections, thou hast them here also out of the Hebrew, Auncient and Moderne Greeke, Abassine, Tartarian, Russian, Polonian, Ægyptian, and innumerable other Nations Christian, Jewish, Mahumetan, Ethnike, Civill, Barbarian and Savage, innumerable wayes diversified. Yet all these in letters, or characters. In hieroglyphicall mysticall pictures the ancient Ægyptians and Ethiopians, have by way of Emblemes obscurely and darkly delivered their obscure mysteries, uncertaine, waxenly, pliant conceits to the world; some of which our Pilgrimage hath mentioned. But a Historie, yea a Politicke, Ethike, Ecclesiastike, Oeconomike History,

with just distinctions of times, places, acts and arts, we have neither seene of theirs, nor of any other Nation, but of this, which our light and slight apprehensions terme not barbarous alone, but wilde and savage. Such an one we here present, a present thought fit for him whom the senders esteemed the greatest of Princes, and yet now presented to thy hands before it could arrive in his presence. For the Spanish Governour having with some difficultie (as the Spanish Preface imports) obtained the Booke of the Indians, with Mexican interpretations of the Pictures (but ten daies before the departure of the Ships) committed the same to one skilfull in the Mexican language to be interpreted; who in a very plaine stile and verbatim performed the same, using also some Morisco words, as Alfaqui and Mezquitas (for Priest and Temples) import. This Historie thus written, sent to Charles the fifth Emperour, was together with the Shippe that carried it taken by Frenchmen of war, from whom Andrew Thevet the French Kings Geographer, obtained the same: after whose death Master Hakluyt (then Chaplaine to the English Embassadour in France) bought the same for 20. French crownes, [III. v. 1066.] and procured Master Michael Locke in Sir Walter Raleighs name to translate it. It seemes that none were willing to be at the cost of cutting the Pictures, and so it remained amongst his papers till his death, whereby (according to his last will in that kinde) I became possessor thereof, and have obtained with much earnestnesse the cutting thereof for the Presse. The rather was I eagerly vehement herein, as being a thing desired by that most industrious Antiquary, judicious Scholler, Religious Gentleman, our Ecclesiastike Secular, the Churches champion, Sir Henry Spelman, Knight; whom *Sir Hen. Spelman.* for honors sake I name, that his name may honour our ruder lines; a name so fitting to the Man, as one which can, in regard of his wise spell and science in divine & humane learning, and is ready, with maine courage and alacritie to shew himselfe the Churches

Man, and to exhibit himselfe in deede whatsoever any man can spell, out of Spel-man. The commending from such a friend (let the Muses impetrate pardon for so bold a name) was a commanding unto me, which here I againe commend to Him and thee.

It is divided into three parts; the first being the Annales and Mexican Chronicle: the second, their Exchequer or the Accounts of their severall Tributes paid them from the Nations and peoples tributary, whereby may be seene the Naturall riches of those parts peculiarly sorted: the third the Mexican Oeconomie and Policie in warre and peace, religious and secular, their private and publike rites from the grave of the wombe, to the wombe of the grave. Obscure places I have explained (besides what before in Acosta thou hast read) comparing the translation with the originall, adding many of mine owne: and perhaps there is not any one History of this kinde in the world comparable to this, so fully expressing so much without Letters, hardly gotten, and easily lost, that thou maist here finde it.

Chap. VII.

The History of the Mexican Nation, described in pictures by the Mexican Author explained in the Mexican language; which exposition translated into Spanish, and thence into English, together with the said Picture-historie, are here presented.

§. I.

The Mexican Chronicle.

HEre beginneth the Historie and foundation of the Citie of Mexico, founded and inhabited by the Mexicans, who at that time were called Meçiti; whose originall beginning of being Lords, and their acts

and lives are declared briefly in this Historie, according as it is signified and set out successively by the pictures and paintings following.

In the yeare 1324. after the comming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Mexican people first arrived at the place of the Citie of Mexico, and because they liked well the greatnesse and the scituation of that place, after that they had travailed in their Journies, and wandered many yeares from Country to Countrey, & in some of them had made their abode, for some yeares, being come from far Countries in following their Journies, and not being contented with the other places where they had made their abode, they came and setled themselves in the place of Mexico. The which place at that time was all drowned with water, and was covered with great bogs and bankes of moorish shegs and bulrushes, which they called Tuli, and it had Carrizales, and great plats of dry ground covered with shrubbes, bushes, and briars like woods. And through all the space of that place there went a spring & streame of fair cleere water which was free from all segges and bushes, which water streame went through it crossewise, in manner of Saint Andrews crosse, as it is shewed in the picture: and about the middle of that place of that water-streame, the Meçiti found a great rocke of stone, and growing thereon a great Tree or bush called Tunal, wherein a great Eagle Candal had her haunt and abode for her foode, so as all about that place was scattered full of bones and feathers of divers Birds and Foules of divers colours. And they having gone throughout all that place and Countrie thereabout, and finding it very fruitfull and full of wilde beasts, wilde Foules, Birds, and Fishes, and things of the water, wherewith to sustaine themselves and to profit themselves in their businesse in dealing with the Townes thereabouts, and finding the water-courses of that place so commodious, and that their neighbours could not trouble nor hurt them, and for other things and causes to their good liking they determined to passe no further on their

A.D. c. 1525. [III. v. 1067.] journeyes in travelling, but to settle themselves and dwell still. And according to their determination, they did settle themselves there effectually. And made themselves a strong Citie of defence with bankes and walles about the waters, and on the plats of ground among the Segges and Bushes of Tulis and Carrizales. And for a beginning of that their seate and habitation, it was determined by them, to give name and title to that place, calling it Tenultitlan. By reason and cause of the Tunal growing out of the Rocke (for Tenuchtitlan interpreted in our Castilian Spanish Tongue is Tunal growing upon a Rocke.)

The armie of the Mexican people had with them for chiefe Governours ten persons named, Ocelopan, Quapan, Acacitli, Ahuexolt, Tenuch, Tecineuh, Xomimitl, Xocoyol, Xuihcaqui, Atototl, as it is shewed in the Pictures. And having so setled themselves, they did chuse Tenuch for their chiefe Governour and Lord to governe them, as a person especially chosen thereto and fit for it, having in him all parts and abilitie to exercise Lordship. And they appointed the other chiefe Governours, that they should be Agents and Captaynes, Governours under him.

And after some yeeres were passed of their dwelling in that place, and the people multiplyed, the Citie likewise was named Mexico, so named and derived of the Mexicans, calling it the place of setling of the Mexican people.

And when the people were somewhat multiplyed like bold and warlike people, they tooke beginning of couragious mindes in prevayling over their Neighbours, and so shewed themselves in force of armes, whereby they subdued and made tributarie to them two Townes next adjoyning to Mexico, named Colhuacan, and Tenaincan; as likewise is set forth in the pictures: the which doings passed in the time of the government of the chiefe Lord Tenuch, which was the space of fiftie one yeares, at the end whereof he died.

Tenuchtitlan. Mexican Lords. Tenuch chosen chiefe Lord. Mexico. Colhuacan and Tenayncan subdued.

Concerning the Pictures of blew in the margents of this Historie, it is to be understood that every severall space or partition doth signifie one yeare, and they bee the numbring of yeares: it is to be understood that every severall space or partition signifie the one severall yeare, and so they accounted & numbred every yeare severally, proceeding by the number of rundles or pricks therein contained, beginning at one, and proceeding to thirteene rundles. And from thence they began againe at the beginning in their accompt from one point or rundle, and so accordingly they did proceede in numbering againe, till they came to thirteene. And although that in the partitions or

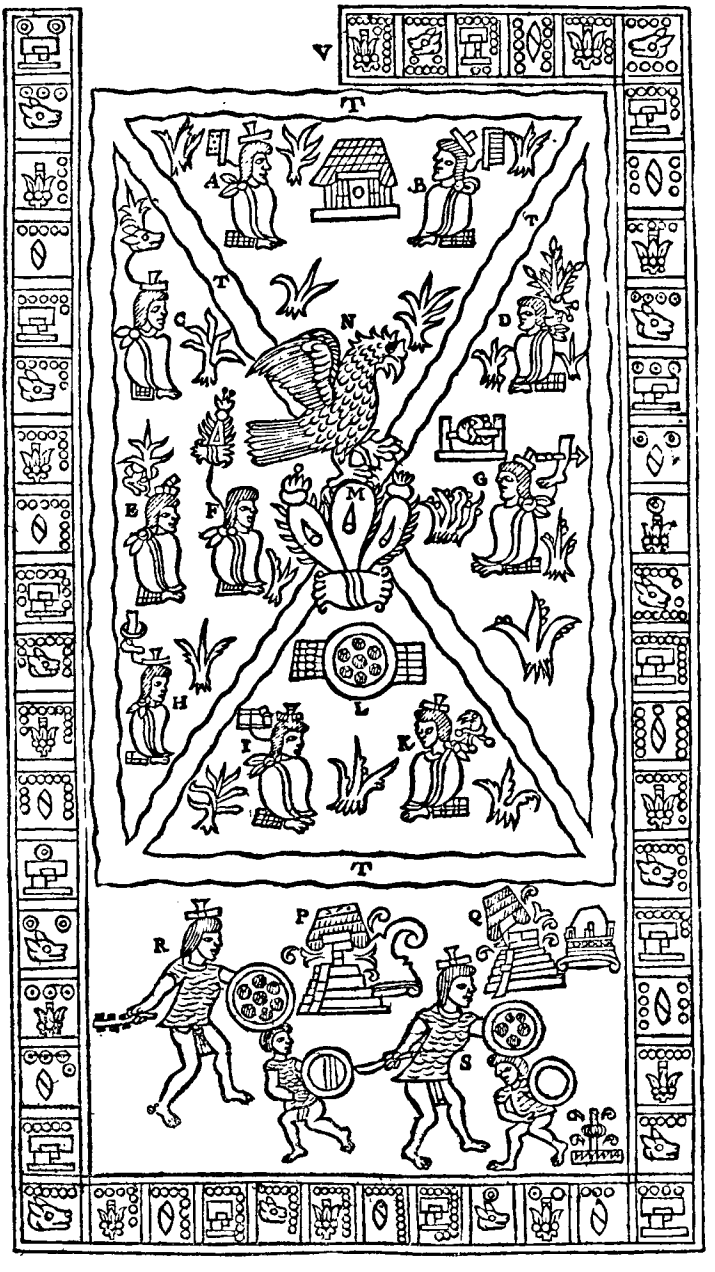
This is a weeke of yeares after the Mexican computation (all coloured blew, the Mexican names written over in red) the first of which they call Setuchth, that is, one Conie: the second Omeacalt, or two Canes: the third Yeytecpatl, three Flints: the fourth Macuilituchtli, which signifieth foure houses: the fifth Criquacenacatl, that is five Conies: the sixth, sixe Canes: the seventh, seven Flints: the eight, eight Houses: the ninth, nine Conies: the tenth, ten Canes: the eleventh, eleven Flints: the twelfth, twelve Houses: the thirteenth, thirteene Conies.

spaces severally there be divers severall figures, yet the principall accompt of numbering is that accompt of the pictures or rundles therein contained. And although the names of the yeares that they give to every partition from the number of the first point till the thirteenth be to some purpose, yet for to advertise the Reader thereof; here is made by it selfe a declaration of the names, with their interpretations.

In the order and rule of the partitions which are numbred for yeares, that partition where there is a branch with a foote like a flower, it doth signifie a bitter and unfortunate yeare which the Mexicans had,

and did feare, saying that their predecessours time out of minde did give them warning that such yeares which befell every two and fiftieth yeare were dangerous, and unfortunate, and bitter yeares, because that in such yeares there were floods generally, and likewise darkenesse of the eclips of the Sunne, and universall earthquakes. And likewise in such yeares they made great sacrifice and ceremonies to their gods, and gave themselves to repentance, and did abstaine from all vices against the very day and houre of such a yeare. In the which day generally they put out all their lights and fires till that day were past; and being passed they kindled new lights being had out of a Mountaine by a Priest.

[III. v. 1068.] This Picture presents the number of 51. yeares: that is, the time of Tenuchs reigne: in this wheele or square (which, as all the like representing yeares, are in the originall picture coloured blew.) the pictures of men signifie the ten Lords or Governours before mentioned; their names are inscribed in the originall pictures, which here we have by the letters annexed directly to a following glosse. A. Acacitli. B Quapan. C Ocelopan. D Aguexotl. E Tecineuh. F Tenuch. G Xominitl. H Xocoyol. I Xiubcaqui. K Atotl. L Tenochtitlan, representing the armes which they used in the conquest of that place, which they so intituled is M the Tunal (painted greene) growing out of a Rock. N the Eagle. O their setling or habitation. P the people of Colhuacan. Q Tenayncan: both which Nations R Tenuch conquered by force of armes, as appeareth S their subjection or bringing under. T is the blue square and Saint Andrewes crosse. The former relation doth more fully lay open these things.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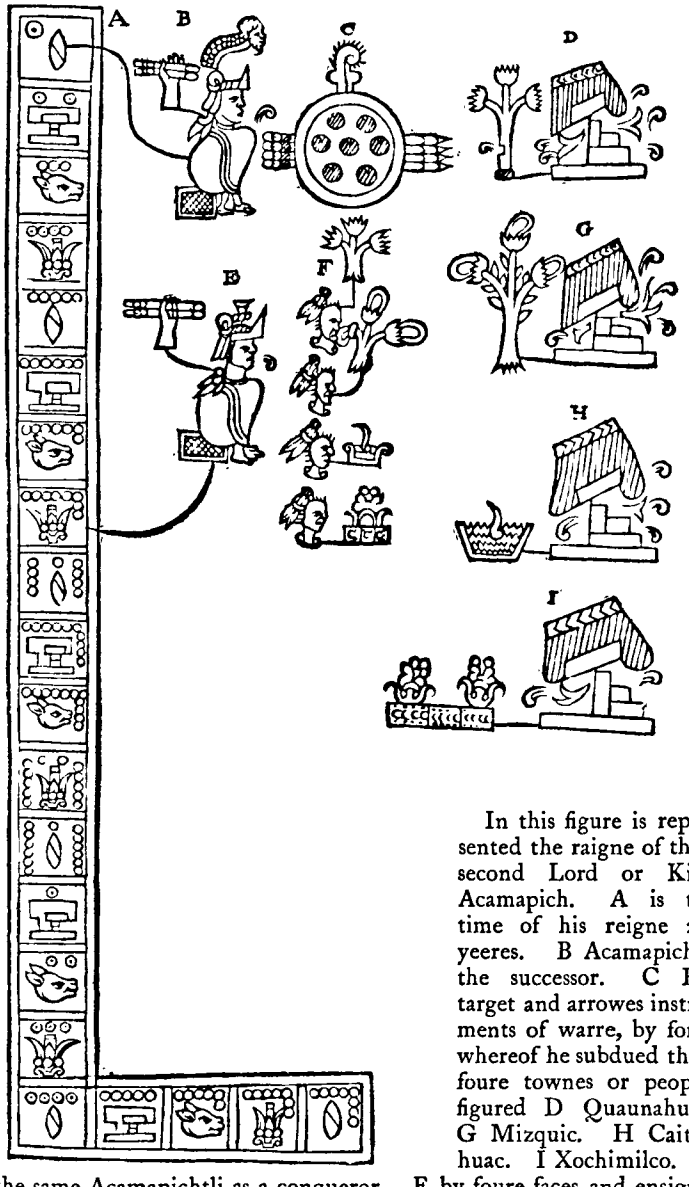
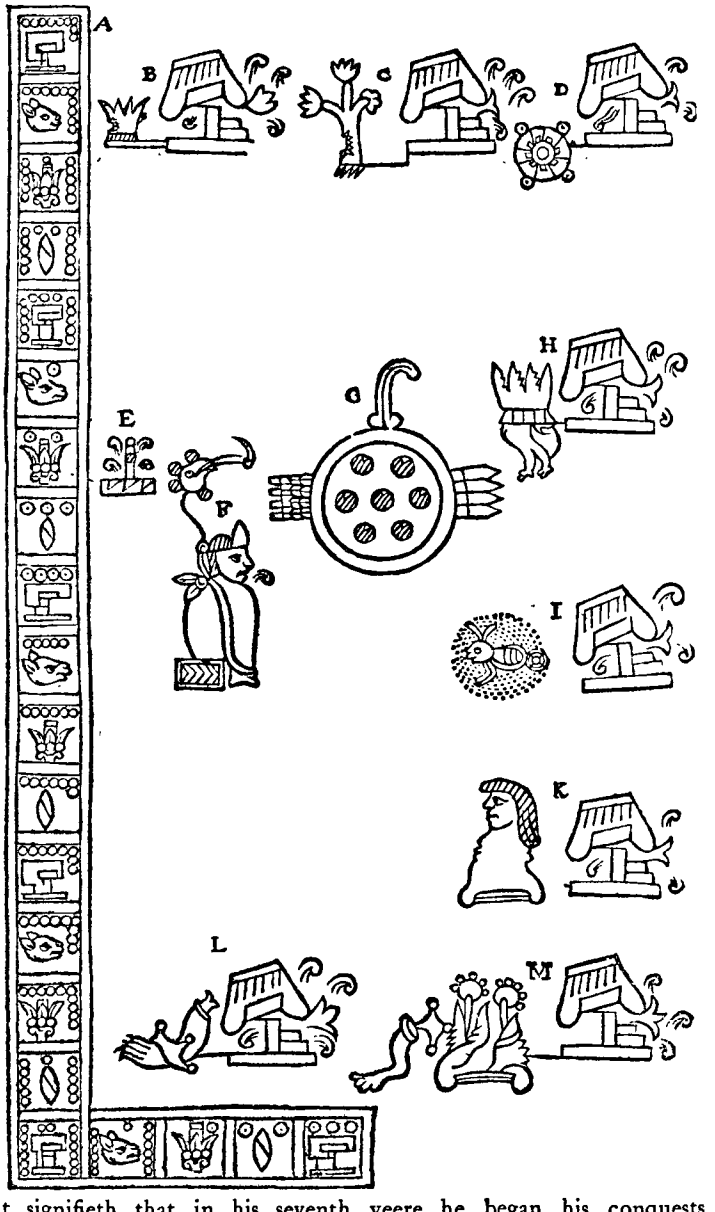


In this figure is represented the raigne of their second Lord or King Acamapich. A is the time of his reigne 21. yeeres. B Acamapichtli the successor. C His target and arrowes instruments of warre, by force whereof he subdued these foure townes or peoples figured D Quaunahuac. G Mizquic. H Caitlahuac. I Xochimilco. E is the same Acamapichtli as a conqueror. F by foure faces and ensignes shewing the men of those foure Townes (to each of which is added like ensigne) subdued. This picture therefore doth in figures signifie, that which we in letters thus ;

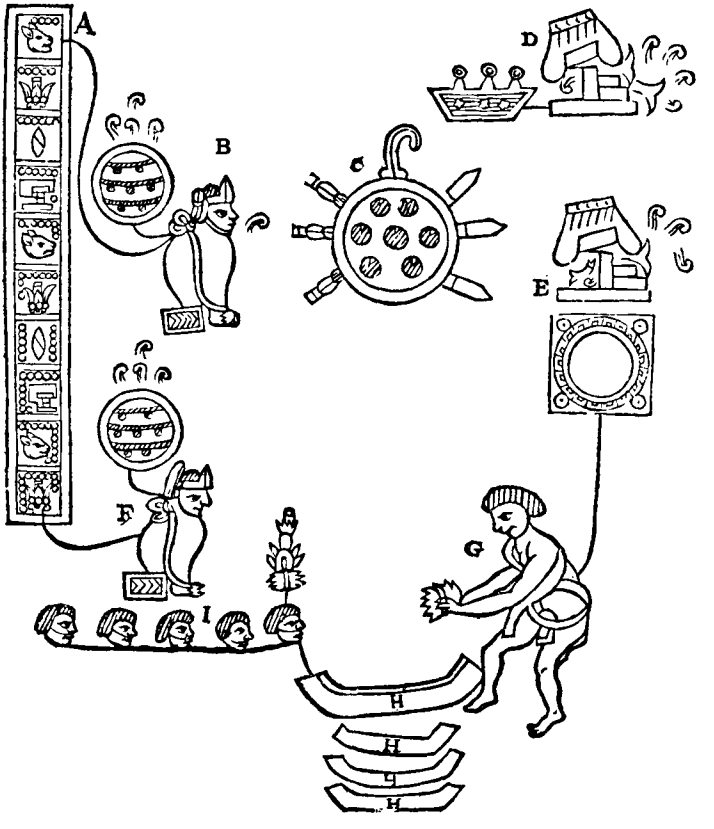
IN the yeere 1377. in the said Government and Lordship succeeded Acamapichtli. And during his Lordship he subdued and conquered by force of armes the foure Townes contayned and named in the pictures here before, which are these: Quauhnahnac, Misquic, Cuitlahaac, and Xochimilco, the which were tributaries to him, acknowledging their subjection. In the yeeres that the said Acamapich lived in the said Lordship: his inclination and use was to have many wives, the which were daughters of all the principall men of Mexico, by whom he had many sons which were the beginning and increase of many Caciques, and Captaines, and warlike people, by meanes of whom the Citie of Mexico was enlarged and augmented in great might, as is signified hereafter in the discourses by the pictures, with their declarations. [III. v. 1070.
The two pictures with their titles & names of Acamapich be one same thing to divers effects, for the first sheweth his beginning and succession of the said Lordship, and the second sheweth the yeere after his succession in the said Lordship, when hee began to conquer and subdue the said foure Townes. And in the said Lordship he had his course one and twentie yeeres, at the end whereof the said Acamapich dyed and departed this present life, the which said departure was in the yeere 1398.

IN the yeere 1396. in the said Lordship succeeded Huiçilihuitl sonne of Acamapich, and during the time of his reigne in his Lordship, he conquered by force of armes eight Townes, which are contayned in the pictures here before, with the names of the same Townes intituled, the which were made tributarie to the Mexican Lordship acknowledging servitude. The said Huiçilihuitl was valiant in warres, and inclined to have many wives by whom he had many sons, wherewith the power of the Mexicans was augmented. The time of the Lordship and life of the said Huiçilihuitl therein was 21. yeeres, at the end whereof he dyed and departed



A 21. yeeres. B Towne and People of Toltitlan. C Quauztitlan. D Chalco. H Tulancinco. I Xaltocan. K Otunpa. L Acolma. M Tezcuco. E The Cutter hath set letters to divers figures whereof I can give no interpretation: and such is this, except perhaps it signifieth that in his seventh yeere he began his conquests. For I doe here interpret divers in which the Spanish is silent, if the conjecture seeme easier. F is King Huiçilihuitl. G the instruments of warre.

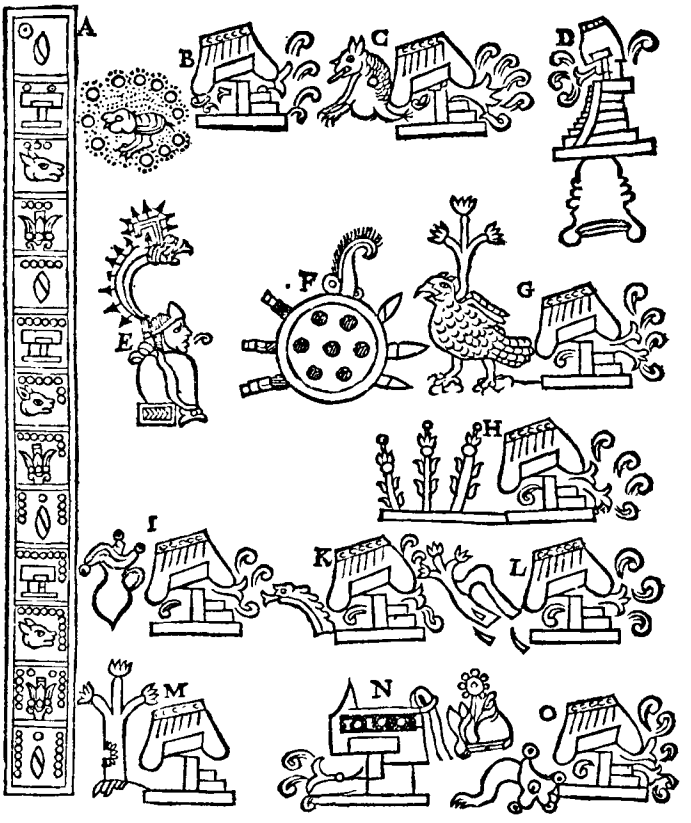
this present life, according as by the pictures of blue are numbred.



A tenne yeeres. B Chimalpupuca. C Target and Darts, to intimate his forcible conquest of D Tequixquiac and E Chalco. F sheweth his death. G the Towne of Chalco in rebellion. H the foure Canoas and I the five men abovesaid of Mexico, which the Rebels slue. You see this King and every other both King and Towne distinguished by speciall Armes or Scutchions, with other particulars, which here and in all the rest I leave to each Readers owne industrie and search.

PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

IN the yeere 1470. after the death of Huicilihuitl succeeded Chimalpupuca in the said Lordship of Mexico, sonne of the said Huicilihuitl, and during his



The explanation of the first Table. A 13. yeeres. Yzcoatci. F by force of Armes (signified by this Target and Darts) subdued the Townes and Territories of B Azcapucalco. C Coyvacan. D Teocalhucyacan. G Guaguacan. H Tlacopan. I Atlacuihuayan. K Mixcoac. L Quauximalpan. M Quauhtitlan. N Tupan. O Acolhuacan.

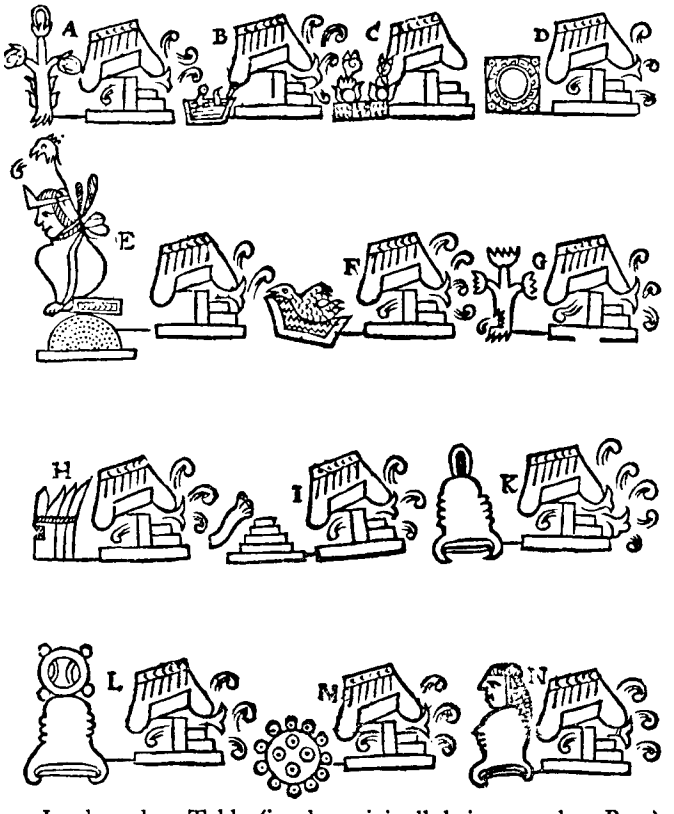
time hee subdued by force of armes the Townes of Tequixquiac, and Chalco, which Chalco is a great Towne [III. v. 1072.] and acknowledging servitude: they paid tribute to the

Lordship of Mexico, according as the pictures doe shew. And having the said Townes thus in subjection, at the end of certaine yeeres the said Towne of Chalco, being mightie, rebelled against the Mexicans, and in the rebellion there grew danger to the Mexicans, insomuch that they slue five of them, and brake them foure Canoas, according as here is signified by the pictures. The time of the life and Lordship of the said Chimalpupuca was ten yeeres, at the end whereof hee dyed, according as is numbred by the blue pictures in the margent. And likewise the said Chimalpupuca, in the time of his life had many wives and sons; for it was accounted a matter of reputation.

IN the yeere 1427. in the said Dominion of Mexico, after the death of Chimalpopuca, succeeded Yzcoatçi, Sonne of Acamapich, which had beene Lord of Mexico, and during his time hee conquered by force of Armes foure & twentie Townes which are here pictured, which Townes he made subject to the Lordship of Mexico, at one invasion which he made; for he was as valiant and warlike in Armes as the said Acamapich, and was a man of good judgement, and wise in many matters, and by his good industries he subdued the said Townes which gave him tribute, and did acknowledge servitude. The said Yzcoatçi had many Concubines, by whom he had seven Sonnes and Daughters and he reigned in the said Lordship thirteene yeeres at the end whereof the said Yzcoatçi dyed and departed this present life.

IN the yeere 1440. after the death of Yzcoatçi succeeded Gueguemoteçuma in the Lordship of Mexico, the Sunne of Guiçilihuitl which had beene Lord of Mexico: and during his time, he conquered by force of Armes three and thirtie Townes according as they are pictured in that compasse where the Picture of Gueguemoteçuma standeth. And having subdued them to the said Lordship of Mexico, they payed him tribute, acknowledging their subjection. [III. v. 1073.]

This Gueguemoteçuma was a very severe and grave Lord, and given to vertue, and was a man of a good nature and understanding; and an enemie to all evill



In the other Table (in the originall being another Page) follow A Mizquic. B Cuitlahuac. C Xochinuilcopu. D Chalco. E Quauhtlatoa the Lord of Tlatilulco; the Towne also added. F Huicilapan. G Quauhnahuac. H Cuecalan. I Caqualpan. K Iztepec. L Xiuhtepec. M Yoalan. N Tepequacnilco.

vices: and beeing of a good inclination, set downe Orders and Lawes in his Common-wealth, and to all his Servants how they ought to live, and also ordayned grievous penalties for the breach of them: which penalties were

A.D. c. 1525.

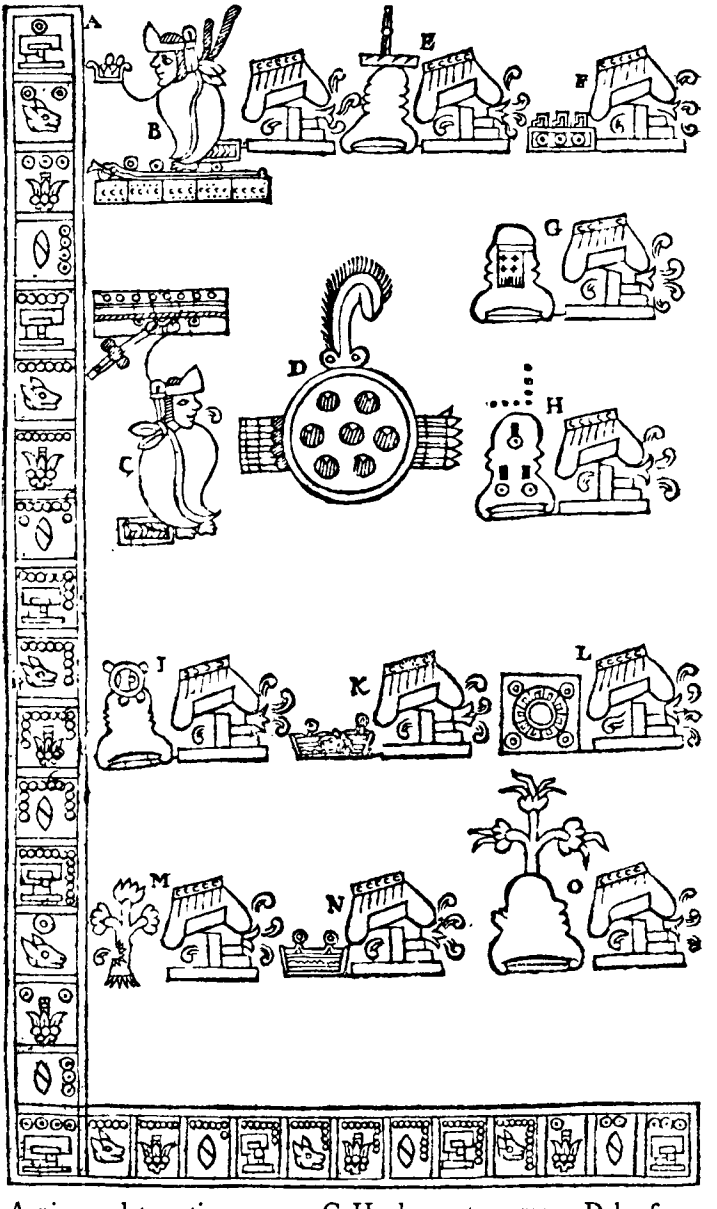
executed without any remission upon those that brake the Lawes. He was not cruell, but rather gentle, and desirous of the welfare of his Subjects, not vicious in women; hee had two Sonnes, hee was very temperate in drinking, for in all his life time hee was never seene to bee drunke as the naturall Indians which are extremely inclined to drunkennesse, but rather he commanded him to be corrected and punished that committed such a fact. And by his severitie and Justice and good example of life, hee was feared and reverenced of all his Subjects, all his life time, which was the space of nine and twentie yeeres. At the end whereof he dyed, and passed out of this present life.

IN the yeere 1479. after the death of Gueguemotezuma, succeeded in the Lordship of Mexico Axayacaci sonne of Teçoçomoetliquieto, which was the sonne of Yzcoalt Lord of Mexico. And during the time that the said Axayacaci was Lord, he conquered and won by force of armes seven and thirtie Townes, as hereafter are pictured and named. Amongst which Townes hee subdued under his Lordship by force of armes the Towne of Tlatilulco, a thing of great importance. Moquihuix was Lord of Tlatilulco at that time, who being a mightie person of great strength and of a proud nature, began to give occasion of dissention and warres to the Lords of Mexico, having heretofore held them for friends: by occasion whereof hee had great incounters and battailes, wherein the said Moquihuix Lord of Tlatilulco dyed in throwing himselfe downe from a Cu (or a high Mezcita, or Temple) for he seeing himselfe so hard beset in the battaile, being almost overcome, entred into a Mizcita to save himselfe, because hee would not be taken prisoner. And an Alfaqui (or Priest) which was in the Mezquito, or Temple, reproving him for it and imputing cowardise unto him, he threw himselfe downe as aforesaid. At which time the Mexicans had the victorie. And thenceforth the Towne of Tlatilulco was subject to the Lord

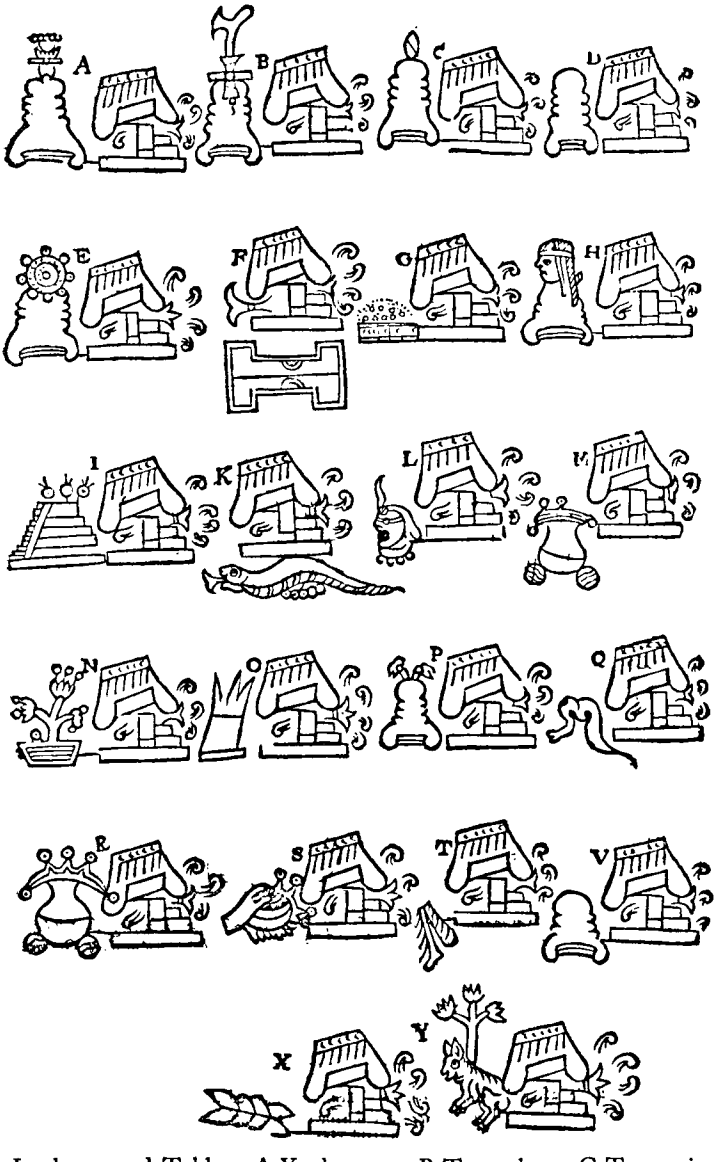
[III. v. 1076.]

See the storie before in Acosta.

Tlatilulco subdued before as Acosta saith the Mexicans were subject to them.

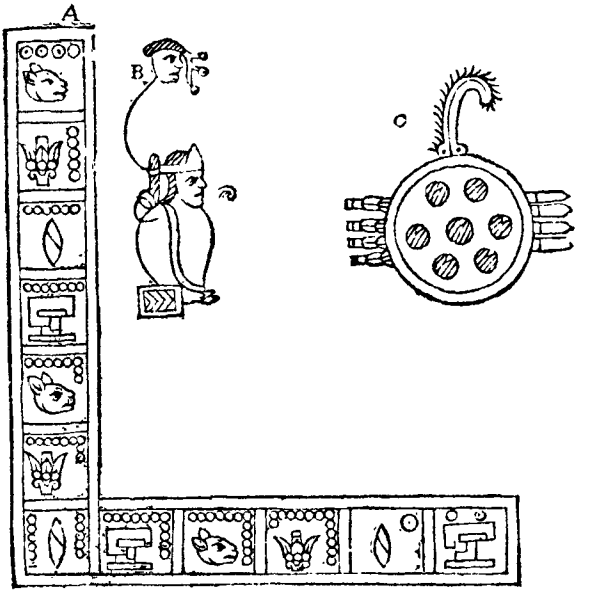


A nine and twentie yeeres. C Huehuemotecçuma. D by force of Armes subdued B Lord Atonal and his Towne Coayxtlahuacan. E Mamalhuaztepec. F Tenanco. G Tetuchtepec. H Chiconquianhco. I Xiuhtepec. K Totolapan. L Chalco. M Quauhnahuac. N Atlatlanhca. O Huaxtepec.



In the second Table. A Yauhtepec. B Tepuztlan. C Tepatzcinco. D Yacapichtlan. E Yoaltepec. F Tlachco. G Tlalcocauhtitlan. H Tepequacuilco. I Quiyanteopan. K Chontalcoatlan. L. Hucipuchtlan. M Atotonilco. N Axocopan. O Tulan. P Xilotepec. Q Yzquincuitlapilco. R Atotonilco. S Tlapacoyan. T Chapolixitla. V Tlatlauhquitepec. X Cuetlaxtlan. Y Quanhtocheo.

of Mexico, paying tribute and acknowledging subjection. Axayacaci was very valiant and warlike in armes, and was viciously given to women, having had many wives and sonnes: he was also proud and warlike, whereby all his subjects feared him extremely: hee did maintaine and hold for good all the Lawes and Ordinances that his predecessor



A twelve yeeres. B Axayacaci. C by armed force subdued these Townes following (not as before expressed in picture) Tlatilulco, Atlapulco, Xalatlanhio, Tlacotepec, Motepec, Capulnac, Ocoyacac, Quanhpanoayan, Xochiacan, Teotenanco, Caliymayan, Cinacantepec, Tulucan, Xiquipilco, Tenancinco, Tepeyacac, Tlaximaloyan, Oztoma, Xacotitlan, Ocuilan, Oztoticpac, Matlatlan, Cuezcomatlyacac, Tecalco, Cuetlaxtlan, Puxcauhtlan, Alcuilizapan, Tlaolan, Mixtlan, Cuecaloztoc, Tetzapotitlan, Miquizetlan, Tamuoc, Taupatel, Tuchpan, Tenexticpac, Quauhtlan.

Gueguemotezuma had made, according as hath beene mentioned in his Historie; and hee continued the space of twelve yeeres in the said Lordship of Mexico, at the end whereof he dyed and departed out of this present life.

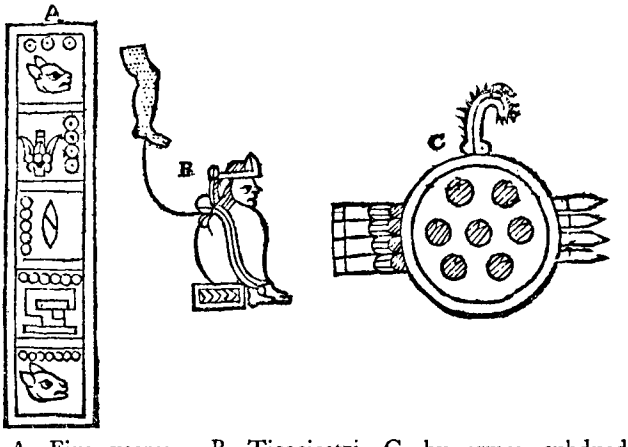
A.D. c. 1525.

IN the yeere 1482. after the end and death of Axayacaci, succeeded in the Lordship of Mexico, Tiçoçicatzi, sonne of the said Axayacaci, and during the time of his raigne he conquered and got by force of armes fourteene Townes. The said Tiçoçicatzi was very valiant and warlike in armes, and before that he succeeded in the Lordship of Mexico, he had done dangerous feates of valiantnesse in his owne person in the warres, whereby hee obtayned the title of Tlacatecatl, which they esteemed for a Title of great honour and estate: and it was a

Ticocicatzi.

Title Tlacatecatl that is, Great Captaine.

[III. v. 1077.]



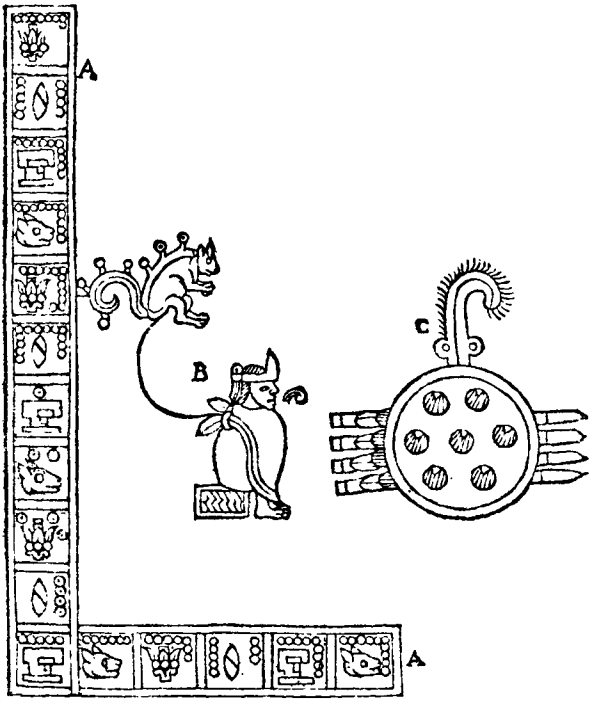
A Five yeeres. B Ticocicatzi C by armes subdued these Townes, Tonahymoquezayan, Toxico, Ecatepec, Zilan, Tecaxic, Tuluca, Yancuitlan, Tlapan, Atezcahuacan, Mazatlan, Xochiyetla, Tamapachco, Ecatlyquapochco, Miquetlan.

degree whereby that the Lordship of Mexico being vacant, he which had the same degree and title succeeded in the place of the same Dominion of Mexico, which title in like manner his Predecessors, Brothers, and Father, and Grand-father had, whereby they came to bee Lords of Mexico. Also the said Ticocicatzi by the estate and authoritie of the said Lordship of Mexico, had many Wives and Sonnes which hee had by them, and he was a grave and severe man in commanding and was feared and reverenced of his Subjects, hee was likewise enclined to

good and vertuous things, and was good for his Commonwealth. He commanded the Lawes and Statutes to bee kept and approoved for good, that his Predecessors had amplified and kept since the time of Gueguemotezuma. And he was zealous in punishing and chastning the evill vices and offences that his Subjects committed. And so the Mexican Commonwealth was well ordered and governed the time of his life, which was the space of five yeeres, at the end whereof he dyed and departed this present life.

IN the yeere 1486. after the death of Tizizocatzi, succeeded Ahuizozin, brother to his Predecessor Tizozicatzi, in the Signorie of Mexico. And during the time of his Lordship, he conquered by force of armes five and fortie Townes, according as hereafter are pictured and named. The said Ahuizozin was like to his Predecessor and Brother Tizizocatzi in valiantnesse and feates of warre, whereby he got the title of Tlacatecatl, which signifieth a great Captaine, and from the same title he came to be Lord of Mexico. The said Ahuizozin was by nature of a good inclination, and given to all vertue, and likewise in the course of his life hee had his Commonwealth ruled and governed well, and he fulfilled and kept the Lawes and Statutes that his Predecessors had maintayned since the time of Gueguemotezuma. And as the state of the Lordship of Mexico was brought to great Majestie, and had the greatest part of this New Spaine subject, acknowledging their service, and by the great and rich tributes which they gave the said Mexican Lordship, came to much renowme and mightinesse. And he like a mightie and great minded Prince, gave great things and preferments to his servants, and he was temperate of condition and mercifull, whereby his servants loved him exceedingly, and yeelded him great reverence. And likewise hee had many wives, and children by them, because it was a thing adjoyned to the Lordship, and a point of great estate. He was of a merrie condition,

whereby his servants did feast him continually in his life time with great and divers kindes of feasts, and musick,



A sixteene yeeres. B Ahuizozin. C conquered by armes the townes following, Tziccoac, Tlappan, Molanco, Amaxtlan, Zapotlan, Xaltepec, Chiapan, Tototepec, Xochtlan, Xolochiuhylan, Cozaquanhtenaneo, Coçohuipilecan, Coyuacac, Acatepec, Huexolotlan, Acapulco, Xiuhhuacan, Apancalecan, Tecpatepec, Tepechiapco, Xicochimalco, Xiuhteczacatlan, Tequantepec, Coyolapan, Yztactlalocan, Teocuitlatlan, Huehaetlan, Quanhxayacatitlan, Yzhuatlan, Comitlan, Nantzintlan, Huipilan, Cahualan, Ystatlan, Huiztlan, Xolotlan, Quanhuacaztlan, Macatlan, Ayanhtochiuitlatla, Quanhtlan, Cuecalcuitlapila, Mapachtepec, Quauhpilolan, Tlacotepec, Mizquitlan.

and songs, and instruments, as well in the night as in the day: for in his place the Musicians and Singers never ceased with many Instruments of musicke. The

course of his life in that Signiorie was sixteene yeeres, at the end whereof he dyed and passed out of this present life.

[III. v. 1078.] IN the yeere 1502. after the end and death of Ahuiçoçin, succeeded in the Lordship of Mexico, *Motezuma.* Motezuma. Mexico was now growne into great Majestie, Renowme, and Authoritie: and he by his gravitie and severitie enlarged exceedingly the State and Dominion of Mexico, yea a great deale more then his Predecessors. Motezuma was the sonne of Axayaçaçi, which had beene Lord of Mexico, and before hee came to the said Lordship hee had the deserts of a worthy Captaine and a valiant man in warres, whereby hee had the title of Tlacatecatl, and so hee succeeded in the Lordship of Mexico, as is before rehearsed, and *His weale and greatnesse.* being in the said Lordship he did greatly increase the Mexican Empire, bearing the rule over all the Townes in this New Spaine, insomuch that they gave and payed him great tributes of much riches and value: He was feared very much of all his servants, and likewise of his Captaines and Principals, insomuch that not one when they had any businesse with him, for the great reverence they had him in, durst for feare looke him in the face, but that they held downe their eyes and their head low and enclined to the ground, and many other extraordinarie respects and ceremonies they did *Majestie.* unto him for the Majestie he represented unto them, not mentioned here for avoyding of tediousnesse. After Motezuma had succeeded in the said Lordship, hee *Conquests.* conquered foure and fortie Townes hereafter named; and hee subdued them under his Lordship and Empire, and in their acknowledging of servitude all the continuance of his life, they payed him many and great tributes, as hereafter by their pictures and declarations is made manifest.

Wisdome and learning. Moteçuma was by nature wise, and an Astrologer, and a Philosopher, subtile and skilled generally in all

artes, aswell of warres as all other matters temporall. And for his gravitie and estate he had of his Lordship the beginning of an Empire, according as his servants did reverence him with great honor and power, that in comparison of him, not one of his predecessors came to halfe so much estate and Majestie.

Lawes.

The Statutes and Lawes of his Predecessors, since the time of Gueguemoteçuma untill his time, he commanded to bee kept and wholly fulfilled with great zeale. And because hee was a man so wise, by his good nature he ordayned and made other Statutes and Lawes which he thought defective for the execution of the former, not abrogating any, all which were for the welfare and good government of his Commonwealth and Subjects. Hee was inclined to keepe many houses and women, which were daughters of the Lords his Subjects and Confederates; and by them he had many children; and to have so many wives was for to set forth his Majestie the more, for they hold it for a point of great estate. Among which the daughters of the Lords of great authoritie he held for lawfull wives, according to their rights and ceremonies, and them hee kept within his Palaces and dwelling houses; and the children that came of them were had in reputation as more lawfull children then the others which hee had by the other women. It were a large historie to tell the order he had in keeping of them, and conversation with them. And because this present historie is but briefe, it is left unrehearsed.

Many women, some wives, some Concubines.

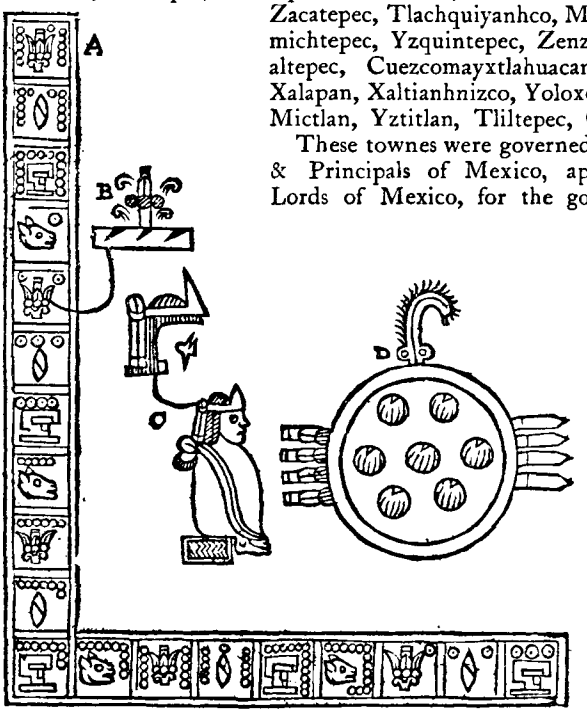
[III. v. 1079.]

See before in Acosta, and after in Gomara more large relations of Mutezuma, in a wilde kinde of state and majestie, equalling in many things, in some exceeding most Princes of the elder world.

The quantitie, value, and number of the tributes and kindes of things that his subjects did pay for tribute unto him, shall be seene and understood hereafter, as by the pictures and declarations is signified. And he made a straight order that the tributes which they payed him, should be fulfilled according as they were levied by him; for the fulfilling whereof he had in all his subject-townes his Calpixques and Factors, which were as Governors, that ruled, commanded, and governed them; and hee was so much feared that none durst disobey nor transgresse

PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

A The number of 19. yeeres (18. yeeres of his raigne, and that other which followed in his Successor, wherin Mexico was conquered, as you may see in the next chapter.) B the fourth yeere of his raigne in which hee began his conquest. C Motezuma. D the instruments of warre by which hee conquered Achiotlan, Zozolan, Nochiztlan, Tecutepec, Zulan, Tlaniztlan, Huilotepec, Yepatepec, Yztactlalocan, Chichihualtatacala, Tecaxic, Tlachinolticpac, Xoconochco, Zinacantlan, Huiztlan, Piaztlan, Molanco, Zaquantepec, Pipiyoltepec, Hucyapan, Tecpatlan, Amatlan, Caltepec, Pantepec, Teoazinco, Tecozanhtla, Teochiapan, Zacatepec, Tlachquiyanhco, Malinaltepec, Quimichtepec, Yzquintepec, Zenzontepec, Quetzaltepec, Cuezcomayxtlahuacan, Huexolotlan, Xalapan, Xaltianhnizco, Yoloxonecuila, Atepec, Mictlan, Yztitlan, Tliltepec, Comaltepec.



These townes were governed by the Casiques & Principals of Mexico, appointed by the Lords of Mexico, for the good defence and government of the naturall people, and for the securitie of the Townes, that they should not rebell, as also for the charge they had to gather, and command to be gathered the Rents and Tributes, that they were bound to give and pay to the Dominion of Mexico.

Citlaltepec, Quanhtochco, Mixcoatl, Tlacatectli a Governour, Zonpaneo, Xaltocan, Tlacatectli a Governour, Acalhuacon, Tlacochtectli a Governour, Huaxac, Yzteyocan, Coatitlan, Huixachtitlan, Tlacatectli a Governour, Tlacochtectli a Governour, Zozolan, Poetepec, Coatlayancham, Acolnahuac, Puputlan, Yztacolco, Chalcoatenco, Tlacochtectly a Governour, Tlacatecatl a Governour, Oztoma, Atzacan, Atlan, Omequuh, Tezcacoacatl a Governour, Tlilancalqui a Governour, Xoconochco, Tecapotitlan.

his will and commandement, but that they were kept and wholly fulfilled, because he punished and corrected the rebels without remission.

First notice of the Spaniards.

And in the sixteenth yeere of the reigne of Motezuma, the Mexicans had knowledge of certaine Spaniards, which were discoverers of this New Spaine, that at the end of twelve moneths there should come a fleet of Spaniards to overcome and conquer this Country; and the Mexicans kept account thereof, and they found it to bee true, for at the end of the said twelve moneths was the arrivall of the said fleet at a Haven of this New Spaine, in the which fleet came Don Ferdinando Cortes, Marques del Valle, which was the seventeenth yeere of the reign of Motezuma; and in the eighteenth yeere he made an end of the continuance of his Lordship and Raigne: in the which yeere he dyed and departed this present life. At the time when Motezuma came to his government, he was five and thirtie yeeres old little more or lesse, so that at his decease he was three and fiftie yeeres of age. And straightway in the yeere after his death, this Citie of Mexico, and other Townes adjoyning, were overcome and pacified by the said Marques del Valle, and his Confederates. And so this New Spaine was conquered and pacified.

Mutezumas death.

§. II.

[III. v. 1080.]

The second part of this Booke contayning the particular Tributes which every Towne subdued paid unto the Lords of Mexico.

HEre follow pictured and intituled the kinds of things, that they of Tlatilulco (which at this day is called by the Spaniards, Saint James) did pay in tribute to the Lords of Mexico, and the said tribute summed here, is that which followeth.

They were charged for tribute, alwayes to repaire the Church called Huiznahuac. Item, fortie great Baskets (of the bignesse of halfe a Bushell) of Cacao

A the Temple of Huiznahuac. B 20. baskets of Cacao meale (the Eare and Meale figured). C 20. more of the same. C 20. D 20. E 20. baskets of Chiaupinoli. F. 40. peeces of Armes of this device. G 40. of this device (like the former, but that is white with blacke streakes, this yellow). H I are each 400. burthens (the eare signed 400.) of Mantles. K These foure like unto flowres doe signifie foure dayes, every flowre 20. dayes, as they of Tlatilulco did tribute the things pictured and intituled by taxation of the Lords of Mexico. L 40. Targets of this device (to expresse the difference of colours in each particular were too tedious.) N Tlatilulco. The names of Quauhtlatoa and Moquihuix Lords of Tlatilulco are added, because in their times it began; as also of Tenuxtitlan, Izcoaci and Apayacan to intimate that these two Lords of Mexico or Tenuxtitlan subdued them. The Pictures of them (as of many Townes before) were omitted: being but such descriptions of men and Townes as you have seene alreadie.

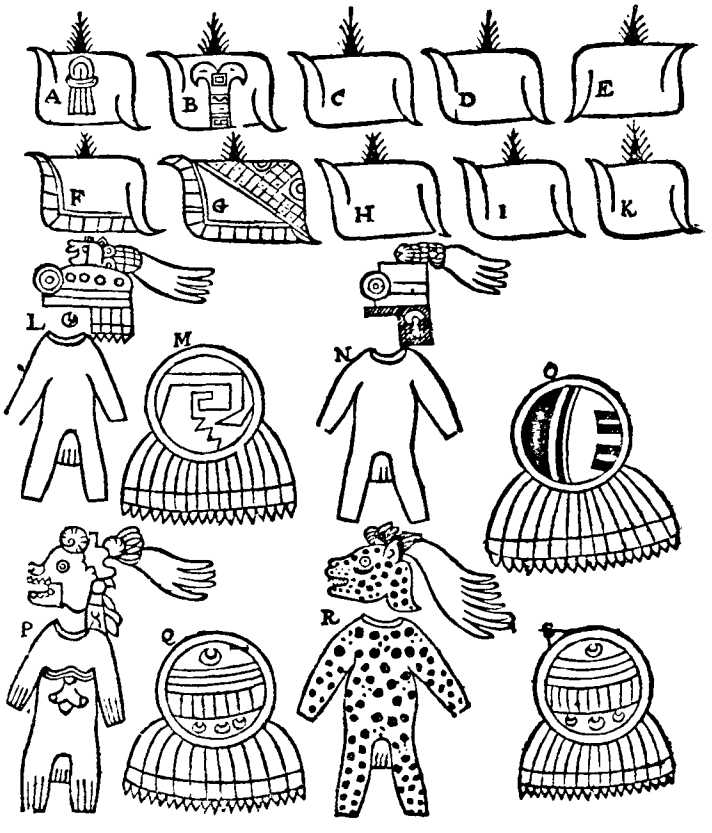
A.D. c. 1525.

ground, with the Meale of Maiz (which they called Chianpinoli) and every Basket had sixteene hundred Almonds of Cacao. Item, other fortie Baskets of Chianpinoli. Item, eight hundred burthens of great Mantels. Item, eightie pieces of Armour, of slight Feathers, and as many Targets of the same Feathers, of the devices & colours as they are pictured. All the which tribute, except the said armes and targets they gave every 24. dayes, and the said armes and targets they gave for tribute but once in the whole yeere. The said tribute had his beginning since the time of Quauhtlatoa and Moquihuix, which were Lords of Tlatilulco. The Lords of Mexico, which first enjoyned to those of Tlatilulco, to pay tribute, and to acknowledge their subjection, were Yzcoatçi and Axiacaçi.

THe Townes pictured in the two Pieces following, and summed heere by twentie three Townes as appeareth by the Titles, and they had a chiefe Governour appointed by the Lords of Mexico, called Petlacalcatl, although neverthelesse, every Towne had his Calpixque, which is as it were a Steward or Bayliffe, whose charge was to gather the Rents & tributes that the said Townes did tribute to the Dominion of Mexico, and all the said Stewards came to the said Petlacalcatl as their Governor, and the things and kinds that the said townes did tribute, are these which follow, 2400. burthens of great Mantels of twisted Yarne. Eight hundred burthens of little Mantles, rich attyre, of the colours as they are pictured. Foure hundred burthens of Maxtlac, which served for little clothes. Foure hundred burthens of Huipiles and Naguas, all the which they gave for tribute every sixe moneths. [III. v. 1081.]

Item, They gave five pieces of Armour, of rich Feathers, and as many Targets of the colours and devices as they are pictured.

Item, They did tribute seventie pieces of Armour of



Petlacalcatl a Governour (the pictures of men and townes are heere and in the following omitted, being no other then as you have alreadie seene). The townes are Xaxalpan, Yopico, Tepetlacalco, Tecoloapan, Tepechpan, Tequemecan, Huiçilo Pucheo, Colhuaçinco, Cozotlan, Tepepulan, Olac, Acapan, Cuitlahuac, Tezcacoa, Mezquis, Aochpanco, Tzapotitlan, Xico, Toyac, Tecalco, Tlacoxiuhco, Nextitlan.

A 400. burthens of Maxtlac of this worke, which be little clothes. B 400. burthens of Naguas, and Huipiles of this worke. C 400. burthens of great Mantels. D 400. burthens of great Mantels. E 400. burthens of great Mantels. F 400. burthens of little Mantels, of this worke each division of severall colours, Red, Blue, Yellow, Greene. G 400. burthens of little Mantels of this worke. H 400. burthens of great Mantels. I 400. burthens of great Mantels. K 400. burthens of great Mantels. L A piece of Armour of this device of rich Feathers yeerely. M A Target of rich Feathers of this device. N A piece of Armour of this device of rich Feathers yeerely. O A Target of rich Feathers of this device. P A piece of Armour of rich Feathers of this device yeerely. Q A Target of rich Feathers of this device. R A piece of Armour of rich Feathers, of this device yeerely. S A Target of rich Feathers of this device.

Feathers of small account, and as many Targets of the colours and devices as they are pictured.

Item, They tributed one Troxes of Frisoles, and another Troxe of Chian, and another Troxe of Mayz,

[III. v. 1082.]

A A piece of Armour of rich feathers of this device yeerely. B A Target of rich feathers of this device. C 20. pieces of Armour of this device yeerely, they were of red feathers. D 20. Targets of feathers of this device. E 20. pieces of Armour of feathers of this device yeerely. F 20. Targets of feathers. G 20. pieces of Armour of this device, blue, of light feathers yeerely. H 20. Targets of feathers of this device. I A Troxe of Frisoles and Chian, one of the one kind and, and another of the other kind. K A Troxe of Maiz and another of Guautli, which is seed of Bletlos.

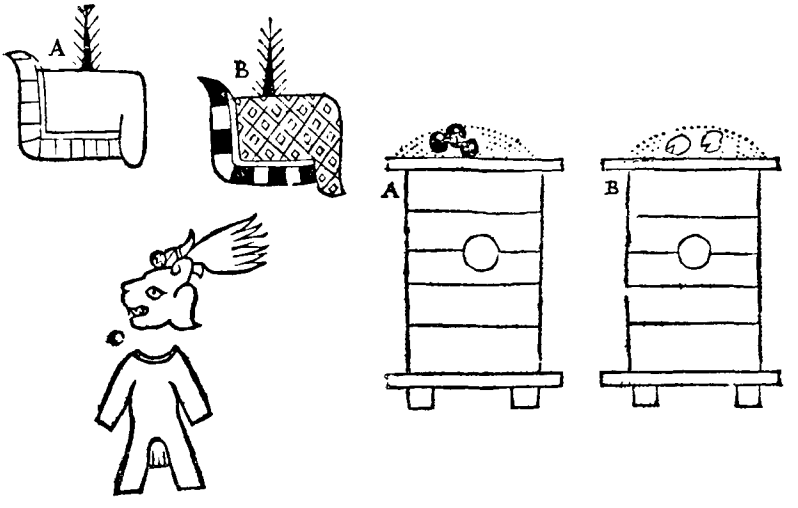
and another of Guautli, which is the seed of Bletlos. All the which things of the said Armour and Targets, and Troxes of Frisoles, and the other seeds the said Townes did pay for tribute once every yeere.

[III. v. 1083.] THese Townes pictured and named, ensuing and summed heere, are sixe and twentie townes, wherein from the time of their conquests by the Lords of Mexico, they had set Calpixques, as it were Bayliffes in every of them, and in the principall Towne a Governour bare rule above all the rest, because he should mayntaine them in peace and justice, and make them performe their tributes, and that they should not rebell. The tributes that all the said townes hereafter contayned, did pay together, are these which follow.

Two thousand burthens of great Mantels twisted. Item, 1200. burthens of Canahuac, which be rich Mantels, wherewith the Lords and Casiques were clothed of the colours as they are pictured. Item, 400. burthens of Maxtlactl, which be little clothes. Item, 400. burthens of Huipiles and Naguas, all the which they paid for tribute twice a yeere. Item, they gave more tribute three pieces of Armour garnished with rich feathers, and as many Targets of the colours and devices as they are pictured, the which they gave in the space of one yeere. Item, one hundred pieces of Armour garnished with feathers of small value, and as many Targets of the devices and colours as they are hereafter pictured, the which they tributed once a yeere. Item, foure great Troxes of wood, full, the one of Frisoles, and another of Chian, and another of Maiz, and another of Guautli, which is the seed of Blethos. Every Troxe might contayne foure or five thousand Hanegas, the which they tributed once a yeere.

Acolmecalt, Calipixque, Acolhuacan, Huiçilan, Tololçinco, Tlachyahnalco, Tepechpa, Aztaquemeca, Teacalco, Tonanitla, Zenpoalan, Tepetlaoztoc, Achnatepec, Tiçatep, Contlan, Yxquenecan, Matixco, Teneazcalapan, Tyzain-

can, Tepetlapan, Caliahualco, Tecoyncan, Tlaquilpan, Quauhquemecan, Epaçuincan, Ameyalco, Quauhyocan, Ecatepec.



A 400. burthens of Mantels of this colour (red) and worke (edged Blue, Greene, Red, and Yellow). B 400. bundles of Mantels of this worke (Blacke and White). C Twentie pieces of Armes of rich feathers of this worke.

A Following two Troxes of Frisoles and Chian. B two Troxes, the one of Maiz, the other of Huautli (their corne.) The rest are omitted in Picture, beeing resembled as the former, and for the Historie you have it before.

THe townes pictured and named, and numbred here are sixteene townes, the which townes did pay for tribute to the Lords of Mexico, the things pictured and intituled. And because they should be well ruled and governed, the Lords of Mexico had set Calpixques in every town, and above all them for Governour, a principall man of Mexico; the Calpixques also were men of Mexico: which was done by the said Lords for the securitie of the townes, that they should not rebell, and also because they should minister Justice, and live in policie. And the said Tributes that the said townes gave

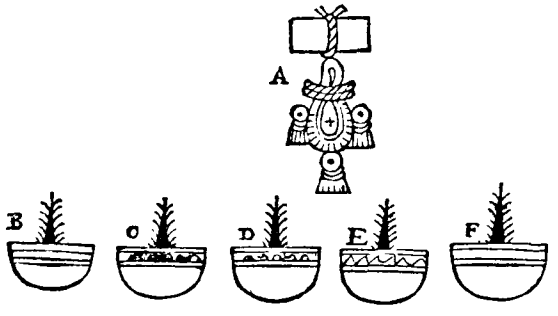
as appeareth by the said Pictures, and summed heere, are those which follow.

First, they did tribute twelve hundred burthens of great Mantels of twisted Yarne.

Item, Eight hundred burthens of small white Mantels, of the apparell which they did weare.

Item, Twelve hundred burthens of small white Mantels, richly wrought, which is apparell that the Lords and Casiques did weare.

Item, Foure hundred burthens of Maxtlactle, which are small clothes that they weare.



A Eight thousand sheetes of Paper, of the Countrey. B Foure hundred Xicaras, or Cup-dishes of this worke. C Foure hundred of this worke. D Foure hundred of this worke. E Foure hundred of this worke. F Foure hundred of this worke. The colours are Yellow and Red. The rest need no presenting in Picture, beeing but as formerly is seene.

[III. v. 1084.] Item, Foure hundred burthens of Huipiles and Naguas, which is apparell for women, all the which they tribute twice a yeere; so that they gave tribute every sixe moneths.

Item, They did tribute eight pieces of Armour, and as many Targets garnished with rich feathers of divers colours as they are pictured, the which they paid for tribute once a yeere.

Item, Foure great Troxes of wood, full of Maiz and Frisoles, and Chian, and Huautli, which is the seed of

Blethos, every Troxe might contayne 5000. Hanegas or Bushels, the which they did tribute once a yeere.

Item, Eight Reames of Paper, of the Countrey, which they tributed twice a yeere; so that in all it was every yeere sixteene thousand sheets of Paper.

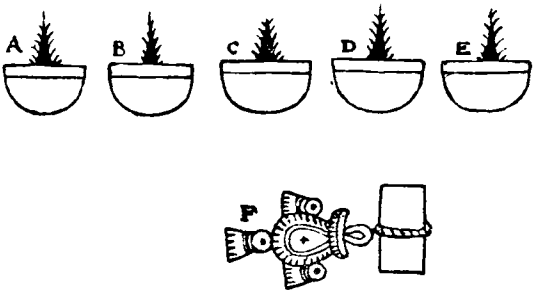
Item, In every tribute 2000. Xicharas, or drinking Cups, which they gave twice a yeere.

The Townes were Quauhnahuac, Teocalcinco, Chimalco, Huiccilapan, Acatlicpac, Xochitepec, Miacatla, Molotla, Coatlan, Xiuhtepec, Xoxoutla, Amacoztitlan, Yztlan, Ocpayucan, Yztepec, Atlicholoayan.

THe townes following, and numbred here are six and twentie, which did pay tribute of the things pictured and entituled to the Lords of Mexico and likewise there was resident a Governour, and Mexican Calipixque, as in the other townes afore mentioned, which were ordained by the Lords of Mexico. And the tributes that they payed, appearing by the Pictures are these which follow. First, they did tribute 400. burthens of Maxtlactle, which are little clothes. Item, 400. burthens of Naguas & Huipiles, apparell for women. Item, 2400. burthens of great Mantles, of twisted yarne. Item, 800. burthens of rich Mantles, that the Lords and Principals of Mexico were clothed with, of the colours as they are pictured. Item, 2000. Xicaras varnished, of the colours as they be pictured. Item, 8000. Reames of Paper of the Countrey, all the which they gave in every tribute, which was every six moneths. Item, They tributed 40. pieces of Armour, and as many Targets garnished with slight feathers died of divers colours, as appeareth by the Pictures. Item, Six pieces of Armour, and as many Targets garnished with rich feathers of the devices and colours as they be pictured. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood like those aforesaid, ful of Maiz, and Frisoles, and Chian, and Guautli, all the which they tributed once a yeere.

The townes names are Huaxtepec, Xoxhimilcaçinco,

Quauhtlan, Achuehueopan, Anenequilco, Olintepec, Quauhnitlyxco, Zonpanco, Huizilapan, Tlaltitcapan, Coacalco, Yzamatitla Tepoztlan, Yanhtepec, Yacappichtla, Tlayacapan, Xaloztoc, Tecpazino, Nepopoalco, Atlatlauca, Totolapan, Amilzinco, Atlhuelic.



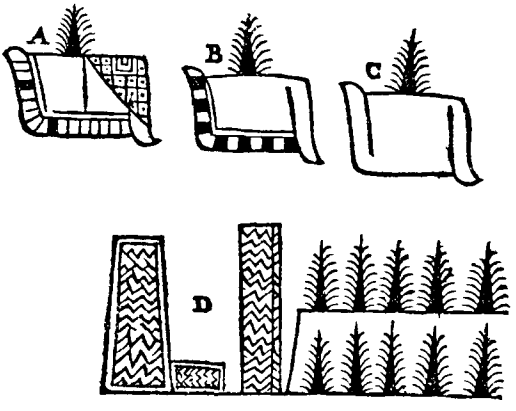
A B C D E are each of them foure hundred Xicaras or Cup-dishes.

F Eight thousand sheets of Paper, the Pictures of the rest are omitted.

[III. v. 1085.] THe Townes pictured and named here are seven, which paid tribute to the Lords of Mexico, as in the other parts aforesaid have beene mentioned, and the things they tributed are these that follow.

First, Foure hundred burdens of Mantels of rich workes; and foure hundred burdens of plaine Mantels, of the color as they be pictured. Item, Foure thousand Petates, which are Mats, and other foure hundred backes with their seates made of Segs and other Herbs, the which they did tribute every six moneths. Item, Two peeces of Armour, and as many Targets garnished with rich Feathers of the devices and colours as they be pictured. Item, Fortie peeces of Armour, and as many Targets, garnished with sleight Feathers. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood of the bignesse of those aforesaid, full of Maiz, Frisoles, Chian and Guantly, which they gave for tribute once a yeare.

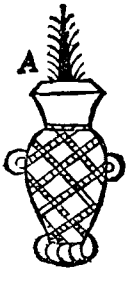
The Townes are Quauhtitlan, Tehuiloyocan, Ahuexoyocan, Xalapan, Tepoxaco, Cuezcomo huacan, Xiloçinco.



A Foure hundred burthens of Mantles of this worke (coloured with Red, Yellow, etc.) B Foure hundred burthens of Mantles of this worke (Blacke and White.) C Foure hundred burthens of this worke (all White.) D Foure thousand Mats & foure thousand Backes: the number is intimated by the figures following, somewhat like eares of Corne, each of which signifieth foure hundred.

THe Townes pictured and named are tenne, which did paie tribute to the Lords of Mexico, as afore said, and the things that they did tribute doe follow.

First, eight hundred burdens of rich Mantles, and



A Foure hundred Pots of thicke Honie of Magues: this is, for the novell figure pictured, the rest not, being as the former in their forme.

wrought as appeareth by the titles and pictures. Item, Foure hundred burdens of white Mantles, with their

border of blacke and white. Item, Eight hundred burdens of white Mantles. Item, Foure hundred burdens of Naguas and Huipiles. Item, Foure hundred great Pots of thicke Honie of Maques: all the which they tributed every sixe moneths. Item, They did tribute two peeces of Armour, garnished with rich Feathers, and as many Targets of rich Feathers, of the devices as they be pictured and intituled. Item, Fortie peeces of Armour, garnished with slight Feathers, and as many Targets, of the devices as they are pictured. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood, of the bignesse of those that are signified in the parts before, the one of Maiz, and the other of Frisoles, another of Chian, and another of Guantli seede of Bledos. All the which they tributed once a yeare. The Townes are Axocopan, Atenco, Tetepanco, Xochichiuca, Temohuayan, Tezcatepec, Myzquianhnala, Yzmyquilpan, Tlaahnililpan, Tecpatepec.

THe number of the Townes ensuing, are seven, and they did tribute to the Lords of Mexico, after the order declared in the parts aforesaid; and the things which they did tribute are those which follow.

First, Foure hundred burdens of Mantels of rich workes, which was apparell that the Lords and Caciques did put on. Item, Foure hundred burdens of white Mantels, with their borders of white and black. Item, Eight hundred burdens of great Mantels of twisted Yarne. Item, Foure hundred burdens of Chalk, all the which they did tribute every six moneths. Item, they did tribute two peeces of Armour garnished with rich Feathers, and two Targets, as appeareth by the devices and pictures. Item, Fortie peeces of Armor, and as many Targets garnished with slight Feathers, as appeareth by the pictures, devices and titles. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood, of the bignesse of those before, the one full of Maiz, another of Frisoles, another of Clian, and another of Guautli; all of the

[III. v. 1086.]

which they did tribute once a yeare. The Townes are Atotonilco, Guapalcalco, Quecalmacan, Acocolco, Tehuchnec, Otlazpan, Xalac.

A 400. burthens of Chalke or Lime: the marke on the top signifieth 400. the figure is the forme of their burthen. Other figures neede not be presented.

THe number of the Townes following, are nine, according as they be pictured and named. And they paid tribute as followeth.

First, foure hundred burdens of Mantels of rich

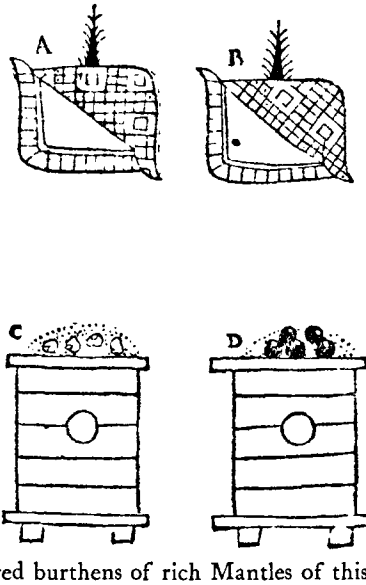
A 400. Pots of Honie of Maguez, paid every six months.

workes, which the Lords and Casiques did put on. Item, Foure hundred burdens of white Mantels, with their edge of white and blacke. Item, eight hundred burdens of white Mantels of Enequen. Item, Foure hundred Pots of thicke Honie of Maguez. All the which they tributed every six moneths. Item, Two peeces of Armour, and as many Targets, garnished

with rich Feathers, of the colours and devises as they be pictured & intituled. Item, threescore peeces of Armor, and as many Targets, garnished with slight Feathers, of the colours and devises as they be entituled and pictured. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood, of the bignesse aforesaid full, the one of Mays, and another of Frisoles, another of Chian, and another of Guautly. All the which they tributed once a yeare. The Townes are Hueypuchtla, Xalac, Tequixcuiac, Tetlapanaloyan, Xicalhuacan, Xomeyocan, Acayocan, Tezcatepetonco, Atocpan.

THe number of the Townes following be six: and they paid tribute as followeth.

First, Eight hundred burdens of rich Mantels apparel that the Lords of Mexico did cloath themselves with, as appeareth in the said side by the pictures and



A Foure hundred burthens of rich Mantles of this worke. B Foure hundred burthens of rich Mantels of this worke. C Two troxes, one of Mays, the other of Chian. D Two troxes, the one of Frisoles, the other of Guautli. Other pictures are omitted, being like the former.

titles. Item, One thousand six hundred burdens of white Mantels of Enequen; all the which they did tribute to the Lords of Mexico every six moneths. Item, Foure peeces of Armour, and as many Targets, garnished with rich Feathers of the colours and devises as they are pictured and intituled. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood, of the bignesse of the other, full of Maiz, Frisoles, Chian, and Guautly. All the which they did tribute once a yeare. The Townes are Atotonilco, Acaxochitla, Xuachquecaloyan, Hueyapan, Itzihuinquilocan, Tulancingo.

THe number of the Townes are seven: and they paid tribute as followeth. First, 400. burthens of very rich Naguas and Huipiles, which is apparell for women. Item, 400. burthens of rich Mantels, Lords apparell. Item, 400. burthens of Naguas wrought. Item, 800. burthens of rich Mantels. Item, 400. burthens of rich small Mantels. Item, 400. burthens of Mantels drawne [III. v. 1087.]

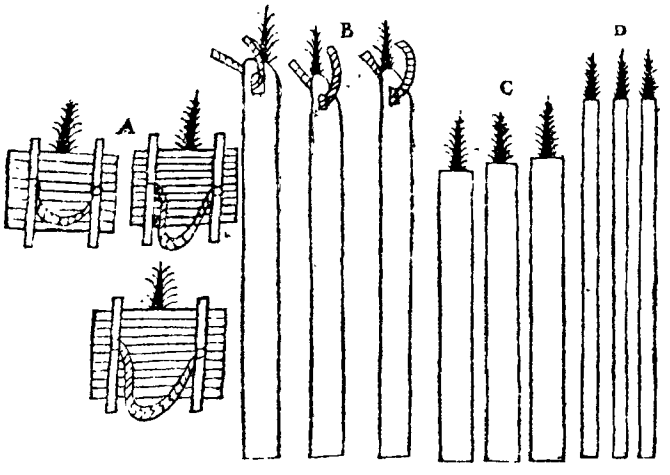
A 400. burthens of very rich Naguas and Huipiles. B 400. burthens of rich Mantels of this worke. C 400. burthens of Naguas of this worke. D 400. burthens of rich Mantels of this worke. E 400. burthens of rich Mantels of this worke. F A live Eagle that they brought in every tribute, sometimes three, other times foure, and other times more or lesse.

through the middle with red: all the which they tributed every sixe moneths.

Item, A living Eagle, two, three, or more, according as they could finde them. Item, two pieces of Armour and two Targets, garnished with rich feathers, of the device and colour as they are pictured. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood, full of Maiz, Frisoles, Chian, and Guautli: all the which they tributed once a yeere. The townes names are Xilotepec, Tlachco, Tzayanalquilpa, Mychnaloyan, Tepetitlan, Acaxochytla, Tecocauhtlan.

THe number of the Townes following are thirteene. And they payed tribute as followeth.

First, 800. burthens of rich small Mantles of this worke, as they be pictured. Item, 800. burthens of small, of Enequen: all the which they did tribute every sixe moneths.



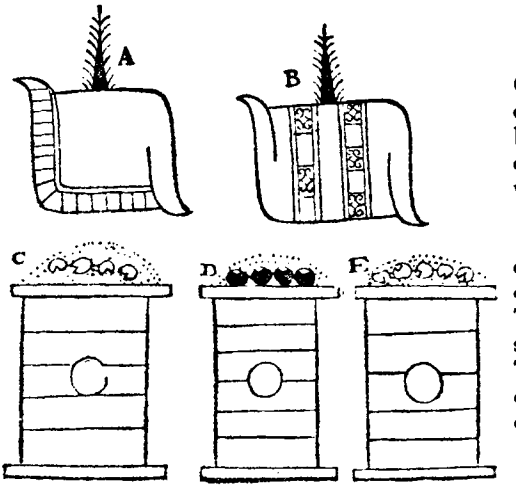
A 400. burthens of wood. A 400. burthens of wood. A 400. burthens of wood. B 400. great beames, or pieces of timber. B 400. great beames. B 400. great beames. C 400. great plankes of timber. C 400. great plankes of timber. C 400. great boards of timber. D 400. quarters of timber. D 400. quarters of timber. D 400. quarters of timber.

Item, A piece of Armour and a Target garnished with rich feathers. Item, Fortie pieces of Armour and as many Targets garnished with slight feathers: the which Armour they tributed once a yeere.

Item, Foure great Troxes of wood of the bignesse aforesaid, full of Maiz, Frisoles, Chian, and Guautly, which likewise they tributed once a yeere.

Item, 1200. burthens of wood, which they tributed every foure dayes. Item, 1200. great Beames of Timber, which they tributed every foure dayes. Item, 2400. great Boards or Planks, which they tributed every foure dayes. The Townes are, Quahneocan, Tecpa, Chapolnoloyan, Tlalatlauco, Acaxochic, Ameyalco, Ocotepec, Huizquilocan, Coatepec, Quauhpanoayan, Tlalachco, Chichciquauhtla, Huitziçilapan.

THe number of the townes pictured are twelve. And they tributed as followeth. First, 400. burthens of Cotton-wooll, Mantles white with an edge of Greene, [III. v. 1088.]



A 400. burthens of Cotton-wooll-mantles of this worke. B 400. burthens of Mantles of Enequen, of this worke.

C Two Troxes, the one of Maiz, and the other of Chian. D Two Troxes of Frisoles & Guautly. E Two Troxes, the one of Maiz, and the other of Chian.

Yellow, Red, and Olive colour. Item, 400. burthens of Mantles of Enequen, wrought and spotted, with Red, White and Blacke. Item, 1200. burthens of white

Mantles of Enequen: all the which they tributed every six moneths. Item, two pieces of Armour, and as many Targets garnished with rich feathers of the colours and devices as they are pictured. Item, twentie pieces of Armour, with as many Targets, garnished with slight feathers of the colours and devices as they are pictured. Item, six great Troxes of wood of the bignesse aforesaid, full of Frisoles, Maiz, Chian, and Guautly: All the which they tributed once a yeere.

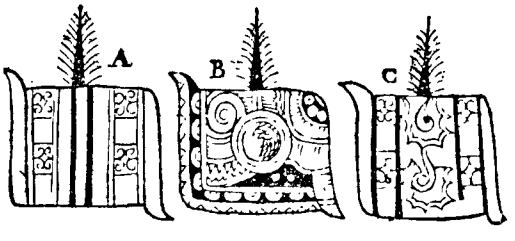
The townes names are Tuluca, Calixtlahnacan, Xicaltepec, Tepetlhuiacan, Mytepec, Capulteopan, Metepec, Cacalomaca, Calymayan, Teoteuanco, Zepemaxalco, Zoquitzinco.

[III. v. 1089.] THe number of the townes intituled and pictured, are sixe. And they paid tribute as followeth.

First, they did tribute 800. burthens of rich Mantels of Enequen, of the workes as they be pictured A.

Item, 400. burthens of Cotton-wooll Mantles rich, of the worke as they be pictured. B.

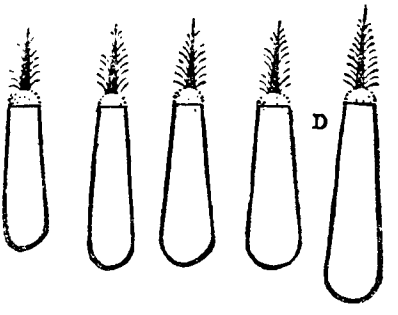
Item, 400. rich Mantles of Enequen, of this worke pictured. C.



Item, 2000. Loaves of fine white Salt refined & made in long moulds, as letter D each of which signifie 400. (as the Eare above declares.) It was spent only for the Lords of Mexico, all the which they tributed every sixe moneths.

Item, a piece of Armor with a Target of rich feathers, of the colours and devices as they be pictured. Item, Twentie pieces of Armour, and as many Targets gar-

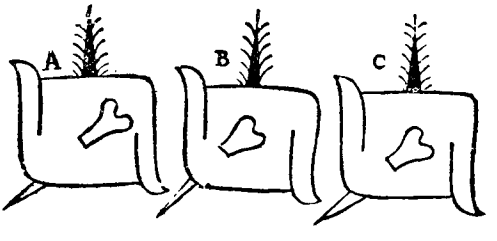
nished with slight feathers of the devices and colours as they are pictured. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood, of the bignesse of those before full of Maiz, Frisoles,



Chian, and Guautly. All the which they tributed once a yeere.

The Townes, Ocuilan, Tenantinco, Tequaloyan, Tenatinho, Coatepec, Zincozcar.

THe number of the townes pictured are three. And they paid tribute as followeth. First, 1200. burthens of great white Mantles of Enequen, A B C.

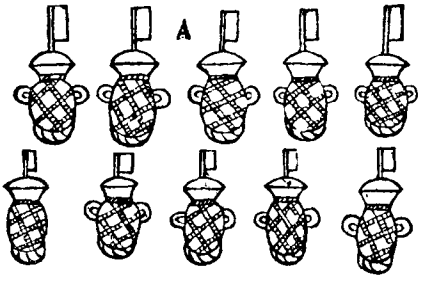


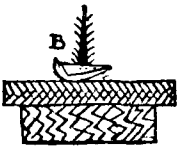
Item, 400. burthens of wrought Mantles of Enequen, all the which they tributed every sixe moneths.

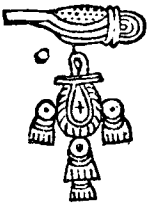
Item, They tributed once a yeere eight great Troxes of wood, of the bignesse aforesaid, two of Maiz, two of Frisoles, two of Chian, and two of Guautly. The townes were Malynalco, Zonpahnacan, Xocotitlan.

THe number of the Townes following are ten, of a hot Countrey, and they paid tribute as followeth.

First, 400. burthens of rich Mantles made of Cotton-wooll, of the worke as they be pictured. Item, 400. burthens of Naguas and Huipiles. Item, 1200. burthens of white Mantles of smooth and safe Enequen. All the which they did tribute every six moneths.







A 200. pots of Honey, the marke over each pot signifieth the number of twentie.

B 400. Baskets of Copall refined.

C 8000. lumps of Copall unrefined, wrapped in the leaves of a Date Tree: the upper Figure signifieth the Copall, the later (like a Purse with three Tassells or Targets annexed) is the Character of eight thousand, as before in the sheets of Paper is seene.

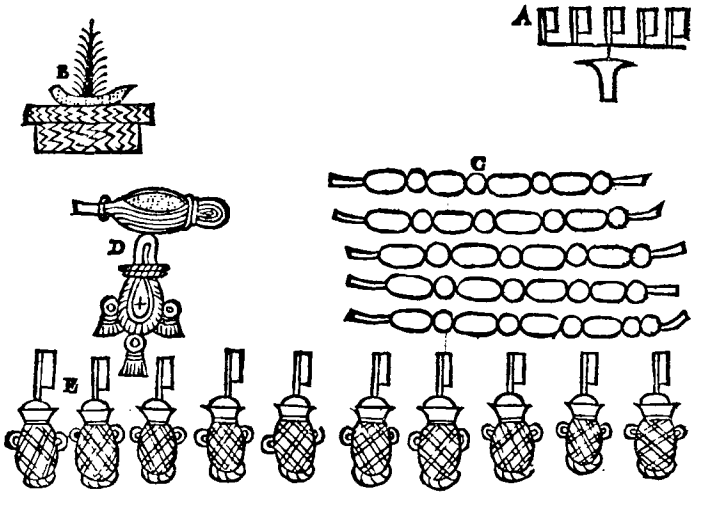
[III. v. 1090.] Item, 200. pots of Bees Honey. Item, 1200. Xicaras varnished Yellow. Item, 400. Baskets of white Copale for perfumes. Item, 8000. lumpes of unrefined Copale, wrapt in the leaves of a Palme tree. All the which they tributed every 400. dayes. Item, Two pieces of Armour, and as many Targets garnished with rich feathers, of the device and colour as they are pictured. Item, Two great Troxes of wood of the bignesse of those aforesaid, full,

the one of Maiz, and the other of Chian. All the which they doe tribute once a yeere.

The Townes are, Tlachco, Acamylixtlahuacan, Chontalcoatlan, Teticpac, Nochtepec, Teotliztocan, Tlamacazapan, Tepexahnalco, Tzicapuçalco, Tetenanco.

THe number of the Townes of the hot Countrey pictured, are fourteene Townes. And they paid tribute as followeth,

First, 400. burthens of quilted Mantles. Item, 400. burthens of Mantles striped with blacke and white. Item, 400. burthens of rich Mantles. Item, 400. burthens of Naguas and Huipiles. Item, 400. burthens of white



A The Hatchets, the forme below, the number above, each signifying 20. B 400. little Baskets of white Copall. C Five strings of stones. D 8000. lumps of Copall unrefined. E 200. Pots of Honey.

Mantles. Item, 1600. burthens of great Mantles. All the which they did tribute every sixe moneths.

Item, They tributed 100. Hatchets of Copper. Item, 1200. Xicaras of yellow varnish. Item, 200. pots of

Bees Honey. Item, 400. little baskets of white Copall for Perfumes. Item, 8000. lumps of Copall unrefined, which was spent likewise for Perfumes. All the which they tributed every foure dayes.

Item, Two pieces of Armour, with their Targets garnished with rich feathers of this device, as they be pictured. Item, Twentie pieces of Armour with their Targets, garnished with slight feathers.

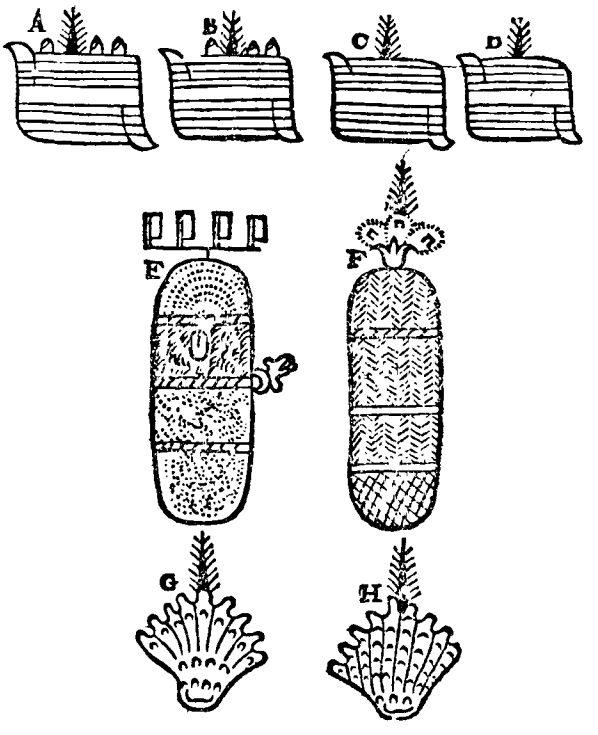
Item, Five strings of rich Bead-stones, which they call Chalchihnitl. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood, of the bignesse of those before full of Maiz, Frisoles, Chian, and Guautly; all the which they tributed once a yeere.

The Townes names are Tepequacuilco, Chilapan, Ohnapan, Huitzoco, Tlachimalacac, Yoallan, Cocolan, Atenanco, Chilacachapan, Telogoapan, Oztoma, Ychcliteopan, Alahuiztlan, Cueçalan.

[III. v. 1091.] THe number of the Townes of the hot Countreies pictured, and intituled in the next division, are twelve. And they paid tribute as followeth.

First, sixteene hundred burthens of great Mantles, lifted with Orange-tawnie, as is seene in the letters A B C D each marked 400. Item, 1400 burdens of great Mantles of twisted yarne. Item, 400. burthens of Cacao, of brown colour as in letter E. Item, 400. packes of Cotton-wooll, marked Letter F. Item, 400. Conchas, which are red shels of the Sea, (marked G H. each 400.) after the fashion of Veneras, all the which they tributed every sixe moneths.

[III. v. 1092.] The townes are Cihnatlan, Colima, Panotlan, Nochcoc, Yztapan, Petlatlan, Xihnacan, Apancalecan, Coçohnipilecan, Coyucac, Zacatulan, Xolochuthyan.

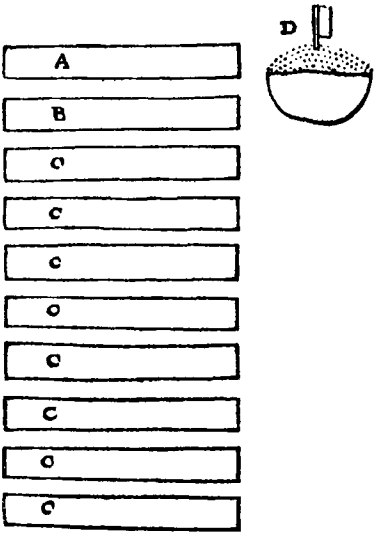


THe number of the Townes, of the hot Countreyes pictured following are 14. and they payed tribute as followeth. First, 400. burthens of Naguas and Huipiles. Item, 400. burthens of Mantles striped with red. Item, 800. burthens of great Mantles. Item, 800. Xicaras, which they call Tecomates of the best, wherein they drinke Cacao, all the which they tributed every sixe moneths. Item, Two pieces of Armour, with their Targets garnished with rich feathers of the device and colour as they are pictured.

Item, Twenty Xicaras full of Gold in powder, and every Xicara might contayne two handfuls, with both hands letter D.

Item, tenne Plates of Gold of foure fingers broad,

and three quarters of a yard long, and as thicke as Parchment figured heere, A B C, all the which they tributed once a yeere.



The townes names Tlapan, Xocatlan, Ychcatepecpan, Amaxac, Ahuacatla, Acocozpan, Yoalan, Ocoapan, Huitzamela, Acuitlapan, Malynaltepec, Totomixtlahuacan, Tetenanco, Chipetlan.

THe towne named, is called Tlalcocauhtitlan, a hotte towne with the other seven townes in the first partition, did pay tribute as followeth.

First, 400. burthens of great Mantles.

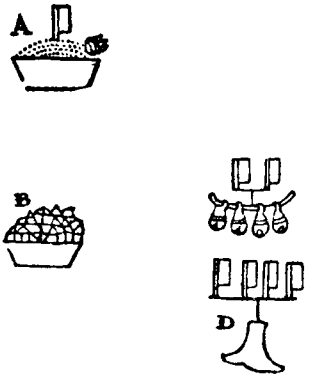
Item, 100. pots of Bees hony.

Item, Twentie pannes of Tecoçahuitl, which is a yellow varnish wherewith they painted themselves (here figured, Letter A) which they tributed every six moneths.

Item, A piece of Armour with a Target garnished with rich feathers, which they tributed once a yeere.

The Townes are, Tlalcocauhtitlan, Tolymany, Quauhte-

coma, Ychcatlan, Tepoztitlan, Achnaçiçinco, Mitzinco, Cacatla.



THe Townes pictured and intituled in the second partition, are sixe, and they being of a hot Countrey, tributed as followeth.

First, 400. burthens of great Mantles. Item, Fortie great Belles of Copper. Item, Foure Copper Hatchets: both represented in the Picture, C Bels D Hatchets.

Item, One hundred Pots of Bees Honie: all the which they tributed every six moneths. Item, A peece of Armour with a Target of rich Feathers. Item, A little Panne full of small Turkess Stones: figured letter B. All the which they tributed once a yeare. [III. v. 1093.]

Turkey stones.

The Townes names are Quianhteopan, Olynalan, Quauhtecomatla, Qualac, Ychcatla, Xala.

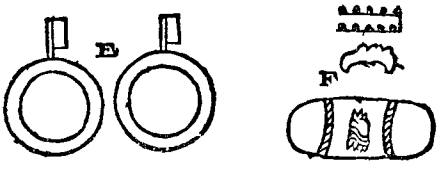
THe Townes pictured and intituled in the third partition, are six Townes of the hot Countrie; and they did tribute as followeth.

First, 400. burdens of great Mantels. Item, 100. Pots of Bees Honie, which they tributed every sixe moneths. Item, A peece of Armour with his Target garnished with rich Feathers, of the device and colour as it is pictured. Item, Fortie Plates of Gold, of the

Gold.

bignesse of a Cake, and a finger thicke, figured letter E. Each Cake with his vane intimating twenty. Item, *Turkey stones.* Tenne halfe faces of rich blew Turkey Stones.

Item, A great Trusse full of the said Turkey Stones; figured letter F. All the which they tributed once a yeare.

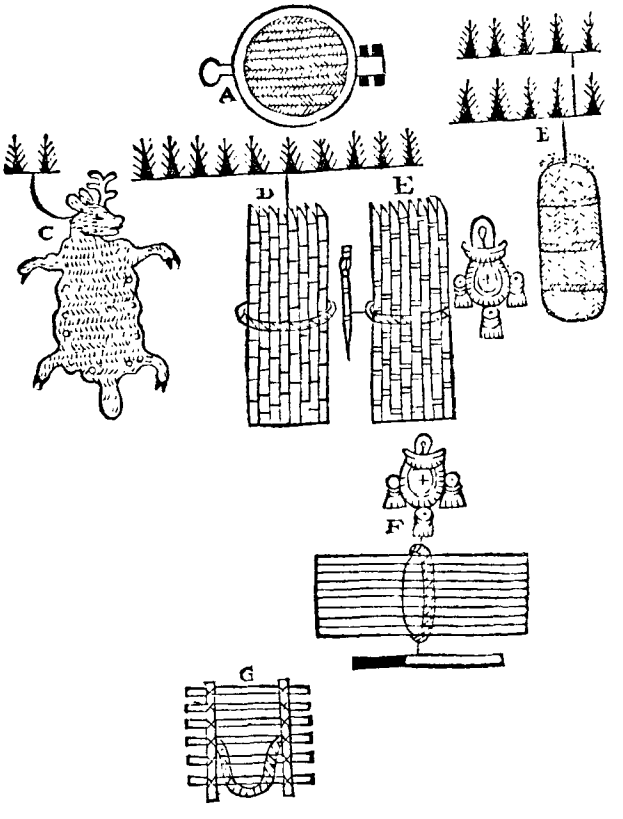


The sixe Townes are Yoaltepec, Xhnacaleo, Tzilacaapan, Patlanalan, Yxicayan, Ychcaatoyac.

THe number of the Townes following are six, and they paid tribute as followeth. First, 800. burdens of great Mantels, which they tributed every six moneths. Item, they tributed two peeces of Armour with their Targets, garnished with rich Feathers of the colours as they are pictured. Item, Eight great Troxes, of the bignesse of those before, full of Maiz, Frizoles, Chian, and Guautly. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood, of the said bignesse, full of Maiz, All the which they tributed once a yeare. The Townes are Chalco, Tecmilco, Tepuztlan, Xocoyoltepec, Malynaltepec, Quauxumulco.

THe number of the Townes of the hot Countries pictured in the next partition are two and twenty: and in every Towne there was placed Mexican calpixques, and the same order, rule, and government as in the other Townes and Provinces heretofore declared. And so is it to be understood was the state and government of all the other Townes hereafter named, though for brevities sake it is not rehearsed any more. And the things which these Townes did pay for tribute to the Lords of Mexico, are these following.

First, They tributed 4000. burdens of Lime. Item, 4000. burdens of Massie Cane Staves, which they called Otlatl. Item, 8000. burdens of Canes, whereof the Mexicans made Darts for the wars. Item, 800. Deere



A A Target and Club which they used for a Sword, garnished with Rasors points. B 4000. burthens of Lime. C 800. Deere skinnes. D 4000. burthens of Cane Staves. E 8000. burthens of Canes to make Darts. F 8000. burthens of Acayetl. G 200. Cacaxtles.

Skins. Item, 8000. burdens of Acayatl, which are Perfumes which the Indians use for the mouth. Item, 200. Cacaxtles, which are frames like to Pannels, where-

with the Indians carry burdens on their backes: all the which they tributed every foure dayes. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood of the measures and greatnesse of those before declared, full, two with Maiz and two with Frisoles, the which they tributed once a yeare.

The Townes names are Tepeacan, Quechulac, Tecamachalco, Acatzinco, Tecalco, Yccohinanco, Quauhtinchan, Chictlan, Quatlatlanhcan, Tepixic, Ytzucan, Quauhquechulan, Teonochtitlan, Huechuetlan, Tetenanco, Coat-Teopantlanzinco, Xpatlan, Nacochtlan, Chiltecpintlan, Oztotlapechco, Atczcahuacan.

[III. v. 1094.] THe number of the Townes of the warme and temperate Countries pictured and intituled in the next figures are eleven: and that which they did tribute followeth.

First, 400. burdens of quilted Mantels of rich worke. Item, 400. burdens of Mantels striped red and white. Item, 400. burdens of Mantels striped red and blacke.

Item, 400. burdens of Maxtlactl, which served the Indians for little cloathes, or girdles.

Item, 400. burdens of Guipiles, and Naguas. All the which they tributed to the Lords of Mexico every six moneths.

Item, They tributed two pieces of Armour, and as many Targets, garnished with rich Feathers, of the colours and devises as they are pictured; letter A.

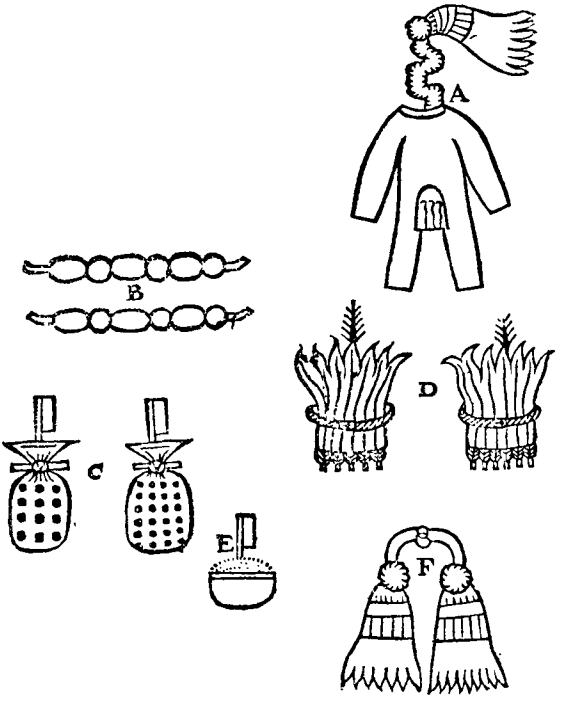
Item, Two strings of the Bead-stones of Chalchihnitl; rich Stones, greene: letter B. Item, 800. hands full of large and rich greene Feathers, which they call Quecaly, letter D. Item, A peece of Tlalpilony of rich Feathers, which served for a royall Banner, of the fashion pictured: letter F.

Item, Fortie sacks of Graine, which they call the Graine of Cochinilla: Letter C. Item, Twenty Xicaras of Gold in dust, of the finest: letter E. All the which they tributed once a yeare.

Cochinilla.
Gold.

[III. v. 1095.] The Townes names are Coayxtlahuacan, Texopan,

Tamaçoladan, Zancuitlan, Tepuzcululan, Nochiztlan, Xaltepec, Tamaçolan, Mictlan, Coaxomalo, Cuicatla.



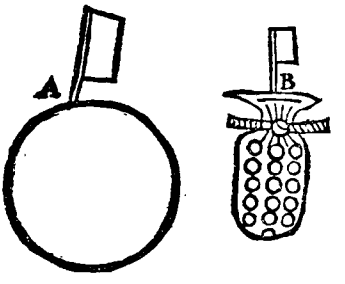
THe number of the Townes of warme and temperate Countries, pictured and entituled in the next division, are eleven Townes: And they tributed as followeth.

First, They did tribute 400. burthen of quilted Mantels of rich worke. Item, 800. burthens of great Mantels, the which they tributed to the Lords of Mexico every six moneths. Item They tributed foure great Troxes of wood, of the bignesse of those aforesaid, full, two of them with Maiz, another with Frisoles, and another with Chian. Item, Twenty plates of fine Gold, of the bignesse of a middle dish, and an inch thicke: letter A. Item, Twenty Sackes of Graine of Cochinilla: letter B. All

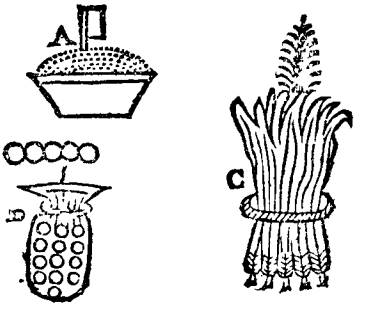
Gold.

Cochinilla.

the which they did tribute once a yeare. The Townes are Coyolan, Etlan, Quauxilotitlan, Guauxacac, Camotlan, Teocuitlatlan, Quautzontepec, Octlan, Teticpac, Tlalcuechahnayan, Macuilxochic.



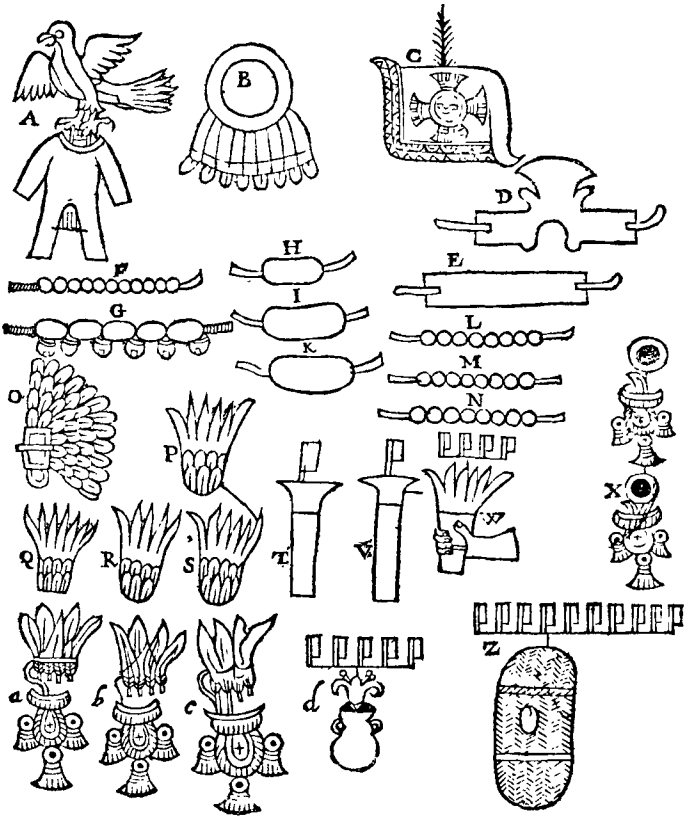
Warme Countries. TLachquiarico, Achiotlan, and Capotlan, are three Townes in the warme Countries. And the things which they did tribute to the Lords of Mexico, are those that follow. First, 4. burdens of great Mantels, which they did tribute every six moneths. Item, They tributed



a piece of Armor with a Target, garnished with rich Feathers of the colours pictured. Item, Twenty Xicaras *Gold.* full of fine Gold in Powder: letter A. Item, Five Sacks *Cochinilla.* of Graine of Cochinilla: letter D. Item, 400. hand fuls of rich greene Feathers, which they call Queçaly: letter C al the which they tributed once a yeare.

A.D. c. 1525. [III. v. 1096.]

THe number of the Townes of warme and temperate Countries, pictured and intituled in the next figure, are two and twentie. And the things which they did tribute to the Lords of Mexico, are these that follow.



First, they did tribute 1600. burthens of rich Mantels, apparell which the Lords and Casiques did weare. Item, 800. burthens of Mantels listed with red, white, and greene. Item, 400. burthens of Naguas and Huipiles: all the which they tributed every sixe moneths. Item, They tributed a piece of Armour with a Target garnished with rich feathers, with this device of a Bird and colours as are pictured letter A. Item, a Target of gold, letter B. *Target of gold.*

Item, a device for Armour like a wing of rich yellow feathers, letter O. Item, a Diadem of gold of the fashion as is pictured letter D. Item, a border of gold for the head of a hand breadth, and of thicknesse as parchment, letter E. Item, two strings of Beades, and a collar of gold F G. Item, three great rich stones of Chalchihnitl H I K. Item, three strings of round beades rich stones of Chalchihnitl L M N. Item, foure strings of beades of Chalchihnitl, rich stones. Item, twentie Beçotes of cleere Amber garnished with gold, letter T. Item, other twentie Beçotes of Beriles or cristall V. Item, 80. handfuls of greene rich feathers, which they call Queçaly W. Item, foure pieces of greene rich feathers like hands full, garnished with yellow rich feathers P Q R S. Item, 8000. hands full of rich Turquesed feathers a. Item, 8000. hands full of rich red feathers b. Item, 8000. hands full of rich greene feathers c. Item, 100. Pots or Cauters of fine liquid Amber d. Item, 200. burthens of Cacao, letter Z. Item, 1600. round lumps like balls of Oly, which is a gumme of trees, and casting the said balls on the ground, they doe leape up very high, letter X. all the which they tributed once a yeere. The Townes are Tochtepec, Xayaco, Otlahtlan, Coçamaloapan, Mixtlan, Michapan, Ayotzintepec, Michtlan, Teotilan, Oxitlan, Tzynacanoztoc, Tototeپec, Chinantlan, Ayoçintepec, Cuezcomatitlan, Puetlan, Teteutlan, Yxmatlatlan, Ayotlan, Toztlan, Tlacotalpan.

Emerald stones.

Amber.

Cristall.

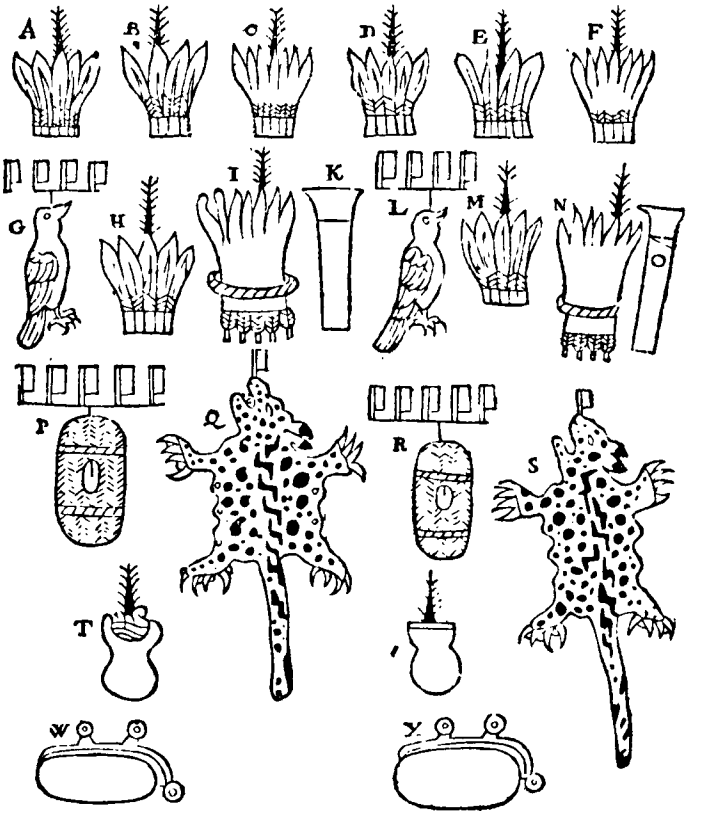
[III. v. 1097.] THe number of the Townes of the warme Countries, pictured and intituled in the next partition are eight. And the things which they tributed to the Lords of Mexico, are these that follow.

First, two great strings of Chalchihnitl rich stones. Item, 1400. handfuls of rich feathers blue, red, greene, turkesed, red and greene, as they are pictured in six handfuls, A B C D E F.

Item, Foure whole skinnes of birds of rich turkesed feathers, with murry breasts, of the colours as they are

pictured G. Item, other foure whole skinnes of the said birds L. Item, 800. handfuls of rich yellow feathers H M.

Item, 800. hands full of large rich greene feathers, which they call Queçaly I N. Item, Two Baçotes of cleere



Amber garnished with gold K O. Item, 200. burthens of Cacao P R.

Item, Fortie Tigres skinnes Q S. Item, 800. rich Tecomates wherein they drinke Cacao T V. Item, Two great pieces of cleere Amber of the bignesse of a bricke *Amber.* W X. Al which they tributed every sixe moneths.

The Townes names are Xoconochco, Oyotlan, Coyoa-

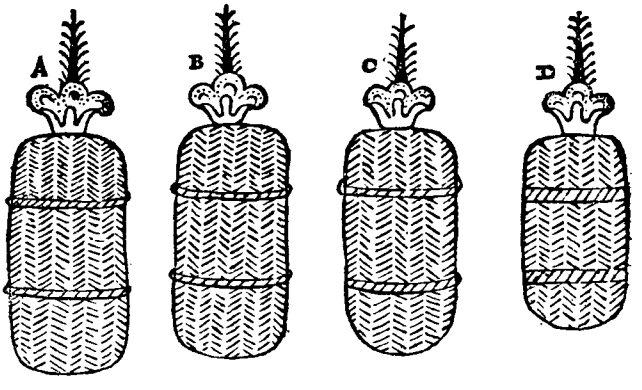
can, Mapachtepec, Macatlan, Huiztlan, Acapetlatlan, Huehuetlan.

THe number of the Townes of warme and temperate Countryes in the next picture, are seven. And the things that they tributed to the Lords of Mexico, are these that follow.

First, 400. burthens of great Mantels, which they tributed every sixe moneths. Item, Twentie burthens of Cacao.

[III. v. 1098.] *Cotton wooll.*

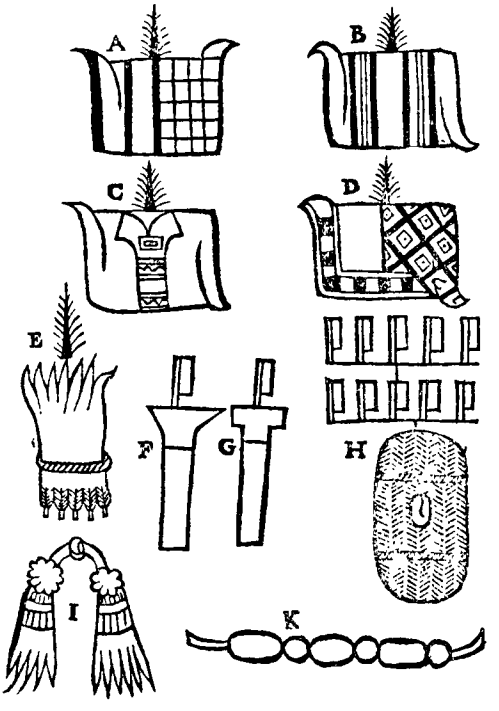
Item, 1600. Packs of Cotton wooll (represented A B C D. each marked foure hundred) all the which they tributed once a yeere. The Townes are Quanhtochco, Teuhçoltzapotlan, Tototlan, Tuchconco, Ahnilyzapan, Quauhtetelco, Ytzteyocan.



THe number of the towns of warme & temperate Countries are sixe, in the next figure. And the things which they tributed to the Lords of Mexico, are these that follow.

First, 400. burthens of Guipiles & Naguas, which is womens apparell A. Item, 400. burthens of Mantels, halfe quilted C. Item, 400. burthens of litle Mantels, with a white & black edge B. Item, 400. burthens of Mantels of foure Bracas every Mantell, halfe listed with black & white, and halfe after the fashion of net

work of blacke and white D. Item, 400. burthens of great white Mantels, of foure Bracas every Mantell. Item, 160. burthens of very rich Mantels wrought apparell for the Lords & Casiques. Item, 1002 burthens of Mantels lifted more with white then with blacke: all the which they tributed every sixe moneths. Item,

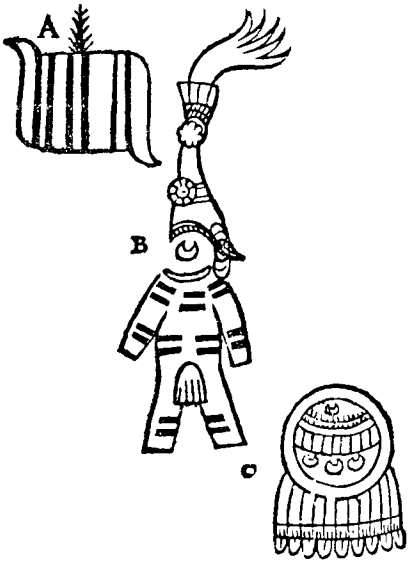


Two rich pieces of Armor with their targets garnished with rich feathers, according as they are pictured. Item, A string of Chilchihnitl rich stones K. Item, 400. handfull of rich large greene feathers, which they call Queçaly E. Item, Twentie Beçotes of Beriles or Cristall *Cristall.* shadowed blue, and set in gold F. Item, Twentie Beçotes of cleere Amber garnished with gold G. Item, 200. *Amber.* burthens of Cacao H. Item, Quezalclalpiloni of rich greene feathers of Quezaly, which served to the Lords

of Mexico for a Royall Ensigne, of the making as it is pictured I. All the which they tributed once a yeere.

[III. v. 1099.] The Townes are Cuetlaxtlan, Mictlanquauhtla, Tlapanicytlan, Oxichan, Acozpan, Teoziocan.

THe number of the Townes, contayned, pictured, and intituled in the next division, are seven Townes. And the things which they tributed to the Lords of Mexico, are these that follow.



First, 400. burthens of Mantels listed blacke and white A. Item, 800. burthens of great white Mantels, the which they tributed every sixe moneths.

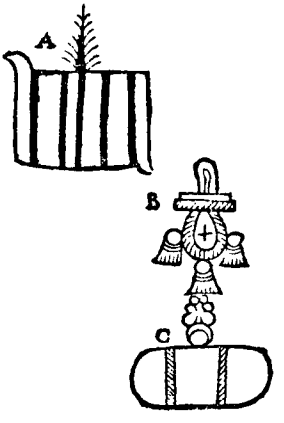
Item, They tributed once a yeere two pieces of Armour with their Targets, garnished with rich feathers of the device and sorts as they are pictured. B Armour. C Shield.

The Townes are Tlapacoyan, Xoloxochitlan, Xochiquauhtitlan, Tuchtlan, Coapan, Aztaapan, Acaçacatla.

A.D. c. 1525.

THe number of the Townes pictured next are eleven. And the things which they tributed to the Lords of Mexico, are these that follow.

First, 1600. burthens of Mantels listed blacke and white A. Item, 8000. loaves or lumps of liquid Amber for perfumes, which they call Xochiococotl (B is 8000.



C the lump of Amber) all which they tributed every sixe moneths.

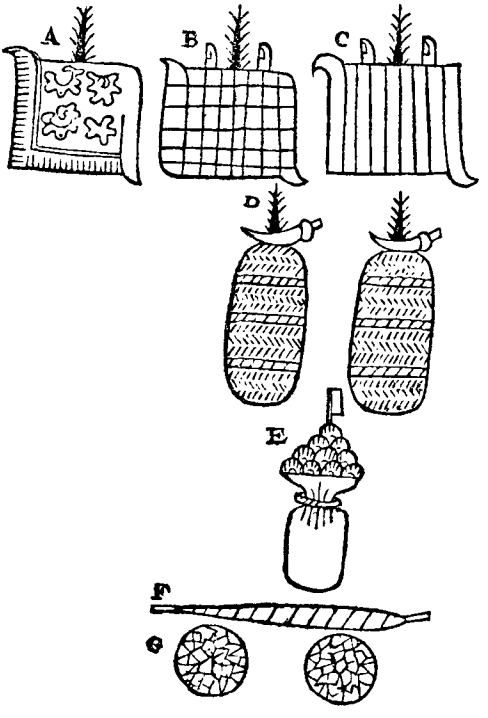
Item, They tributed two pieces of Armour with their Shields, garnished with rich feathers, of the fashion as they are pictured, which they tributed once a yeere.

The Townes are Tlatlauhquitepec, Atenco, Tezuitlan, Ayutuchco, Yayauquitlalpa, Xonoctla, Teotlalpan, Ytztepec, Yxcoyamec, Yaonahuac, Caltepec.

THe number of the Townes pictured and entituled in the next side are seven Townes. And the things which they tributed to the Lords of Mexico, are these which follow. [III. v. 1100.]

First, 400. burdens of Mantels like nets of black and white, B. Item, 400. burdens of rich Mantels wrought red and white, Lords apparell A. Item, 400. burdens of Maxtlactle, which served for small cloathes. Item, 400. burdens of great white Mantels of foure

bracas a peece. Item, 800. burdens of Mantels of eight bracas a peece, listed orange tawnie and white. Item, 400. burdens of great white Mantels, of eight bracas a Mantell. Item, 400. burdens of Mantels listed, with greene, yellow, and red, letter C. Item, 400. burdens of Naguas &



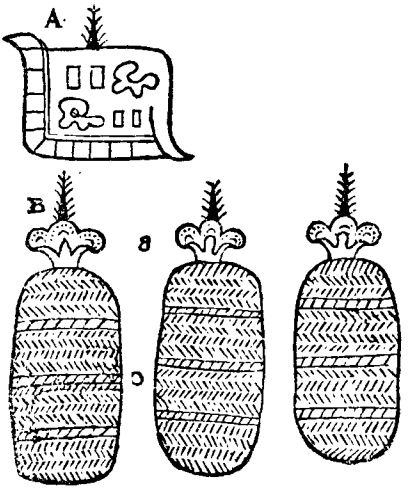
Guipiles. Item, 240. burdens of rich Mantels wrought with red, white & blacke; very curious, wherewith the Lords and Casiques were cloathed, all the which apparell they tributed every six moneths. Item, they tributed two pieces of Armour, with their Targets, garnished with rich Feathers of the fashion as they are pictured.

Pepper. Item, 800. burdens of dry Axi, or West Indian Pepper. D. Item, 20. sackes of small white Feathers wherewith they trimmed Mantels. E. Item, Two strings of Chal-

chihmitl rich Stones. Item, One string of Beades of rich Turkey Stones. F. Item, Two pieces like Platters decked or garnished with rich Turkey stones. G. All the which they tributed once a yeare. *Precious stones.*

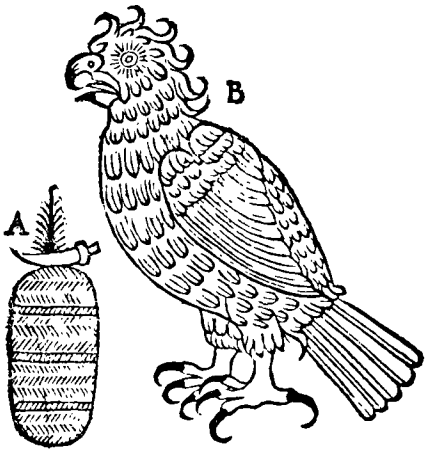
The towns names are Tuchpa, Tlatiçapau, Cichnanteopan, Papantla, Oçelotepec, Miachnaapan, Mictlan.

ATlan and Teçapotitlan take up next division, which they did tribute to the Lords of Mexico. First, 800. burdens of rich Mantels wrought red and white,



with an edge of green, red, yellow, and blew. A. Item, 400. burdens of Maztlactl. Item, 400. burdens of Maxtlactl. Item, 400. burdens of great white Mantels, of foure bracas a Mantell: all of which they tributed every six moneths. Item, They tributed once a yeare 1200. packes of Cotten Woll. lett. B.

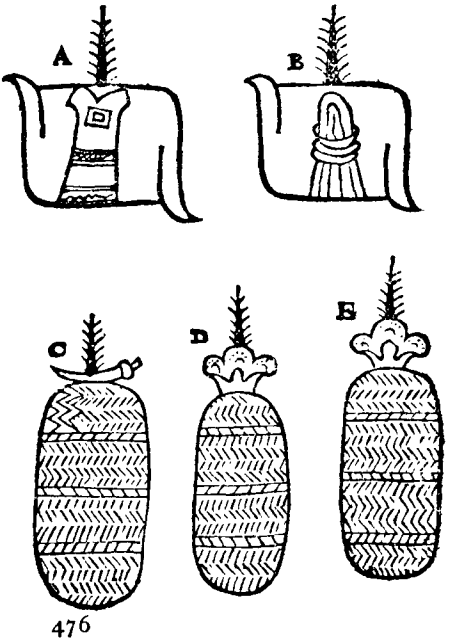
THe Towne of Oxitipan, did tribute to the Lords of Mexico. First, 2000. burdens of great Mantels of two bracas a Mantell. Item, 800. burdens of great Mantels, listed with yellow, blew, red, and greene, of [III. v. 1101.]



Pepper.

foure bracas a Mantell. All the which apparel they tributed every six months. Item, They tributed 400. burdens of Axi, which is their Pepper A. Item, A live Eagle, and sometimes two or three, as they could catch them. B. All the which they tributed once a yeare.

CTzicoac, Molanco, Cozcatecutlan, Yehoatlan and Xocogocan, paid these tributes to the Lords of Mexico. First, 400. burdens of white Mantels with their edge of red, blew, greene and yellow. Item, 400. burdens of Maxtlactle, which are lesser cloathes B. Item, 800. burdens of great white Mantels of three bracas every Mantell. Item, 400. burdens of Naguas and Huipiles, which is womans apparell, A. All the which they tributed every six moneths. Item, they tributed two pieces of Armour with their Shields decked with rich Feathers of the fashion that they are pictured. Item, 800. packs of Cotten, D E.



All the which they tributed once a yeare. Item, 400 burdens of Axi dried C.

§. III.

[III. v. 1102.]

The third part of this Booke containeth the private behaviour in Mariages, education of Children, and Trades; with the Martiall, Ecclesiastike, and Civill policie of the Mexican people.

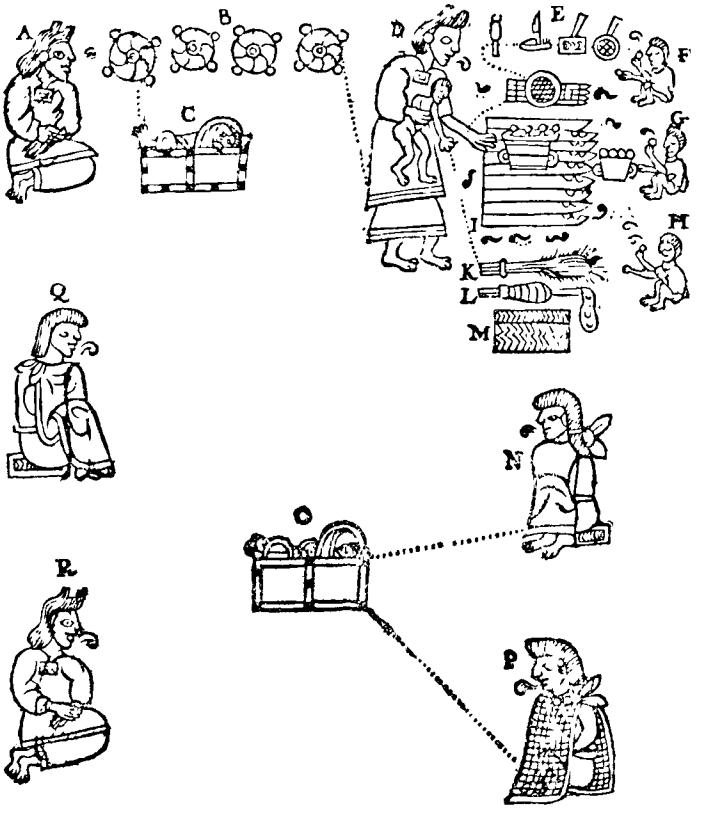
A Relation of the manner and custome that the naturall Mexicans had when either a Boy or Girle was borne unto them. The use and ceremonies in giving names to their children, and afterwards to dedicate and offer them either to the Church, or else to the warres, according as by the pictures is signified, and briefly declared.

The Woman being delivered, they laid the childe in a Cradle, according as is pictured, & foure dayes after the birth of the childe the Midwife tooke it in her armes naked, & brought it forth to the yard of the childe wives house; and in the yard were prepared Bulrushes or Sedges, which they call Tule, and they set upon them a little pan of water, wherein the said Midwife washed the said childe: after it is washed, three Boyes, which are set by the said Bulrushes, eating tosted Maiz, mingled with sodden Frisoles, which they called Yxicue foode, the which foode made ready, was set in a little pan before the said Boyes, that they might eate it. And after the said bathing or washing, the said Midwife advertised the said Boyes, that they should with a loud voice give a new name unto the childe that she had so washed, and the name that they gave it was that which the Midwife would impose.

A kinde of Baptisme with the naming of their children. [III. v. 1103.]

When the childe was brought forth to wash, if it be a man childe they bring him forth with his signe in his hand, and the signe is the Instrument wherewith

his Father did exercise himselfe, as well in the Military art, as other arts, as of a Goldsmith, a Graver, or any other office whatsoever : And after they had done all the aforesaid, the Midwife brings the childe to his Mother.



A The woman that is delivered. B These foure Roses signifie foure dayes wherein the Midwife brought forth the childe that was lately borne to wash. C The cradle with the childe. D The Midwife. E The signes, instruments, and the bond (Shield and Darts). F G H the three Boies which name the childe. I The Bulrushes with the pan of water. K The Broome. L The Spindell and the Distaffe. M The Basket. N The high Priest. O The childe in his cradle which his Parents offer in the Temple. P The Master or Teacher of boyes and yong men. Q The childes Father. R The childes Mother.

And if it be a woman-childe, the signe wherewith they bring her to wash, is a Distaffe, a Spindel, a Basket, and a handfull of Broome; which are the things wherewith she should exercise herselfe, being of age thereto.

And the bond of the Manchilde with a Shield and Darts for a signe which he brings with him when they bring him for to wash; they offer it to that part and place where are likely to happen warres with his enemies, where they burie it under ground. And so likewise of the Woman-childe, her bond they buried under the Metate, which is a stone to grinde Cakes upon.

Presentation in the Temple.

And after the aforesaid, at the end of twenty dayes, the childes Parents went with the childe to the Temple or Mixquita, which they called Calmecac, and in the presence of the Priests they presented the childe with his offering of Mantels, and Mastelles and some meate: And after the childe being brought up by his Parents, and being of age, they committed the childe to the high Priest of the said Temple, because there he might be taught that hereafter he might be a Priest.

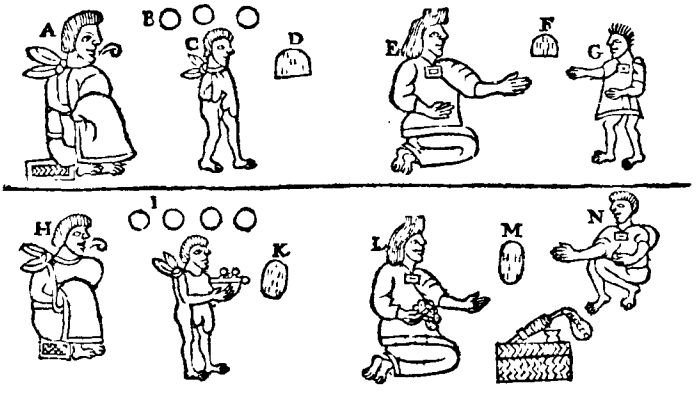
And if the childes Parents were determined that he (being of age) should serve in warlike affaires, then straight way they offered him to the Master thereof, making him a promise of him (the Master of Boyes and yong men they called Teachcauch or Telpachtlato) which offering was made with his present of meate and other things for the celebrating thereof. And the childe being of age, they committed him to the said Master.

THe declaration of the pictures contained in the devision following, wherein is declared at what age, and in what manner the naturall Parents did give counsell to their children, how they ought to live, as successively is pictured in foure partitions, and so the foure partitions of this side are declared in order which are these that follow.

1 The first partition, wherein is declared how that the

Parents corrected their children, in giving them good counsell when they were three years of age; and the portion of meate that they gave them every meale was halfe a cake of bread.

2 The second partition wherein is pictured in what things the Parents did instruct their children when they were of the age of foure yeares, and how they began to exercise them to serve in small things. And the portion of meate which they gave them at a meale, was a whole Cake.



A The Boy his Father. B Three yeares of age. C The Boy. D Halfe a Cake. E The Girle her Mother. F Halfe a Cake. G A Girle of three yeares of age. H The Father of the Boy. I A Boy of foure yeares of age. K A Cake. L The Mother of the Girle. M A Cake. N A Girle of foure yeare of age. *A Spindell with a locke of cotten wooll lying on a Mat.

[III. v. 1104.] 3 The third partition, wherein is shewed that the Parents did exercise their children in bodily labour at five yeares of age, in loding their Sonnes with Wood and other things in small burdens, of small weight, and to carry packes of small weight to the Tyangues, or Market place. And they exercised their Daughters of that age, in shewing them how they should handle the Spindell and Distaffe for to spin. And their allowance of meate was a whole Cake of Bread.

4 The fourth partition, wherein is pictured how the

Parents instructed their children of six yeares old, and exercised and occupied them in bodily service, that they might profit their Parents in some thing, as in the Tyangues, which are Market-places that they might gather from the ground, the cornes of Maiz and Frisoles that were spilt there by him, and other small things that the buyers and others had left and spilt there. And this was the Boies worke. But the Girles were put to spinne

O The Father of the Boyes. P Two Boyes of five yeares of age. Q A Cake. R A Cake. S The Mother of the Girle holding the Spindle and Rocke. T A Cake. V A Girle of five yeares old. W The Father of the two Boyes. Two Boyes of six yeares old. X A Cake and a halfe. Y The mother of the Girle. Z A Cake and a halfe. A Girle of six yeares old spinning Cotten wooll.

and to doe other profitable services, because in time to come, by meanes of the said services and occupations, they should not spend their time idelly, and should avoide evill vices that are wont to grow through idlenesse. And the allowance of meate that they gave to their children was a Cake and a halfe of Bread.

A Declaration of the figure following, wherein is shewed, at what age and in what things the naturall people of Mexico did instruct their children, and in what manner

they corrected them, that they should avoide all idlenesse, and alwayes should be exercised in some profitable things, as successively is pictured in foure partitions.

1 The first partition, wherein is pictured how the Parents use their children of seven yeares old that is the men children they applyed them in giving them their fishing Nets. And the Mothers did exercise their Daughters in spinning and in giving them good counsell that they should alwayes apply and occupie their time in doing some thing for to avoide idlenesse. And the allow-

A The Father of the Boyes. B These seven spots of blew signifie seven yeares. C F A Cake and a halfe. D A Boy of seven yeares old, whose Father sheweth him how he should fish with the net he hath in his hand. E The mother of the children. G A Girle of seven yeares old, whose mother is teaching her to spinne.

ance of meate that they gave to their children at every meale was a Cake and a halfe of Bread.

[III. v. 1105.] 2 The second partition: Wherein is pictured, how the Parents did chasten their children of the age of eight yeeres, in laying before them with terrors and feares the thornes of Maguez, that in being negligent and disobedient to their Parents they should bee chastned with the said thornes, and so for very feare they wept, as by the pictures of this partition is signified. And their allowance for a meale, which they gave them by measure, was a Cake and a halfe.

3 The third partition: Wherein is pictured, how the parents punished their children of nine yeeres of age, because they were disobedient and rebellious to

their fathers, they did chastise them with the said thornes of Maguez, binding them naked hand and foot, they thrust the said thornes into their body and shoulders.

H The father of the children contayned in this row. I These eight spots signifie eight yeeres. K N a cake and a halfe. L a Boy of eight yeeres old, whose father is threatning him that he be not unhappy, because he will chastise him in thrusting thornes of Maguez into his body. M The mother of the children contayned in this row. L O Thornes of Maguez. P a Girle of eight yeeres old, whom her mother threatneth her with thornes of Maguez, that shee bee not unhappy. Q The father of the children contayned in this side. R W a Cake and a halfe. S These nine spots signifie nine yeeres. T a Boy of nine yeeres old, because he is incorrectible, his father thrusteth thornes of Maguez into his body. V The mother of the children contayned in this row. X a Girle of nine yeeres old, that for her negligence and idlenesse, her mother did chastise her in pricking her hands with thornes of Maguez. Y These ten spots signifie ten yeeres. X The father of the children contayned in this row. Z B a cake and a halfe. A The mother of the children contayned in this row. & a Boy of ten yeeres old, whom his father is chastising with a cudgell staffe. C a Girle of ten yeeres, whom her mother is chastising in beating her with a cudgell staffe.

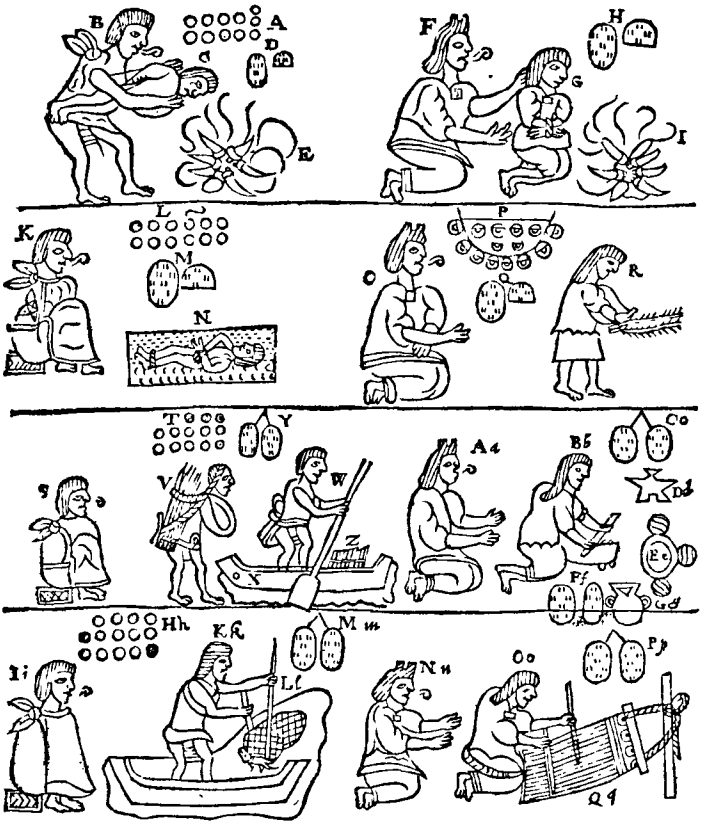
And they pricked onely the wrists and hands of the Girles with the said thornes, as in the said partition is pictured. And their allowance every meale was a Cake and a halfe of bread.

4 The fourth partition: Wherein is pictured, how the Parents chastised their children of ten yeeres of age, that is, being rebellious they did chastise them in beating them with a cudgell, and threatning them otherwise as in the fourth partition is pictured. And the allowance which they had given them at a meale, was a Cake and a halfe.

1 A Declaration of the first partition of the picture following. The Boy or Girle of eleven yeeres old, which would not bee reformed with wordes nor stripes, their parents did chastise, giving them into the Nose the smoke of Axi, which was a grievous and cruell torment, to the intent they should be reformed and not be vicious persons and vagabonds, but should employ and spend their time in profitable things. And to the children of that age they gave bread, which are cakes, by measure, only a cake & a halfe at a meale, because they should not be gluttons.

[III. v. 1106.] 2 In the second partition; The Boy or Girle of the age of twelve yeeres, which would not receive quietly counsell nor correction at their Fathers hands; the Father tooke that Boy and tyed him hand and foot naked, and stretched him on the ground in a dirtie wet place, where he lay so a whole day, because he should be chastised and feared thereby. And the Girle of that age, her Mother made her serve, so that in the night before it were day shee should sweepe all the house and the street, and that alwayes shee might be occupied in bodily service. And so likewise their Parents gave them meat by measure a Cake and a halfe every meale.

3 In the third partition, the Boy or Girle of thirteene yeeres old, their Fathers employed in bringing wood



A These eleven spots of blue signifie eleven yeeres. B The father of the children. C a Boy of eleven yeeres old, whose father is chastising him, smoking him at the Nose with Axi dried. D a Cake and a halfe. E a fume or smoke of Axi or Pepper, which the Cutter hath not so well expressed. F The mother of the children. G a Girle of eleven yeeres old, whose mother is chastising her smoking her at the Nose with Axi. H a Cake and a halfe. I a perfume of Axi. K The father of the children. L twelve yeeres. M a Cake and a halfe. N a Boy of twelve yeeres old, tyed hand and foot and laid a whole day on the wet and moist ground. O The mother of the children. P This picture signifieth the night. Q a Cake and a halfe. R a Girle of twelve yeeres old that is sweeping in the night time. S The father of the children. T Thirteene yeeres. V a Boy of thirteene yeeres old laden with Sedges. W a Boy of thirteene yeeres which carrieth Sedges in his Canoa. X a Canoa with burdens of Z Canes or Tule. Y Two Cakes. Aa The mother of the children. Bb a Girle of thirteene yeeres, which is grinding and making of Cakes, and dressing meat. Cc Two Cakes. Dd a Porenger. Ee Comaly. Ff Two Cakes. Gg a pot of boyled meat. Hh Fourteene yeeres. Ii The father of the children. Kk Ll a Boy of fourteene yeeres which goeth a fishing with his Canoa. Mm Two Cakes. Nn The mother. Oo a Girle of fourteene yeeres weaving. Pp Two Cakes. Qq The cloth that shee weaveth.

from the Mountaine, and with a Canoa-boat to bring boughs and other herbs for the service of the house. And the Girles should grinde and make Cakes and other meates for their Parents. And they gave their children meat by measure, two Cakes every meale.

4 In the fourth partition; The Boy or Girle of fourteene yeeres old, their Parents did imploy in fishing in Lakes and Rivers with his Canoa. And the Girle was set to weave yarne of whatsoever sort for apparell. And they gave them to eate two Cakes by measure.

[III. v. 1107.]

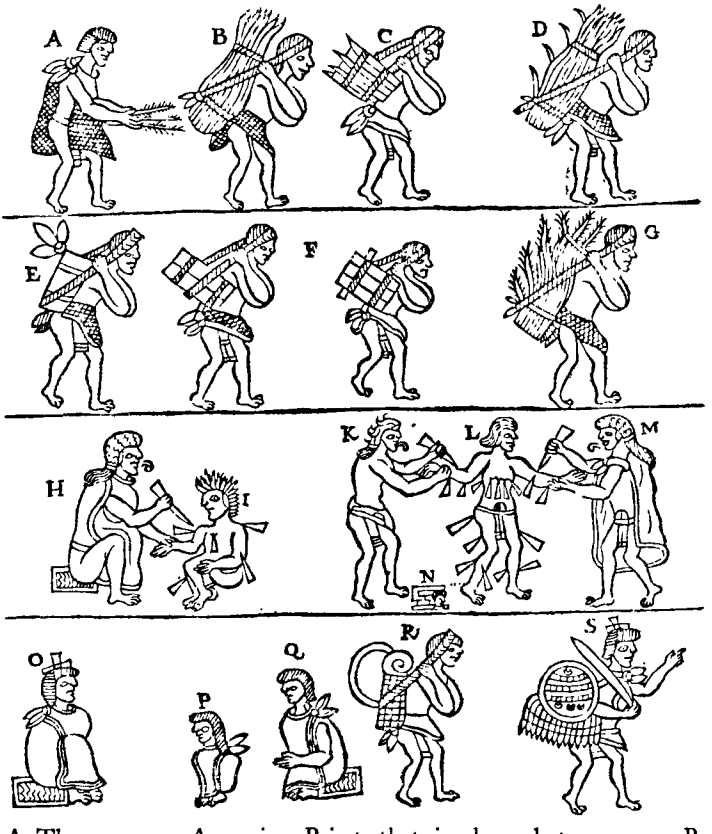
1 THat which is pictured in the first partition, doth signifie that the Father having two sonnes young men, of yeeres able to serve, brought them to the two houses that are pictured, either to the Masters house that did teach and instruct yong men, or else to the Temple, according as the youths were inclined, and so committed them either to the high Priests, or else to the Master of Boyes to the end they might be taught; the youths being fifteene yeeres of age.

2 In the second partition is pictured, the manner and law they had and kept in their Marriages that they made lawfully. The celebration thereof was, that an Amantesa (which is a Broker) carried the Bride on her backe at the beginning of the night, and there went with them foure women with Torches of Pine-tree rosined burning, wherewith they lighted her. And being come to the Bridegroomes house, the Parents of the Bridegroome came out to the Court of the house to receive her, and they carried her into a Hall or some place where the Bridegroome tarried for her. And the betrothed folkes were set on a Mat with their seates neere a pan of fire, and they tyed the one to the other with a corner of their apparell, and made a perfume of Copale to their gods, and two old men and two old women were present as witnesses. Then the married folke dined, and afterwards the old folkes.

A The father of the two youths. B a youth of fifteene yeeres old committed to an high Alfaqui or Priest. C Tlamacazqui, which is an high Priest. D a Temple or Mezquita, which they called Calmecac. E a youth of fifteene yeeres, whose father putteth him to a Master to be taught. F Tacheauh, a Master. G a house where youths are taught and brought up in. H Fifteene yeeres. I An old man. K The harth. Copale. L The woman. M The man. N An old woman. *The perfume. O The Mat. P The meat. Q The meat. R An old man. S A Cauter or pot of pulque. T The Cup. V An old woman. W The Bride. X These goe lighting the Bride, whom they goe to leave at the Bridegroomes house in the beginning of the night. Y Amanteza which carrieth the Bride on her backe. Z These goe lighting of the Bride at the beginning of the night. 1 a torch of Pinetree. 2 a torch. 3 torches of Pinetree. 4 torches of Pinetree.

And when dinner was done, the old men and women separated the married folke by themselves, giving them good counsell how they should behave themselves and live, and how they should maintayne the charge and calling they had taken upon them, that they might live with quietnesse.

[III. v. 1108.] 1 WHen they entred to bee Priests, the elder Priests occupied them straightway in bodily services for their Temples, that afterwards they might



A Tlamacazque, A novice Priest that is charged to sweep. B A novice Priest that commeth from the wood laden with boughes for to dresse the Temple. C A novice Priest laden with thornes of Maguez, for to draw bloud with all to offer sacrifice to the devill. D A novice

bee skilfull when they were chiefe Priests, that after the same order as they had served, they might bring up the other Novices that should be after them. These Priests are all painted in ash-colour: Other men in an olive or tawny.

2 In the second partition is declared wherein the young men were occupied and did serve, that thenceforth when they were of yeeres, they might bee skilfull to take charge and command other youths like themselves, that they should not goe idle nor become vagabonds, but that they should alwayes apply themselves to things of vertue.

3 In the third partition is declared likewise the correction and chastising, that the chiefe Priests did to the Novice-Priests, which were forgetfull and negligent in their services, and for other faults as they committed, chastising them according, as is shewed by the pictures.

4 In the fourth partition, is declared how the Captaines and warlike men exercised the young men which were of age thereto in warlike affaires, according as their fathers did recommend them.

Priest which is laden with green canes for the Temple for to make Seates and Toe. E A youth which is laden with a great log to keepe fire in the Temple. F Youthes which are laden with logs of wood for to keepe fire in the Temple. G A youth laden with boughes for to dresse the Temple. H This chiefe Priest is punishing the novice Priest because he was negligent in his office. I The novice Priest. K The chiefe Priest. L The novice Priest. M Another elder Priest. They are punishing this novice Priest, pricking him with thornes of Magues throughout his body, because he was a rebell and disobedient and negligent in that he was commanded to doe. N This house signifieth that if the novice Priest went to his house to sleepe three dayes they punished, as is above pictured and declared. O Tequigna, which is a valiant Warriour. P The Youth. Q The father of the youth that offereth his sonne to the valiant Warriour, to exercise him in warlike affaires, and to carrie him to the warres. R The youth who is publike servant to the valiant man that goeth to the warre with him, carrying his baggage on his backe with his owne Armour. S Tequina, a valiant man that goeth armed to the warres.

PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

HEre is declared how the chiefe Priests did exercise and occupie them selves in the night time, whereof some occupied themselves in going to the Mountaynes, to offer sacrifice to their Gods, others in Musicke,

A chiefe Priest which goeth in the night with his fire burning, to a Mountaine to doe penance. And hee carrieth in his hand a purse of Capaly, which is Perfume to offer Sacrifice to the Devill. And at his backe Poyson in a vessell for the same Sacrifice, and he carrieth his boughes to beset the place of Sacrifice. And hath after him a novice Priest, which carrieth other things for the Sacrifice. B A novice Priest. C A chiefe Priest, which is playing on the Teponaztly, which is an Instrument of Musicke, and he exerciseth himselfe thereon in the night. D This Picture with eyes doth

and others were observers of time by the Starres of the Element, and others in other things of their Temples.

2 In the second partition is declared the punishment they did use to the young men, according as the Pictures doe represent. The which was executed according to the Lawes and Statutes of the Lords of Mexico.

4 The punishment that the Beadles Telpuchtlatos did use to the vicious young men, which went about like Vagabonds according to their Lawes, and the rest pictured and declared in the same partition.

1 THe chiefe Priests did exercise warlike affaires, & according as they proved in valiant acts, and as the number of the Captives were that they tooke, so the Lords of Mexico gave them titles of honour, and Blasons of Armes with devices of their valiantnesse, as is shewed by the Pictures, and by the Armor they have on. In [III. v. 1111.]

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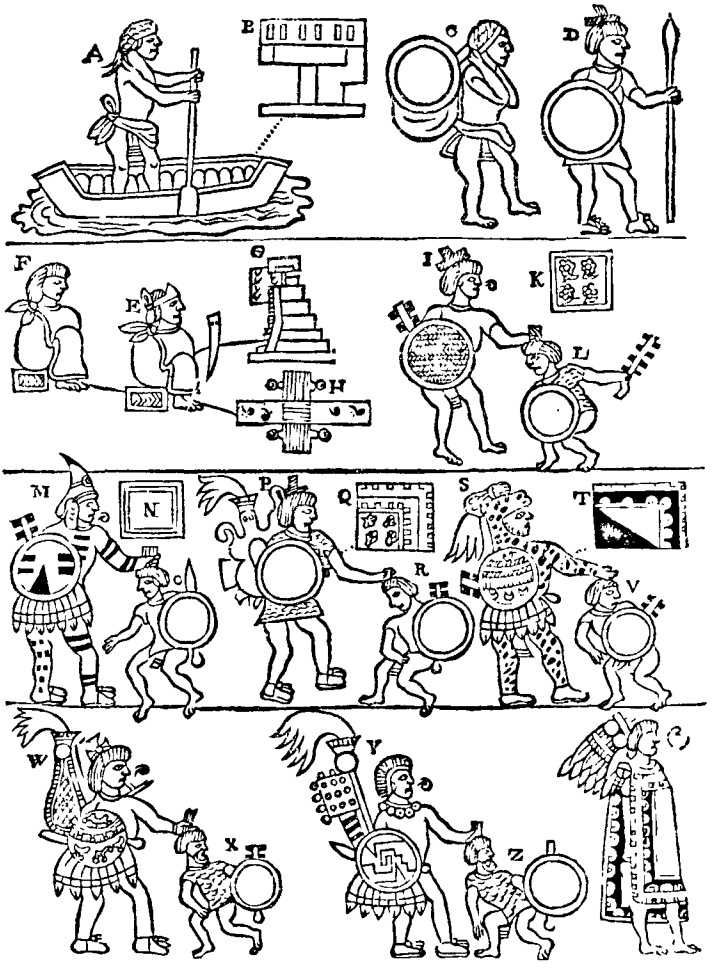
signifie the night. E This Picture with eyes doth signifie the night. F A chiefe Priest which is looking on the starres of the Element by night, to see what houre it is in the night, which is his charge and office. G A young man that goeth to warre, laden with stuffe and instruments of Armour. H Telpuchtlato. I The youth. K The woman. L Telpuchtlato. The two Telpuchtlato, do signifie Beadles to rule youths, that when any youth did fall in love with any woman, they chastised the young man, throwing burning fire brands at him, and parted their love. M A chiefe Priest whose office is to sweepe the Temples, or command them to be swept. N A chiefe Priest. O The novice Priest. P The woman. Q A chiefe Priest. The declaration of the pictures of these two chiefe Priests is that if the novice Priest was negligent or had accesse to any woman, or fell in love, the chiefe Priests did chastise him, thrusting thornes of Pine tree made like pricks in all his body. R Telpuchtlato, a Beadle. S The young man. T Teachcauh, the Beadle. By these Pictures is declared that if a young man went about like a Vagabond, the two Beadles did correct him in powling and sindging his head with fire. V A young man that is occupied in carrying stones with his Canoa to repaire the Temple. X The Temple.



This Picture expresseth the Priests employments. A A novice Priest occupied in carrying of stones in his Canoa, for the reparation of the Temple. B The Temple called Ayauhcaly. C A novice Priest that goeth to the warre with a chiefe Priest carrying his package. D A chiefe Priest that goeth to warre, for to enforce and boulden the Warriours, and to doe other Ceremonies in the Warres.

Their Armes, which signes of Armes were made of more authoritie from degree to degree, according as the worthinesse of the man of warre was knowne, and the number of the Captives that they tooke.

the third partition are the titles of honour, which they obtayned by the exercise of war, whereby they came to a higher degree, the Lord of Mexico making them Captains and Generals of the Souldiers. And those of the one side served for Messingers and Executioners of that which the Lords of Mexico determined and commanded, aswel in things touching the Commonwealth of Mexico, as also in other townes of their dominions.

As is shewed sufficiently in the Pictures with their signes and Armes, and fashions of attire, and the degrees whereby they came to be valiant men in Warres. The first degree.

E Tecutlyas, Constable and Justice of the Lords of Mexico. F An Officer that followeth the Tecutly, as his Sergeant. G A Temple called Sihnateocaly. H The high way or street with a bridge of wood. I A young man, who if hee tooke any Prisoner in the Warres, they gave him for reward a Mantle of the fashion, of this quadrant with his followers, in a token of his valiantnesse. K The above said Teetli, in these Pictures signifie, that he is occupied in repayring the streets and bridges that goe to the Temple. L A Captive. M This valiant man all in red, because hee tooke two enemies, they rewarded him with the fashion of Armour he hath on, and more (N) the square Mantle of Orange-tawnie with a red twist, in token of his valiantnesse. O A Captive. P This valiant Champion with a reward of the device he hath on, and this (Q) Mantle of rich worke, for a token that he tooke three enemies in the Warres. R A Prisoner. S The valiant Champion with the device hee hath on, and the square Mantle. T Of two colours (blacke and Orange-tawnie) with a list, in token that hee had taken foure enemies in the Wars. V A Captive. W This valiant man with the device of Armour that he hath and his second name Etonti, for his valiantnesse, and because he tooke five or sixe enemies in the Wars, the which valiant man is hee that is above contayned, who had his beginning of one enemy he tooke in the Wars, and so from degree to degree, he hath come to this degree. X A Captive. Y This valiant man called Quagchil, with the device of Armour that he hath on, shewing that hee had taken five at the Wars of Guexo, besides that in other Wars he tooke many of his enemies. Z A Captive. & And this valiant man named Tlacatecatl, with the fashion of the apparell he hath on, and his tassell and device of rich feathers, do shew that he had done all the valiant acts afore pictured and declared, and is knowne to have more title of valiantnesse of person then are pictured.

A A Priest that captived one enemie in the warres. B The same Priest aforesaid, because he tooke two enemies in the warres, he is rewarded with the device of Armour he hath on. C The aforesaid Priest, because through his valiantnesse he tooke three enemies, he is rewarded with the device of Armour he hath on. P P P Captives. D The same Priest abovesaid, because he tooke foure enemies in the warre, for a token of his valiantnesse, he is rewarded with the device of Armour he hath on, blacke and white. E The same Priest because he tooke five of his enemies in warres, for a token of his valiantnesse, he is rewarded with the device of Armour he hath on, all red. F The same

THe Casique (that is, a Lord of a Towne) because hee rebelled against the Lordship of Mexico by the Executioners afore contayned, had a rope cast about his necke wherewith for his rebellion, he was condemned by the Lords of Mexico to die, and his wife and children to be taken and brought prisoners to the Court of Mexico. And for the accomplishing of the condemnation the officers are executing the penalties wherein he was condemned, as is signified by the pictures. [III. v. 1112.]

2 He together with his servants and towne are condemned to be destroyed. And so the Executioners, by the commandement of the Lords of Mexico, are giving him to understand of the said condemnation, in token whereof they marke him with the signes that they set on his head, and the Target that they present him with, because he should not be ignorant of his destruction. And the pictures of men with mortall wounds, doe signifie that they were Merchants and Occupiers of Mexico, which came with things to the Countrie and Towne of the said Casique; and the servants of the Casique assaulted them on the high-way, killing them and taking away the merchandise they carried, which was the occasion of the destruction of the Towne.

3 In the third partition: The foure Officers or Ambassadors of the Lords of Mexico, doe signifie that they have warned the said Casique contayned in the second partition before this, as is abovesaid, at the returning of the Executioners towards Mexico, there came out

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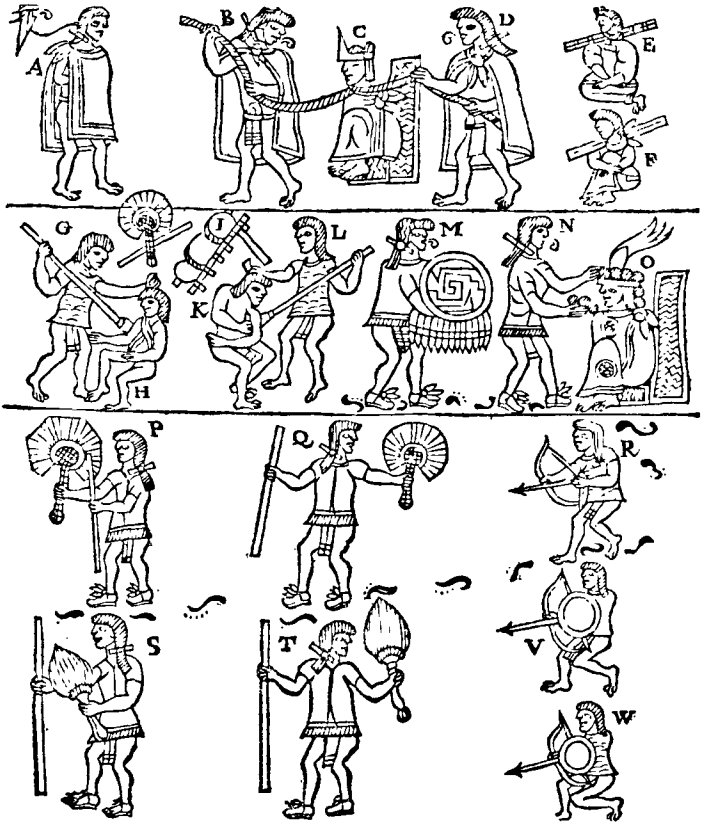
Priest for that he tooke sixe enemies in the warres, for a token of his force and valour, the Lord of Mexico rewarded him with the device of Armour he hath on. His person yellow, feathers greene, target red, greene, yellow. G Quauhnochtli, an Officer which put Mandats in execution. H Tlilancalqui, another kind. I Atenpanecatl, a third sort. K Ezguagacatl, a fourth sort. These foure in this rowe did serve for Messingers and Executioners of that which the Lords of Mexico determined and did command. L Tlacochcalcatl. M Tezcacoacatl. N Tycocyahuacatl. O Tequiltecatl. These foure on this rowe are valiant men in warre, and Captaines of the Armies of the Mexicans and persons which executed the charge of Generals over the Mexicans Armies.

to the high-way certaine servants of the said Casique to misse-use them, shooting arrowes at them in token of war.



A Huiznahuatlan, officer and executioner as a Sergeant. B Executioner. C Casique. D Executioner. E The wife of the Casique imprisoned, with a yoke of Iron about her necke. F The sonne of the Casique taken prisoner with a yoke of Iron. G The servant of the Casique. H The merchant. I a bundell of merchandise. K The merchant. L The servant of the Casique. M Executioner. N Executioner. O Casique. P An Executioner or Ambassador of the Lord of Mexico. Q An Executioner or Ambassador of the Lord of Mexico. R a servant of the Casique. S An Executioner or Ambassador of the Lord of Mexico. T An Executioner or Ambassador of the Lord of Mexico. V a servant of the Casique. W a servant of the Casique which shooteth at the Ambassadors of the Lords of Mexico, for more occasion of warre.

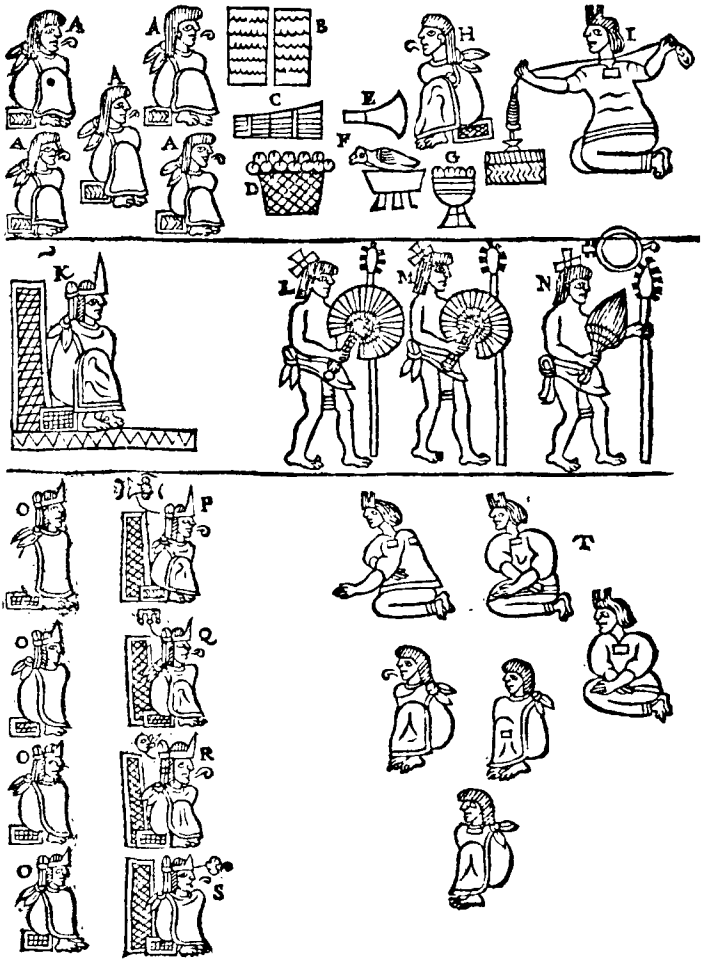
1 THe Tequichna signifieth Spies, sent to the Towne of the Casique by the Lord of Mexico, that in the night time they might goe and walke it secretly unknowne to their enemies, to advertise and give warning unto the Souldiers, where they should enter with the battaile. And so the Tequichna goe round about the Towne, Houses, Market place, and Church, at the time that they of the Towne are asleepe and at rest, for to finde a place where they may give the onset with the lesse trouble and resistance. [III. v. 1113.]

2 A declaration of the pictures in the second partition. The Mexican that is pictured and at his shoulders a Target and Darts, doth signifie the Mexicans being mooved to destroy a certaine Towne by warres, because they had rebelled against the Lordship of Mexico. And the other three that are pictured and set over against the Mexicans are servants of the Casique, which doc signifie that the whole Towne of the Casique being afraid of the warres and destruction that the Mexicans would bring upon them, they come to Mexico to entreat a peace, submitting themselves for servants of Mexico, and protesting to acknowledge the Lordship, by meanes whereof they receive them in friendship and for their servants, laying aside that which was determined by their counsell.

The foure valiant men pictured and intituled, with their Speares in their hands, and made readie for the warres, and the devices of Armour that they have on, doe signifie that they are Captaines of the Mexicans armies.

1 HE that is set and at his backe a woman spinning, signifieth that it is his wife new married, and because he had taken the state of matrimonie upon him, having been a Messenger with the rest that are pictured before him, which are five, named Tetpuchtly, which are Messengers likewise. The married man giveth them a reason why hee leaveth the charge of a Messenger by reason of his marriage, and that hee will rest and leave [III. v. 1114.]

A Tequihna. B Tequihna. C Tianguas, a Marquet place. D Tequihna. E E houses. F Tequihna. G a Temple. H Tequihna. I Tequihna. K Tequihna. L Tequihna. * This partition (al blue) is the towne of the Casique aforecontayned. M N O these three are servants of the Casique. P Mexicans. Q a Target and Darts. R Captaine Tlacatecatl. S Captaine Tlacochcalcatl. T Captaine Huitznahuatl. V Captaine Ticocyahuacatl.



AAAAA The Telpuchtly or yong men which are officers or messengers. B Two mantels. C a handful of perfumes. D Tamales or bread. E a copper hatchet. F a boyled hen. G Xicara with Cacao to drinke. H Telpuchtly maried. I The wife of the maried Telpuchtly. K The Lord of Mexico. L Tequihna. N Tequihna. OOO Tectly. P Tectly Mixcoatlaylotlac a Justice like an Alcalde. Q Ezguagacatl Alcalde. R Acatlyacapanecatl Alcalde. S Tequixquinahuacatl Alcalde. T These sixe pictures three of men and three of women, are pleaders and suitors which aske Justice of the Alcaldes.

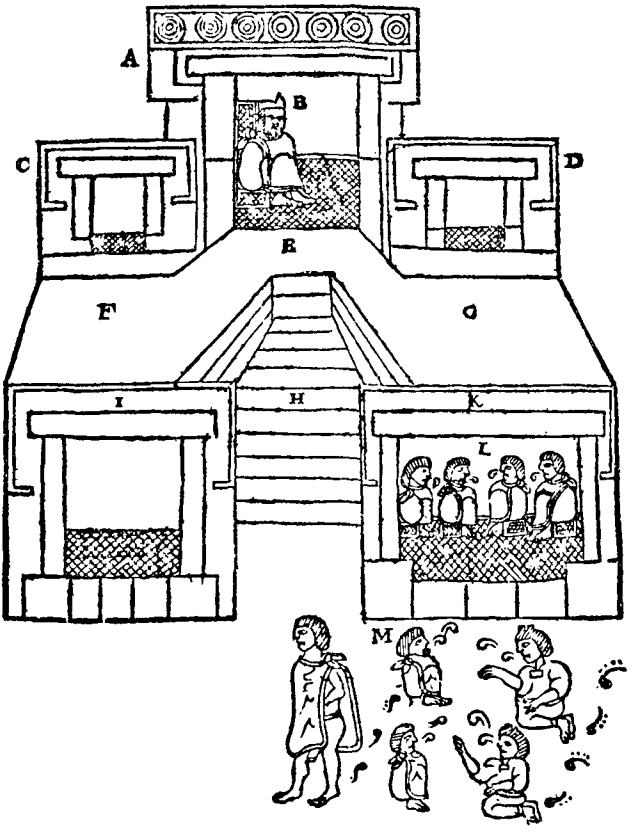
off his service past. And to please them more, and that they should grant his request, hee maketh them a banquet in giving them well to eate and drinke, and moreover the present that hee giveth them is a handfull of perfumes, a copper Hatchet and two Mantels, as by the pictures of these things are intituled. And by this solemnitie the married man is free from the said Office.

2 In the second partition: Hee that is set downe and intituled, doth signifie the Lord of Mexico, that when any Messenger Telpuchtly pictured in the partition before this had given a good account of his office, and having taken upon them the state of marriage, the Lords of Mexico from that they were but Messengers, did promote them to a better title and degree, in so much that he made them Tequihna, which is signified by the pictures and titles of Tequihna, with their Speares and Fannes, giving them authoritie to bee his Ambassadors and Officers in the warres, which they held for an office of great honour.

3 The Alcaldes doe signifie Justices, appointed by the Lords of Mexico, that they should heare matters aswell Civill as Criminall. And the pictures of men and women which are before them, are Pleaders and Suitors which doe aske justice. And the foure pictures that are intituled Teeli, that are behinde the Alcaldes, are principall young men that joyne with the Alcaldes in their audience, to learne and instruct themselves in matters of judgement, and afterwards to succeede in the Offices of the Alcaldes. From these Alcaldes there was an appellation before the counsell Chamber of Moteçuma, as hereafter is pictured.

[III. v. 1115.] THe fashion of the Counsell Chambers of the Lord or King of Mexico, and of his Royall Houses and Courts, and the steps where they entred in, and the Throne and Seate of Moteçuma, and in the spaces of every thing is declared and intituled what they signifie, and so in this declaration it is not repeated. But that in one Counsell Chamber, when that by way of offence

they were agrieved, and having a just cause not being sentenced and determined by the Alcaldes, then by



A The Throne and Majestie of Moteçuma where he sate on Court-dayes, and on judgement. B Moteçuma. C a house where the Lords of Tenaynca, Chienauhtla, and Colhuacan, were lodged that were friends and confederates of Moteçuma. D a house where the chiefe Lords of Tezcucoytacuba were lodged that were Moteçuma his friends. E F G The Court of the royall houses of Moteçuma. H K These lines that goe upward are the steps to the Courts of the royall houses of Moteçuma. I The counsell chamber of warre. K The counsell chamber of Moteçuma. L These foure are as Auditors of the counsell of Moteçuma, wise men. M Pleaders and Sutors that in the degree and appellation from the Alcaldes, doe present themselves and appeare before the Auditors of the counsell of Moteçuma.

degrees of appellation they appealed from the Alcaldes before the Counsell. And if it were a matter of importance they appealed from the Counsell Chamber before Moteçuma the King himselfe, where the matter was concluded.

In the Chamber, that is intituled, The Counsell Chamber of warre, were provided Captaines and Armies for the warres, as was appointed by Moteçuma.

THe father and the sonne that sit against each other face to face, signifie that the father giveth his sonne good counsell, that he be not vicious, laying before him for example, that those which come to vertue come afterwards in credit with the Lords and Casiques; in that they give them honest offices, and doe use them to be their Messengers, and they doe admit Musicians and Singers unto their feasts and weddings for the credit they beare. [III. v. 1116.]

2 The pictured in the house, where they meane to talke and provide for publike affaires, and the Steward that sitteth therein, doth signifie that there are before him weeping, because it hath happened unto them to be occupied in bodily labour, that the Coas and Guacales doe represent. And the Steward is giving them good counsell, and exhorting them to flee idlenesse, is the cause that they come to be Theeves and players at the Ball, and players at Patol, after the manner of Dice, from which Games doe spring theft for to satisfie and fulfill such vices.

3 The Carpenter, Lapidarie, Painter, Gold-smith, and garnisher of feathers, signifie that those Artificers teach their sonnes their occupation from their childhood, that when they are men they might follow their Trade, and spend their time in things of vertue, giving them counsell that of idlenesse commeth evill vices, and so evill tongues, tale-bearing, drunkennesse, and theeverie, and many other evill vices.

A a Messenger. B C D The father counselleth his sonne to apply himselfe to all vertue. E One having a ghest, entertayneth a Musician. F G I a house where they meet for publike affaires. H The Petlacalcatl. K M Coa and Guacal. L N Youthes. O a vagabond. P a player at the ball. Q a Thiefe. R a player at Patol or Dice after their manner. S a Carpenter. T The Carpenters sonne. V a Lapidarie. W The Lapidaries sonne. X a Painter. Y The Painters sonne. Z a Gold-smith. & The Gold-smiths sonne. A a An ill tongued man and tale-bearer. B b An artificer that garnisheth with feathers. C c The artificers sonne. D d a drunkard. E e a drunkard and thiefe, the last worke like a halter seemes to signifie the evill ends which such come to. The particular punishments follow in the next picture.

A These two Pictures signifie that the young men that were drunke with Wine, dyed for that according to the Law. B A young man that was drunke. C A young woman if shee were drunke with Wine was killed heere according to the Lawes of Mexico. D A Thiefe, they stoned him to death according to the Lawes of the Lords of Mexico. E These two Pictures layed and covered with clothes, doe shew that if any man had carnall dealing with a married woman, they stoned them both to death, according to the Lawes of the Lords of Mexico. F An old man of threescore and tenne yeeres, hath licence to drinke Wine and to bee drunke aswell publikely as secretly because he is so old, and hath Sonnes and Nephewes, at which yeeres Wine and drunkennesse was not forbidden them. G An old woman, wife to the old man above pictured, had priviledge to bee drunke as well as her Husband, because shee had children, and childrens children, and to all those of the like age, drunkennesse was not forbidden them.

Chap. VIII. [III. v. 1118.]

Conquest of Mexico and New Spaine by Hernando Cortes.

HErnando[a] Cortes was borne at Medellin in Andulozia, a Province of Spaine, Anno 1485. When he was nineteene yeeres old, he sayled to the Iland of Saint Domingo, where Ovando the Governour kindly entertayned him. He went to the conquest of Cuba in the yeere 1511. as Clerke to the Treasurer, under the conduct of James Velasques, who gave unto him the Indians of Manicorao, where hee was the first that brought up Kine, Sheepe and Mares, and had heards and flockes of them: and with his Indians he gathered great quantitie of Gold, so that in short time he was able to put in two thousand Castlins for his stocke, with Andres de Duero, a Merchant. At this time Christopher Morante had sent (Anno 1517.) Francis Hernandes de Cordova, who first discovered Xucatan, whence he brought nothing (except the relation of the Country) but stripes: whereupon James Velasques in the yeere 1518. sent his Kinsman John de Grijalva, with two hundred Spaniards[b] in foure ships: he traded in the River of Tavasco, and for trifles returned much Gold, and curious workes of feathers, Idols of Gold, a whole harnesse or furniture for an armed man of Gold thin beaten, Eagles, Lions, and other pourtratures found in Gold, &c. But while Grijalva deferred his returne, Velasques agreed with Cortes to bee his partner in the Discovery, which he gladly accepted, and procured licence from the Governours in Domingo, and prepared for the Voyage.

Velasques afterward used all meanes to breake off, in so much that Cortes was forced to engage all his owne stocke, and credit, with his friends in the Expedition, and with five hundred and fiftie Spaniards in eleven ships,

[a] *Gomara his third part of the Conquest of the West Indies, translated into English by T. Nicolas.*

[b] *Of this voyage. Reade P. Martyrs fourth Decade: and Gomara part 1. & of all which followes in this Chapter. P. Mart. Dec. 5. Gom. ubi supra. and Cortes his owne large narration to the Emperour, ap. Ramus. Vol. 3.*

set saile the tenth of February 1519. and arrived at the Iland of Acusamil. The Inhabitants at first fled, but by the kind entertainment of some that were taken, they returned, and received him and his with all kind offices.

They told him of certayne bearded men in Yucatan, whither Cortes sent; and one of them, Geronimo de Aguilar came unto him, who told him, that by shipwracke at Jamaica, their Carvell being lost, twentie of them wandred in the Boat without sayle, water or bread, thirteene or fourteene dayes, in which space the violence of the current had cast them on shoare in a Province called Maija, where, as they travelled, seven dyed with famine; and their Captaine Valdinia and other foure were sacrificed to the Idols by the Cacike, or Lord of the Countrey, and eaten in a solemne Banquet, and he with sixe other were put into a Coope or Cage, to bee fatned for another Sacrifice. But breaking Prison, they escaped to another Cacike, enemy to the former, where all the rest dyed, but himselfe, and Gonzalo Guerrer a Mariner. Hee had transformed himselfe into the Indian cut, boring his nose full of holes, his eares jagged, his face and hands painted; married a Wife, and became a Captaine of name amongst the Indians, and would not returne with this Aguilar.

Cortes with this new Interpreter passed up the River Tavasco, called of the former Discoverer, Grijalva; where the Towne that stood thereon, refusing to victuall him, was taken and sacked. The Indians herewith inraged, assembled an Armie of fortie thousand, but Cortes by his Horse and Ordnance prevayled; the Indians thinking the Horse and Rider had beene but one creature, whose gaping and swiftnesse was terrible unto them, whereupon they submitted themselves. When they heard the Horses ney, they had thought the Horses could speake, and demanded what they said: the Spaniards answered, These Horses are sore offended with you, for fighting with them, and would have you corrected: the

Indian simplicitie.

simple Indians presented Roses and Hens to the beasts, desiring them to eate, and to pardon them.

Cortes purposed to discover further Westward, because hee heard that there were Mines of Gold, having first received their Vassallage to the King his Master, to whom (he said) the Monarchie of the Universall did appertayne. These were the first Vassals the Emperour had in New Spaine. They named the towne, where these things were done, Victorie, before called Potonchan, contayning neere five and twentie thousand houses, which are great, made of Lime, and Stone, and Bricke, and some of mud-wals and rafters, covered with straw; their dwelling is in the upper part of the house, for the moystnesse of the soyle. They did eate mans flesh sacrificed.

Potonchon called Victory.

The Spaniards sayled Westward, and came to Saint John de Ulhua, where Teudilli the Governour of the Countrey, came to him with foure thousand Indians. Hee did his reverence to the Captayne, burning Frankincense (after their custome) and little strawes, touched in the bloud of his owne bodie: and then presented unto him victuals and Jewels of Gold, and other curious workes of feathers; which Cortes requited with a Collar of Glasse, and other things of small value. A woman-slave, given him at Potonchan, understood their language, and shee with Aguilar, were his Interpreters. Cortes professed himselfe the servant of a great Emperour, which had sent him thither, whose power he so highly extolled, that Teudilli marvelled, thinking there had beene no such Prince in the World, as his Master and Soveraigne, the King of Mexico, whose Vassall he was, named, Mutezuma. To him he sent the representations of these bearded men, and their Horses, Apparell, Weapons, Ordnance, and other Rarities, painted in Cotton-clothes, their ships and numbers. These painted Cottons he sent by Posts, which delivered them from one to another with such celeritie, that in a day and night the message came to Mexico, which was two hundred and ten miles distant. Cortes had demanded, whether Mutezuma had Gold?

[III. v. 1119.]

Teudilli affirmed, and Cortes replyed, That he and his fellowes had a disease of the heart, whereunto Gold was the best remedie.

Spanish incurable sicknesse.

Mutezuma sent him many Cotton-clothes of divers colours, many tuffes of Feathers, two Wheeles, the one of Silver, with the signe of the Moone, and the other of Gold, made like the Sunne; which they hold for Gods, and give unto them the colours of the Metals most like them. Each Wheele was two yards and a halfe broad. These with other parts of the Present were esteemed worth twentie thousand Duckets. Mutezuma also professed joy, to heare of so great a Prince, & so strange people, & promised provision of all necessaries, but was very unwilling that Cortes should come to see him, as he pretended. Yet Cortes persisted in that his desire of seeing Mutezuma, that he might further acquaint himselfe with the knowledge of those parts.

The silly Indians having never seene such strange sights, came daily to the Campe to see them and when they heard the Ordnance discharged, they fell downe flat, thinking the Heavens had falne: the ships they thought were the God of the Ayre, called Quezalcouolt, which came with the Temples on his backe, for they daily looked for him. Amongst the rest, or rather aloofe off from the rest, were certayne Indians of differing habit, higher then the other, and had the gristles of their Noses slit, hanging over their mouthes, and Rings of Jet and Amber hanging thereat: their neather lips also bored, and in the holes, Rings of Gold and Turkesse-stones, which weighed so much, that their lips hung over their chinnes, leaving their teeth bare. This uglinesse they accounted gallantry, and such uncouth deformitie to be the only bravery. And thou Gallant, that readest and deridest this madnesse of Fashion, if thine eyes were not dazeled with lightnesse (light I cannot call it) of selfe-reflected Vanitie, mightest see as Monster-like fashions at home, and a more fashionly Monster of thy selfe; thy clothes and oathes, thy gestures and vestures, make thy

Note for fashion-mongers.

naked Deformitie worse then their thus deformed nakednesse: both in deed seeme to have received some hellish Character (if there may bee bodily representation) of that olde Serpent in these new fashions, striving who shall shape himselfe, neerest to that misse-shapen uglinesse, wherein the Indian jagges himselfe out of humane lineaments, the other swaggers himselfe further out of all Civill and Christian ornaments. But these Fashion-mongers have made mee almost out of my fashion, and to forget my selfe, in remembring their forgetfulnesse.

These Indians of this New-cut, Cortes caused to come to him, and learned that they were of Zempoallan, a Citie distant thence a dayes journey, whom their Lord had sent to see what Gods were come in those Teucallis, that is Temples (so, it seemeth, they called the ships:) which held no conversation with the other Indians, as being not subject to Mutezuma, but onely as they were holden in by force. He gave them certaine toyes, and was glad to heare that the Indians of Zempoallan, and other their Neighbours were not well affected to Mutezuma, but readie, as farre as they durst, to entertayne all occasions of warre with him. Hee sayled from thence to Panuco, and passed the River farther, till he came to a little Towne, where was a Temple, with a little Towre, and a Chappell on the top ascended by twenty steps, in which they found some Idols, many bloudy Papers, and much mans bloud, of those which had beene sacrificed, the blocke also whereon they cut open those Sacrifices, and the Razors made of flint, wherewith they opened their brests, which strucke the Spaniards with some horrour and feare. They passed a little further, and there having taken possession, in the Emperours name, of the whole Countrey, they founded the Towne De la vera Crux, Cortes resigning his authoritie, and Officers being elected; and lastly, all with generall consent appointing Cortes their Captaine.

Zempoallan.

Panuco.

Vera Crux.

Cortes went forward to Zempoallan, where hee was solemnely received and lodged in a great house of lime and stone, whited with playster, that shined in the Sunne, as

if it had beene Silver; so did the Silver-conceits of the Spaniards imagine, the desire of that Metall having made such an impression in their imagination, that they told Cortes before hee came at it, they had seene a house with wals of Silver. Here, and at Chiauiztlan, Cortes incited them to rebell against Mutezuma, and to become servants to the Spaniards, which they did: and he under-hand so wrought, that Mutezuma tooke him for his friend.

All his intent was to fish in troubled waters, and to set them both by the eares, that hee might watch oportunitie to benefit himselfe. His owne people rebelled, some of whom he chastised with the halter and the whip for example to the rest: and after caused all his ships to bee sunke closely, that they should not minde any returne. He left 150. men for the guard of the new Towne, under Pedro de Henrico, and with 400. Spaniards, fifteene Horses, and sixe Peeces of Artillery, and 1300 Indians, they went from Zempoallan, and came to Zaclotan, the Lord whereof was Olintler the subject of Mutezuma, who to testifie his joy, and to honour Cortes, commanded fifty men to be sacrificed, whose bloud they saw, new and fresh.

[III. v. 1120.] They carried the Spaniards on their shoulders, sitting on Beeres, such as whereon they use to carry dead men. He bragged as much of the power of Mutezuma, as their Spaniards of their Emperour. He said he had thirty Vassals, each of which was able to bring into the field an hundred thousand men of Warre, and sacrificed 20000. men yearely to the gods: in this he somewhat exceeded; the other was true, although some yeares, the Sacrifices also were thought to amount to 50000. This Towne was great, and had thirteene Temples, in each of which were many Idols of stone, of divers fashions, before whom they sacrificed Men, Doves, Quailes, & other things with great perfumes and veneration. Here Mutezuma had 5000. Souldiers in Garrison. Cortes passed from thence to Mexico by the Frontiers of Tlaxcallon, which were enemies to Mutezuma, whom he might easily have

Bloudy Sacrifices.

overcome, but reserved, partly for the exercise of his Subjects to the Warre, partly for the Sacrifices to his gods.

These joyned an hundred and fifty thousand men against Cortes, taking him for Mutezuma's friend: and yet every day sent him Guinney-cockes and Bread, partly to espie his strength, and partly in a bravery, lest their glory should be obscured in the conquest of men already starved. But when in many skirmishes and fights they could not prevaile against that handfull of Spaniards, they thought they were preserved from harme by incantments: and sent him three presents with this message; That if he were that rigorous god which eateth mans flesh, he should eate those five slaves which they brought him, and they would bring him more: if he were the meeke and gentle god, behold Frankinsence, and Feathers: if he were a mortall man, take here Fowle, Bread, and Cherries. At last they made peace with him, and submitted their City to him. Their City Tlaxcallan was great, planted by a Rivers side, which issued into the South-Sea. It had foure Streetes, each of which had their Captaine in the time of Warre. The government was an Aristocraty, hating Monarchy no lesse then tyranny. It had eight and twenty Villages, and in them an hundred and fifty thousand Housholds, very poore, but good warriors. They had one Market-place so spacious, that thirty thousand persons in a day came thither to buy and sell by exchange: for money they had none.

Tlaxcallan a great Citie.

Mutezuma had sent before to Cortes, and promised tribute to the Emperour, whatsoever should be imposed; onely he would not have him come to Mexico. And now he sent againe, that he should not trust that new friendship with the beggerly Nation of Tlaxcallan; and they againe counselled him not to adventure himselfe to Mutezuma. Cortes held his determination for Mexico, and being accompanied with many of the Tlaxcantlexas, he went to Cholollа, a little from whence Mutezuma had prepared an Army to intrap him in the way; but he find-

Cholollа.

ing the trechery, it redounded upon the Cholollois, the same day they had thought to have executed the same upon him. For this end they had sacrificed ten children, five males, and as many females, three yeares old, to Quezalcovatl their god, which was their custome when they began their Wars. He out-going them in their owne art of subtilty, intrapped their Captains in Counsell, and sent his Army to spoile the City, where were slaine thousands. There were twenty Gentlemen, and many Priests which ascended up to the high towre of their Temple, which had an hundred and twenty steps, where they were burned, together with their gods and Sanctuary.

This Citie had twenty thousand Housholds within the Wals, and as many in the Suburbs. It shewed outward very faire and full of Towres, for there were as many Temples as dayes in the yeare, and every one had his Towre. The Spaniards counted foure hundred Towers. It was the Citie of most devotion in all India, whither they travelled from many places farre distant in Pilgrimage. Their Cathedrall Temple was the best and highest in all New-Spaine, with an hundred and twenty steps up to it. Their chiefe god was Quezalcovatl, god of the Ayre, who was (they say) founder of their Citie being a Virgin, of holy life and great penance. He instituted fasting, and drawing of bloud out of their eares and tongues, and left precepts of Sacrifices. Hee never ware but one garment of Cotten, white, narrow, and long, and upon that a Mantle, beset with certaine red crosses. They have certaine greene stones which were his, and are kept for great relikes: one of them is like an Apes head. Eight leagues from Cholollа is the hill Popocatepec, or smoake-hill, which the Earth seemeth to have erected as a Fort to encounter and assault the Ayre: now with smoky mists endevouring to choake his purer breath, another while with violent flames, and naturall fire-workes threatning to joyne league with his elder and superiour brother to disinherit him: sometimes with showers of ashes and embers, as

Store of Temples and devotions.

Popocatepec a burning Hill.

it were, putting out the eyes, and sometimes with terrible and dreadfull thunders, rending the eares of that Airy Element; alwayes (such is the event of warre) hurting and wasting it selfe, to indamage the enemy. The Indians thought it a place of Purgatory, whereby tyrannicall and wicked Officers were punished after their death, and after that purgation passed into glory. The Spaniards adventured to see it, but two onely held on their journey, and had there beene consumed, had they not by a Rocke bin shadowed from the violent eruption of the fire which then hapned. It chanced that the Earth, weary it seemeth of the warre, as having spent her store and munition, agreed on a truce which continued ten yeares: but in the yeare 1540. it brake forth into more violent hostility then before, quaking and renting it selfe with unbridled passion: and whereas the Ayre had alwaies a snowie Garrison about her high tops and frontiers, to coole and quench her fiery showers, yet these did but kindle [III. v. a greater flame, the ashes whereof came to Huexozinco, 1121.] Quelaxcopon, Tepiacac, Chololla and Tlazcallan, and other places, ten, or as some say, fifteene leagues distant, and burned their hearbs in their Gardens, their fields of Corne, Trees and cloathes that they laid a drying. The Vulcan, Crater, or mouth whence the fire issued, is about halfe a league in compasse. The Indians kissed their garments (an honour done unto their gods) which had adventured themselves to this dreadfull spectacle.

Mutezumas religion.

Cortes drawing neere to Mexico, Mutezuma feared, saying, These are the people which our gods said should come and inherit this Land. He went to his Oratory, and there shut up himselfe alone, abiding eight daies in praier and fasting, with sacrifice of many men, to aslake the fury of his offended deities. The Devill bids him not to feare, and that he should continue those bloudy Rites, assuring him that he should have the gods Vitziliputzli and Tescaelipuca to preserve him, saying, That Quezalcovatl permitted the destruction at Chololla, for want of that bloudy sacrifice. Cortes passed

a Hill six miles in height, where, by the difficulty of the passage, and of the cold (being alway covered with Snow) the Mexicans might easily have prevented his passing further. Hence he espied the Lake, whereon Mexico and many other great Townes did stand, Ixtacpallapan a Towne of 10000 housholds, Coyocan of six thousand, Vizilopuchtli of five thousand. These Towns are adorned with many Temples and Towres, that beautifie the Lake. From Iztacpalapan to Mexico is two Leagues, all on a faire causey, with many draw-bridges, thorow which the water passeth.

Mutezuma received Cortes with all solemnity on the eighth of November 1519. into this great Citie, excusing himselfe of former unkindnesses the best he could. Of his house, and Majestie, and the divine conceit the people had of him, we shall speake after more fully, as also of the Temples, Priests, Sacrifices and other remarkeable things of Mexico.

Mutezuma provided all things necessary for the Spaniards and Indians that attended them: even beds of flowers were made, in place of litter for their Horses. But Cortes disquieted with those thoughts which commonly attend Ambition (discontent in the present, hopes and feares of the future) used the matter so, that he tooke Mutezuma prisoner, and detained him in the place appointed for the Spaniards lodging, with a Spanish Guard about him, permitting him otherwise to deale in all private or publike affaires, as before. Hereupon Cacama, Lord of Texcuco, Nephew to Mutezuma, rebelled, but by treachery of his owne people was presented prisoner to Mutezuma. He, after this summoned a Parliament, where hee made an Oration unto his Subjects, saying, [a]That He and his Predecessours were not Naturals of the Countrey, but his Fore-fathers came from a farre Country; and their King returned againe, and said, he would send such as should rule them. And he hath now sent these Spaniards, saith he. Hereupon he counselled them to yeelde themselves Vassals to the Emperour, which they

[a] *The like speech he had made at first to Cortes, who easily wrought on that advantage, applying this Tradition to the Spaniards, Cortes Narrat.*

did at his command, though with many teares on his part and theirs, at this farewell of their liberty. Mutezuma presently gave to Cortes, in the name of tribute, a great quantity of Gold and other Jewels, which amounted to sixteene hundred thousand Castlins of Gold, besides Silver.

Cortes had hitherto a continuall victory in Mexico without any fight: but news was brought him of Pamphilo de Narvaes, who was sent with eighty Horse, and some hundreths of Spaniards by Velasques, to interrupt the proceedings of Cortes: who leaving two hundred men in Mexico, with two hundred and fifty other came suddenly in the night, and tooke Narvaes prisoner, and returned to Mexico with Narvaes his Company, now his followers also, where he found his men exceedingly distressed by the Citizens for a murther committed in the great Temple at a solemne Feast, wherein a religious dance they were slaine, for the rich garments and Jewels they ware, by the Spaniards. Cortes came in good time for the reliefe of his men: and Mutezuma caused the Mexicans to bridle their rage, which presently was renewed; and when Mutezuma, was againe by his Guardians, the Spaniards, caused to speake to the people, a blow of a stone on his Temples wounded him, whereof three daies after he died.

Mutezumas death.

Cortes had some thousands of the Tlaxoltocas to helpe him, but was driven to flye from Mexico with all his Spaniards and Indians, which he did closely in the night but yet an alarme was raised, and the Bridges being broken, much slaughter of his people was made by the Mexicans, and all his treasure in manner lost. They pursued after him also, and had two hundred thousand in the field: when it was Cortes his good hap to slay the Standardbearer, whereupon the Indians forsooke the field. This battell was fought at Otumpan.

At Tlazcallan, he and his were kindely entertained; they had prepared before 50000. men to goe to Mexico for his helpe, and now they promised him all offices of loyalty and service. With their helpe he subdued

Tepeacac; and built certaine Brigandines, or Frigats, which were carried many leagues on the backes of those Indians, and there fastned and finished, without which he could never have won Mexico.

In Tezcuco certaine Spaniards had beene taken, sacrificed and eaten, which Cortes now revenged on them. Eight thousand men had carried the loose peeces and timber of this Navie, guarded with twenty thousand Tlaxcallans, and a thousand Tamemez, or Porters (which carried victuals) attending. They calked them with Towe, and for want of Tallow and Oyle, they used [III. v. 1122.] Mans Grease, of such as had beene slaine in the Warres. For so the Indians used, to take out the Grease of their Sacrifices. Cortes had here nine hundred Spaniards, of which fourescore and six were Horse-men, three cast peeces of Iron, fifteene small peeces of Brasse, and a thousand weight of Powder, and 100000. Indian Souldiers on his side. He made a sluce or trench about twelve foot broad, and two fathome deepe, halfe a league long, in which 40000. men wrought fifty dayes. He lanched his Vessels, and soone overcame all the Canoas of the Lake, of which were reckoned in all five thousand. The Spaniards brake the Conduits of sweet water, wherewith the City was wont to be served.

Quabutimoc, now the new King of Mexico, receiving incouragement from the Devillish Oracle, caused to breake downe the Bridges, and to exercise whatsoever wit or strength could doe in defence of his Citie, sometimes conquering, sometimes (as is doubtfull chance of warre) conquered. Cortes had in Tezcuco ordained a new King, a Christian Indian, of the royall bloud, who much assisted him in this siege. The Spaniards being Lords of the Lake, and of the Causeyes, by helpe of their Galliots and Ordinance, they fired a great part of the Citie. One day the Mexicans had gotten some advantage, and thereupon celebrated a Feast of Victory. The Priests went up into the Towers of Tlatelulco, their chiefe Temple, and made there perfumes of sweet Gums,

in token of victory, and sacrificed forty Spaniards (which they had taken captives, opening their brests, and plucking out their hearts) sprinkling their bloud in the Ayre; their fellowes looking on and not able to revenge it. They slew likewise many Indians, & foure Spaniards of Allvarado's company, whom they ate in the open sight of the Army. The Mexicans danced, drank themselves drunke, made bonefires, strucke up their Drums, and made all solemne expressings of joy. Dread, Disdaine, and all the Furies that Passion or Compassion could conjure up, had now filled the Spaniards hearts and their Indian partakers: and Cortes, that hitherto had hoped to reserve some part of the Citie, now did the utmost that Rage and Revenge could effect, helped no lesse within with Famine and Pestilence, then with Sword and Fire without. At last Mexico is razed, the Earth and Water sharing betwixt them what the Fire had left, and all which had sometime challenged a lofty inheritance in the Ayre. Their King also was taken; all that mightie State subverted. And as the Mexicans before had prophesied, That the Tlaxantleca's should againe build the Citie, if conquered, for them; if conquerors, for the Spaniards: It was re-builded with a hundred thousand houses, fairer and stronger then before. The Siege lasted three Moneths, and had therein two hundred thousand Indians, nine hundred Spaniards, fourescore Horses, seventeene Peeces of Ordinance, thirteene Galliots, and sixe thousand Canoas. Fiftie Spaniards were slaine, and sixe Horses: of the Mexicans, a hundred thousand, besides those which died of Hunger and Pestilence.

This was effected Anno 1521. on the thirteenth day of August, which for that cause is kept festivall every yeare. For the Description of the Country wherein Mexico is situate. Cortes in his second Narration to the Emperour saith, it is environed with hils: (He telleth of some hils also in his journey, wherein divers of his people died with cold) in the middest is a plaine of

70. leagues compasse, and therein two Lakes which extend the circuit of 50. leagues; the one salt, which ebbeth and floweth (an argument for Patritius his opinion, that saltnesse is a chiefe cause of that vicissitude of ebbing and flowing, in the Ocean) the other fresh: When the water of the Salt Lake increaseth, it runneth like a violent streame into the fresh Lake, which when it decreaseth, is repaired againe by the like issue of this into the former.

[b] *N. di Gus. ap. Ram. vol. 3.*

Nunno di Gusman[b] hath written his expedition into Mechoacan and other Countries of New-Spaine 1530. subduing and taking possession for the Emperour: He found some of them Sodomites, others Sacrificers of mens flesh, and some closly practising this butchery after they had professed themselves Christians: none of them which durst looke a Horse in the face, but were afraid that that Beast would eate them. The severall peoples by him reckoned, would here be tedious to name: which we may say of the like made by Godoy and Alvarado.[c] Of the Customes of the Auntient Mexicans, one of Cortes his Gentlemen hath written a Treatise[d] extant in Ramusius, wherein are described their Citie, Temples, Rites of Sacrifice, and the like, as after followeth out of him and others.

[c] *Lit. P. Alvarado & Dieg. Godoy. ap Ram. vol. 3.*

[d] *Relat. del. Temistitan ca.*

Chap. IX.

[III. v. 1123.]

Larger Relations of things most remarkeable observed by the Spaniards at their first comming: Cholollas holies; Popocatepecs ashes. Mutezumas multiforme magnificence and majestie. Mexican Citie and Temple, with other antiquities gathered out of the Third part of the Historie of Francis Lopez* de Gomara.

*This part of Lopez was long since translated and published by Tho. Nichols. I have here in divers places amended it by the Italians translation of Agostino di Cravaliz: for the Spanish originall I have not.

Hololla is a Citie as Tlaxcallan, and hath but one person who is Governour and generall Captaine, chosen by the consent of all the Citizens. It is a Citie of twenty thousand housholds within the wals, and in the suburbs as much more. It sheweth outwards very beautifull, and full of Towers, for there are as many Temples as dayes in the yeare, and every Temple hath his Tower. Our men counted foure hundred Towers. The men and women are of good disposition, well favoured, and very wittie. The women are Goldsmiths and also Carvers, the men are warriers, and light fellowes, and good Maisters for any purpose: they goe better apparelled then any other Indians yet seene. They weare for their upper garment, cloakes like unto Moriscos, but after another sort. All the Countrey round about them is fruitfull and errable ground, well watered, and so full of people, that there is no waste ground, in respect whereof, there are some poore which begge from doore to doore. The Spaniards had not seene any beggers in that Countrey before they came thither.

Cholollа is a Citie of most devotion and religion in all India, it is called the Sanctuary, or holy place among the Indians, and thither they travelled from

many places farre distant in Pilgrimage, and for this cause there were so many Temples. Their Cathedrall Temple was the best and highest of all the New Spaine, with a hundred and twenty steps up unto it. The greatest Idoll of all their gods was called Quezalcovately, God of the Aire, who was (say they) the founder of their Citie, being a Virgin of holy life, and great penance. He instituted fasting, and drawing of bloud out of their eares and tongues, and left a precept, that they should sacrifice but onely Quailes, Doves, and other foule. He never ware but one garment of Cotten, which was white, narrow, and long, and upon that a mantle beset with certaine red crosses. They have certaine greene Stones which were his, and those they keepe for relickes. One of them is like an Apes head. Here they abode twenty dayes, and in this meane while there came so many to buy and sell, that it was a wonder to see. And one of the things that was to be seene in those faires, was the earthen vessell, which was exceeding curious and fine.

The hill called Popocatepec.

THere is a hill eight leagues from Chololla, called Popocatepec, which is to say, a hill of smoake, for many times it casteth out smoake and fire. Cortes sent thither ten Spaniards, with many Indians, to carry their victuall, and to guide them in the way. The ascending up was very troublesome, and full of craggie rocks. They approached so nigh the top, that they heard such a terrible noise which proceeded from thence, that they durst not goe unto it, for the ground did tremble and shake, and great quantity of ashes which disturbed the way: but yet two of them who seemed to be most hardie, and desirous to see strange things, went up to the top, because they would not returne with a sleevelesse answer, and that they might not be accounted cowards, leaving their fellowes behinde them, proceeding forwards. The Indians said,

what meane these men? for as yet never mortall man tooke such a journey in hand.

These two valiant fellowes passed through the Desart of Ashes, and at length came under a great smoake very thicke, and standing there a while, the darkenesse vanished partly away, and then appeared the vulcan and concavity, which was about halfe a league in compasse, out of the which the ayre came abounding, with a great noise, very shrill, and whistling, in such sort that the whole hill did tremble. It was to be compared unto an Oven where Glasse is made. The smoake and heate was so great, that they could not abide it, and of force were constrained to returne by the way that they had ascended: but they were not gone farre, when the vulcan began to lash out flames of fire, ashes, and imbers, yea and at the last, stones of burning fire: and if they had not chansed to finde a Rocke, where under they shadowed themselves, undoubtedly they had there beene burned. When with good tokens they were returned where they left their fellowes, the other Indians kissed their garments as an honour due unto gods. They presented unto them such things as they had, and wondred much at their fact.

Purgatory.

The simple Indians thought, that that place was an infernall place, where all such as governed not well, or used tyrannie in their offices, were punished when they died, and also beleeved, that after their purgation, they passed into glory. This Vulcan is like unto the Vulcan of Sicilia, it is high and round, and never wanteth snow about it, and is seene afarre off in the night, it lasheth out flames of fire. There is neere about this Hill many Cities, and Huexoxinco is one of the nighest. In tenne yeeres space this strange hill of working did expell no vapour or smoke: but in the yeere 1540. it began againe to burne, and with the horrible noyse thereof, the Neighbours that dwelt foure leagues from thence were terrified, for the especiall strange smoakes that then were seene, the like to their Pre- [III. v. 1124.]

decessors had not beene seene. The ashes that proceeded from thence came to Huexozinco, Quelaxcopan, Tepiacac, Quauhquecholla, Cholollа, and Tlaxcallan, which standeth ten leagues from thence, yea some say, it extended fifteene leagues distant, and burned their hearbes in their Gardens, their Fieldes of Corne, Trees, and cloathes that lay a drying.

He left the way that the Mexicans had perswaded him to come, for it was both evill and dangerous, as the Spaniard which went to the Vulcan had seene, he went another plainer way, and neerer. He ascended up a Hill covered with snow, which was sixe miles of height, where if the 30000. Souldiers had waited for them, they might easily have taken them, by reason of the great cold: and from the top of that Hill, they discovered the Land of Mexico, and the great Lake, with his Villages round about, which is an exceeding goodly sight. But when Cortes saw that beautifull thing, his joy was without comparison.

There came twelve Lords from Mexico, among whom was Cacama, Nephew to Mutezuma, who was Lord of Tezcuco, a young man of five and twentie yeeres of age, whom the Indians did much honour: he was carried upon their shoulders, and when they set him downe, one went before with a Broome to sweepe the dust out of his way. In this order hee came to Iztacpalapan. Every two houres came messengers betwixt Cortes and Mutezuma: then came Cuetlavac Lord of that Towne, with the Lord Culhuacan his Kinsman to receive him, who presented unto him slaves, garments, and feathers, and to the value of foure thousand Duckets in Gold. Cuetlavac received all the Spaniards into his owne house, which hath very faire Lodgings all of stone, and Carpenters worke, exceeding well wrought, with high and low roomes, with all kind of service: The chambers were hanged with cloth of Cotton very rich, after their manner. There were faire Gardens replenished with many sweet flowres, and sweet trees garnished with

Networke, made of Canes, and covered with Roses and other fine hearbes, with sundry ponds of sweet water. There was another Garden very beautifull of all sorts of fruits and hearbes, with a great pond walled with lime and stone, and was foure hundred paces square, made with faire steps to descend unto the bottome in many places, and was full of divers kinds of fishes, and many kind of water Birds, which sometimes covered the pond, as Guls, and Mewes, and such like. Iztacpallapan is a Towne of 10000. housholds, and is planted in a Lake of Salt-water, the one halfe of the Towne built on the water, and the other on the Land.

The solemne pompe wherewith Cortes was received into Mexico.

From Iztacpallapan to Mexico is two leagues all upon a faire Calsey, upon the which eight Horsemen may passe on ranke, and so directly straight as though it had beene made by line. And whosoever hath good eye-sight might discerne the gates of Mexico from thence. Coyoacan is a Towne of sixe thousand dwellers, Vizilopuchtli is of five thousand. These Towres are planted in the Lake, and are adorned with many Temples, which have many faire Towres, that doe beautifie exceedingly the Lake. There is great contractation of Salt, which is made there, and from thence is carried abroad to Faires and Markets, which thing was a great rent to Mutezuma. Upon this Calsey are many drawne Bridges built upon faire arches, that the water passeth thorow.

Cortes passed this Calsey with 400. Spaniards, and 6000. Indians his friends: their passage was with much adoe, by reason of the great multitude of Indians which came to see him, and comming neere the Citie, there adjoyned another Calsey with a broader passage, where standeth a strong Bulwarke of stone, of the heigth of two fathome with two Towres on each side, and two gates very strong. Here at this Fort came three thousand Courtiers and Citizens to receive him, and every of them touched the ground with his right hand and kissed it, and passed forwards in the order as they

came. These salutations endured an houre and more. From the Bulwarke the Calsey lyeth directly, and before the entrance into the street there is another draw Bridge made of timber ten paces broad, under the which the water passeth too and fro. At this Bridge came Mutezuma to receive Cortes under a Canopie of greene feathers and gold, with much Argentery hanging thereat, which Canopie foure Noblemen did carrie. And the two Princes Cuetlavac and Cacama his Nephewes, did leade him by each arme: all three were rich apparelled and all of one fashion, except Mutezuma, which had a paire of shooes of gold beset with precious Stones, and the soles were tyed to the upper part with latchets, as is painted of the Antikes. His Gentlemen went by two and two, laying downe and taking up Mantles and Coverlets upon the ground, because his feet should not touch the same: then followed him as in Procession, 200. Noblemen bare-footed, with garments of a richer Livery then the first three thousand. Mutezuma came in the middest of the street, and the others came behind him as nigh the wall as they might, their faces towards the ground, for it was a great offence to looke him in the face. Cortes alighted from his Horse, and according to our use went to embrace him, but the Princes who led him by the armes, would not suffer him to come so nigh, for they held it for sinne to touch him, but yet saluted each one the other.

Mutezumas state and Majestie.

[III. v. 1125.]

Cortes put about Mutezuma his necke a coller of Margarites, Diamonds, and other stones all of glasse. Mutezuma received it thankfully, and went before with one of the Princes his Nephewes, and commanded the other to leade Cortes by the hand, next after him in the midst of the street: and proceeding forward in this order, then came the Gentlemen in the richest Livery to welcome him, one by one, touching the ground with their hands, and after returned to their standing. And if the Citizens had come as they requested, all that

day would not have served for salutations. The coller of glasse pleased well Mutezuma, and because hee would not take without giving a better thing, as a great Prince hee commanded to be brought two collers of red Prawnes, which are there much esteemed, and at every one of them hanged eight Shrimps of gold, of excellent workmanship, and of a finger length every one, he put these collers with his owne hands about Cortes his necke, the which was esteemed a most great favour, yea and the Indians marvelled at it. At this time they were come to the street end, which was almost a mile long, broad, streight, and very faire, and full of houses on each side, in whose doores, windowes and tops, was such a multitude of Indians to behold the strangers, that I know not who wondred most, our men to see such a number of them, or else they to see our men, their Ordnance and Horses, a thing so strange unto them. They were brought unto a great Court or house of Idols, which was the Lodging Axaiaca, at the doore whereof, Mutezuma tooke Cortes by the hand, and brought him into a faire hall, and placed him upon a rich Carpet, saying unto him, Sir, now are you in your owne house, eate and take your rest and pleasure, for I will shortly come and visit you againe. Such (as you heare) was the receiving of Hernando Cortes by Mutezuma a most mightie King, into his great and famous Citie of Mexico, the eight day of November, 1519.

Spaniards give gawdy glasse for gold and glory.

The house where the Spaniards were lodged was great and large, with many faire chambers sufficient for them all: it was neate, cleane matted, and hanged with Cloth of Cotton, and Feathers of many colours, pleasant to behold. When Mutezuma was departed from Cortes, hee beganne to set his house in order and placed the Ordnance at his doore, and having all his things in good sort, he went to a sumptuous Dinner that was prepared for him. Assoone as Mutezuma had made an end of his Dinner, hearing that the Strangers were risen from the Table, and reposed a while, then came hee

to Cortes, saluting him, and sate downe by him. He gave unto him divers Jewels of Gold Plate, Feathers, and many Garments of Cotton, both rich, well woven, and wrought of strange colours, a thing comely, that did manifest his greatnesse, and also confirme their imagination. This gift was delivered honourably, and then beganne his talke as followeth: Lords and Gentlemen, I doe much rejoyce to have in my house such valiant men as yee are, for to use you with courtesie, and intreate you with honour, according to your desert and my estate. And where heretofore I desired that you should not come hither, the onely cause was, my people had a great feare to see you, for your gesture and grimme beards did terrifie them, yea, they reported that yee had such beasts as swallowed men, and that your comming was from Heaven, bringing with you Lightning, Thunder, and Thunder-bolts, wherewith you made the Earth to tremble and to shake, and that yee slue therewith whom yee pleased. But now I doe see and know that you are mortall men, and that yee are quiet and hurt no man: also I have seene your Horses, which are but your Servants, and your Gunnes like unto shooting Trunkes. I doe now hold all for Fables and Lyes which have beene reported of you, and I doe also accept you for my meere Kinsmen. My Father told mee that hee had heard his forefathers say, of whom I doe discend, that they held opinion how they were not Naturals of this Land, but come hither by chance, in companie of a mightie Lord, who after awhile that hee had abode here, they returned to their naturall soyle: After many yeeres expired, they came againe for those whom they had left heere behind them, but they would not goe with them, because they had here inhabited, and had Wives and Children, and great government in the Land. Now these mightie Lords seeing that they were so stubborne, and would not returne with them, departed from them sore displeased, saying, that hee would send his Children that should both rule and

The Oration of Mutezuma to the Spaniards.

A strange opinion.

governe them, in Justice, Peace, and ancient Religion. And for this consideration, wee have alwayes suspected and beleeved that such a people should come to rule and governe us, and considering from whence you come, I doe thinke that you are they whom wee looked for, and the notice which the great Emperour Charles had for us, who hath now sent you hither. Therefore Lord and Captaine, bee well assured, that wee will obey you, if there bee no feyned or deceitfull matter in your dealings, and will also divide with you and yours all that we have. And although this which I have said were not onely for your vertue, fame, and deeds of valiant Gentlemen, I would yet doe it for your worthinesse in the battailes of Tavasco, Teocazinco, and Chollolla, being so few, to overcome so many.

Now againe, if yee imagine that I am a God, and the walls and rooffes of my houses, and all my vessell of service, to be of pure Gold, as the men of Zempoallan, Tlaxcallan, and Huexozinco, have informed you, it is not so, and I judge you to bee so wise, that you give no credit to such Fables. You shall also note, that through your comming hither, many of my subjects have rebelled, and are become my mortall enemies, but [III. v. 1126.] yet I purpose to breake their wings. Come feele you my bodie, I am of flesh and bone, a mortall man as other are, and no God, although as a King I doe esteeme my selfe, of greater dignitie and preheminence then others. My houses you doe also see, which are of timber and earth, and the principallest of Masons worke, therefore now you doe both know and see what odious lyers those Tale-bearers were. But troth it is, that Gold Plate, Feathers, Armour, Jewels, and other Riches, I have in the Treasury of my Forefathers a long time preserved, as the use of Kings is, all the which you and yours shall enjoy at all times. And now it may please you to take your rest, for I know that you are weary of your journey. Cortes with joyfull countenance humbled himselfe, seeing some teares fall from Mutezuma his eyes, saying unto

him, upon the trust I have had in your clemencie, I insisted to come both to see, and talke with your Highnesse, and now I know that all are lyes which hath beene told mee. The like your Highnesse has heard reported of us, assure your selfe, that the Emperour King of Spaine is your naturall Lord, whom yee have expected, hee is the onely heire from whence your Linage doth proceed, and as touching the offer of your Highnesse treasure, I do most heartily thanke you.

After all this communication, Mutezuma demanded whether the bearded men which came with him; were either his vassals, or his slaves, because hee would entertayne each one according to his estate. Cortes answered, that they were all his brethren, friends, and fellowes, except some that were his servants.

A loving answere.

Then he departed, and went home to his Palace, and there informed himselfe particularly who were Gentlemen, and who were not, and according thereunto, sent every one particular gift or present. To the Gentlemen he sent his reward by his Comptroller, and to the Mariners and other Servitors, by a Page of his houshold.

Mutezuma described.

Mutezuma was a man of a small stature, and leane, his colour tawnie as all the Indians are. Hee had long haire on his head, sixe little haires upon him, as though they had beene put in with a Bodkin. His thinne beard was blacke. Hee was a man of a faire condition, and a doer of Justice, well spoken, grave and wise, beloved and feared among his subjects. Mutezuma doth signifie Sadnesse.

Cin.

To the proper names of Kings and Lords, they doe adde this syllable Cin, which is for courtesie and dignitie, as we use Lord. The Turke useth Zultan. The Moore or Barbarian calleth his Lord Mulley, and so the Indians say Mutezumazin. His people had him in such reverence, that hee permitted none to sit in his sight, nor yet in his presence to weare shooes, nor looke him in the face, except very few Princes. Hee was glad of the conversation of the Spaniards, and would not suffer them

Title Cin.

to stand on foote, for the great estimation hee had of them, and if hee liked any of the Spaniards garments, hee would exchange his apparell for theirs. He changed his owne apparell foure times every day, and hee never clothed himselfe againe with the Garments which hee had once worne, but all such were kept in his Guard-robe, for to give in Presents to his Servants, and Ambassadours, and unto valiant Souldiers which had taken any enemy Prisoner, and that was esteemed a great reward, and a title of priviledge. The costly Mantles whereof had beene divers sent to Cortes, were of the same Guardrobe. *Change of Apparell.*

Mutezuma went alwayes very neate and fine in his attyre. Hee bathed him in his Hot-house foure times every day. Hee went seldome out of his Chamber, but when hee went to his meate. Hee eate alwayes alone, but solemnely, and with great abundance. His Table was a Pillow, or else a couple of coloured Skinnes. His chaire was a foure-footed stoole made of one piece, and hollow in the middest, well wrought and painted. His Table-clothes, Napkins, and Towels, were made of Cotton-wooll, very white and new, for hee was never served but once with that Naperie. Foure hundred Pages brought in his meate, all sonnes of great Lords, and placed it upon a Table in his great Hall. The meate being brought in, then came Mutezuma to behold the Dishes, and appointed those Dishes that liked him best, and Chafing-dishes were prepared to keepe that meate warme, and seldome would he eate of any other Dish, except the Lord Steward or Comptroller should highly commend any other Dish. *His Wardrobe.* *His diet-rites.* *Magnificent attendance.*

Before hee sate downe, came twentie of his Wives of the fairest and best esteemed, or else those that served weekly by turne, brought in the Bason and Ewre, with great humblenesse. This done, hee sate him downe, and then came the Lord Steward, and drew a woodden Nette before him, because none should come nigh his Table. And this Noble man alone placed the Dishes, and also *His wives.*

tooke them away, for the Pages who brought in the meate, came not neere the Table, nor yet spake any worde, nor no man else.

Bare-foot service. While the Lord Mutezuma was at his meate, except some Jeaster, they all served him bare-footed. There assisted alwayes somewhat a farre off, sixe ancient and Noblemen, unto whom he used to give of the Dish that best liked him, who received the same at his hand with great reverence, and eate it incontinent, without looking in his face, which was the greatest humilitie that they could use before him. *Musicke.* Hee had musicke of Fiddle, Flute, and of a Snaile-shell, and a Cauldron covered with a skinne, and such other strange Instruments. [III. v. 1127.] They had very evill voyces to sing. Alwayes at dinner time he had Dwarfes, crooke-backes, and other deformed counterfeits, all for majestie and to laugh at, *Jesters.* who had their meate in the Hall among the Jesters and Idiots, which were fed with part of the meate that came from Mutezuma his table, all the rest of the meate was given to three thousand of the guard, who attended ordinarily in the yard or Court, and therefore they say that there was brought for his Table three thousand dishes, and as many pots of wine, such as they use, and that continually the Buttrey and Pantrey stood open, which was a wonder to see what was in them. The platters, dishes, and cups, were all of earth, whereof the King was served but once, and so from meale to meale new. He had likewise his service of Gold and *Plate.* Plate very rich, but hee used not to bee served with it (they say) because hee would not bee served twice therewith, the which hee thought a base thing.

Some affirme, that young children were slaine and dressed in divers kinde of dishes for Mutezuma his *Mans flesh.* table, but it was not so, onely of mans flesh sacrificed he fed now and then. The table being taken up, then came againe the Gentlewomen to bring water for his hands, with the like reverence as they used at the first, and then went they to dinner with the other wives, so that

then the Gentlemen and Pages waited as their course fell.

When his table was taken up, and his Servitors gone to meate, Mutezuma sate still: then came in the suiters that had any affaires to deale with him, bare-footed, for all the persons did use that reverence, except some Princes his Kinsmen, as the Lords of Tescuco, and Tlacopan, and a few others: and beeing cold weather, they used to weare olde ragged clothes upon their rich garments. All suiters used to make three or foure courtesies, not looking toward his face, and speaking unto him their heads downwards, and in that order retyred backe againe. Mutezuma answered his suiters very gravely, with low voyce, and in few words, and not to all suiters, for others his Secretaries or Counsellers that stood by, answered for him, and having their answere, they returned backwards, not turning their tailes to the Prince. After these businesses done, he used some recreation, hearing Jesters or Songs, wherein he delighted much, or else to looke upon the Players, who play with their feet, as we doe with our hands. These have a cudgell like unto a Pastlers rowler, which they tosse high and low as it were a ball in the Ayre, strange to behold. They use other Playes to passe the time, in such an order, that it seemed marvellous to the lookers on. Cortes brought into Spaine some of these Players. Also they use Matachines, in such sort they doe play, that there stand each upon other shoulders, and hee that standeth highest, sheweth many feates. Sometime Mutezuma did behold the Players, who played at a game called Pacoliztli, which is much like our Tables, and they play with beanes, squared like Dice, which they call Patolli, and throw them out of both their hands upon a matte, or else upon the ground, where are made certain strikes, upon which they set downe the chance that is throwne: and at this game they play all that they have, and many times they value their owne bodies, and play that into captivitie, and to remayne a

State ceremonies.

Jesters and Players.

Games.

slave, I meane, such as are common Gamesters of small estate.

The Tennis play in Mexico.

Sometimes Mutezuma went to the Tennis Court. Their ball is called Villamaliztli, and is made of the gumme which commeth from a tree called Ulli. This tree groweth in a hot Countrey. The gumme being kneaded together, and so made round, is as blacke as pitch, and somewhat heavie, and very hard for the hand, but yet good and light to rebound, and better then our wind-bals. They play not as Chases, but at Bandy, or at Check, that is, if the ball touch the wall it looseth. They may strike the ball with any part of their body, but there is alwayes a penaltie if they onely strike not with the buttocke or side, which is the finest play: whereof they use a skinne upon each buttocke. They play so many to so many for a packe of Mantles, or according to the abilitie of the Players. Also they play for gold and feathers, and sometime for their owne bodies, as they use at Patolli, which is there permitted and lawfull. The Tennis Court is called Tlachco, and is a Hall long and narrow, but wider upwards, then downewards, and higher on the sides then at the ends, which is an industry for their play. The house is alwayes white and smooth, in the side walles they have certaine stones like unto Milstones, with a little hole in the middest that passeth through the stone, the hole is so small, that scarcely the ball may passe through, but he that chanceth to strike the ball into the hole, which seldom happeneth, winneth the game, and by an ancient Law and custome among Tennis Players, he ought to have the Cloakes of all those that stand and behold the play on that side that the ball went in, and in some Tennis Courts, the halfe of the garments of them that stand looking on. The Winner is then bound to make certaine Sacrifice to the God of the Tennis play, and to the stone where the ball entred. The beholders of the play would say, that such a Winner should be a Thiefe and an Adulterer, or else that he should die quickly.

They used in the Temple of the Tennis play, two Images of the God of the Ball, which stood upon the two lower walles. The Sacrifice was celebrated at mid-night, with many Ceremonies and Witch-crafts, and Songs for that purpose. Then came a Priest from the Cathedrall Church, with other Religious persons to blesse the Sacrifice, saying certain devillish Prayers, and throwing the ball foure times in the Tennis Court. In this order was the Tennis play consecrated, and after this consecration it was lawfull to play, or else not, for this diligence was first to bee done when any Tennis Court or play was newly built. The owner of the Tennis Court also would never suffer any to play, untill he had first offered something to the Idoll, their Superstition was so great.

God of the Ball.

[III. v. 1128.]

Mutezuma had many houses as well in Mexico as without, for his recreation and pleasure, as also for his ordinary dwelling. To write of all it should bee tedious, but where his continuall abiding was, he named Tepac, that is to say, Palace. And that Palace had twentie doores or gates which had their out-comming into the common streets. It hath three Courts, and in the one standeth a faire Fountaine, many Hals, and a hundred Chambers of twentie three, and thirtie foot long, an hundred Bathes and Hot-houses: and although the building was without nayles, yet very good workmanship. The walles were made of Masons worke, and wrought of Marble, Jaspe, and other blacke stone, with veines of red, like unto Rubies and other Stones, which glistered very faire: the roofes were wrought of Timber, and curiously carved: the Timber was Cedar, Cypresse, and Pine-tree: the Chambers were painted and hung with Cloth of Cotton, and Cloth made of Conies haire and feathers. The beds were poore and of no value, for they were nothing but Mantles laid upon Mats, or upon Hay, or else Mats alone: few men lay within those Houses.

His Palace.

Twentie doores.

Three Courts.

Hals, chambers, wals, &c.

There were a thousand women, and some affirme that

Multitude of women.

there were three thousand, accounting Gentlewomen, Servants and Slaves: the most were Noblemens Daughters, Mutezuma tooke of them for his selfe, those that liked him best, and the others he gave in mariage to Gentlemen his Servants. The saying was, that hee had at one time a hundred and fiftie women his wives with childe, who through the perswasion of the Devill, tooke Medicines to cast their creatures, because they knew that they should not inherit the State: these his wives, had many old women for their Guard, for no man was permitted to looke upon them.

His Armes hee after saith a Conie was his armes, but this Eagle was generall to all the Mexican Kings.

The shield of Armes that is set in his Palace, and likewise carried to the Warres, is an Eagle soaring upon a Tigre his tallons, bent as taking prey. Some thinke it is a Gryffon and not an Eagle. The Griffons in time past, say they, did cause the Vale of Avacatlan to bee dispeopled, for they were great devourers of men, and that their abiding was in the Mountaines of Teoacan: they approve that these Mountaines were called Cuitlachtepelt, of Cuitlachtli, which is a Gryffon, bigger then a Lion: but the Spaniards did never see any of them. The Indians by their old Pictures doe paint those Gryffons to have a kind of haire and no feathers, and also affirme, that with their tallons and teeth they breake mens bones. They have the courage of a Lion, and the countenance of an Eagle: they paint him with foure feet, and teeth, with a kinde of downe, more like wooll then feathers, with his beake, tallons, and wings. There are also other Lords that give the Gryffon in their Armes, flying with a heart in his tallons.

Gryffon-tale.

A house of fowle, which were only preserved for their feathers.

Mutezuma had another house, with very good lodgings and faire galleries, built upon Pillars of Jaspe which extendeth toward a goodly Garden, in the which there are ten ponds or moe, some of salt-water for Sea-fowle, and other some of fresh water for River-fowle, and Lake-fowle, which ponds are devised with sluces to emptie and to fill at their pleasure, for the cleannesse of the feathers. There is such a number of Fowle that

scarcely the ponds may hold them, and of such divers kindes both in feathers and making, as sure it was an admiration for the Spaniards to behold, for the most of them they knew not, nor yet had at any time seene the like. And to every kind of Fowle they gave such bayte as they were wont to feede of in the Fields or Rivers. There did belong to that house three hundred persons of service: some were to clense the ponds: other some did fish for baite: other some served them with meate: other did loose them and trimme their feathers: others had care to looke to their Egges; others to set them abrood: others cured them when they were sicke: and the principallest Office was to plucke the Feathers: for of them was made rich Mantles, Tapissary, Targets, tuffes of Feathers, and many other things wrought with Gold and Silver: a most perfit worke.

A house of fowle for hawking and other strange things.

There is another House with large quarters and lodgings, which is called a House for Fowle, not because there are more then in the other, but because they bee bigger and to hawke with all, and are Fowle of rapine, wherefore they are esteemed as more nobler then all the others.

There are in this House many high Hals, in the which are kept men, women and children: in some of them are kept such as are borne white of colour: which doth very seldome happen: in other some are Dwarfes, Crooked-backes, Burstenmen, Counterfeites, and monstrous Persons, in great number: they say, that they used to deforme them when they were Children, to set forth the Kings greatnesse: every of these persons were in severall Halles by themselves.

White men.

In the lower Halles were great Cages made of timber: in some of them were Lions, in other Tigres, in other Ounces, in others Wolves: in conclusion, there was no foure-footed beast that wanted there, onely to the effect that the mightie Mutezuma might say that hee had such things in his house. They were fed with their ordinary, as Ginea cockes, Deere, Dogges, and such like.

Wild beasts.

[III. v. 1129.]

There was also in other Hals great earthen vessels, some with earth, and some with water, wherein were *Snakes, &c.* Snakes, as grosse as a mans thigh, Vipers, Crocodiles, which they call Caymanes, or Lizarts of twenty foote long, with such Scales and head as a Dragon hath: Also other little Lizarts, and other venemous Beasts and Serpents as well of the water as of the land, a terrible sight for the lookers on.

Foules of prey. There were also other Cages for foule of rapine of all sorts, as Hawkes, Kites, Boyters, and at the least nine or ten kinde of Haukes. This house of foule had of daily allowance five hundred Gynea cockes, and three hundred men of service, besides the Falconers and Hunters, which are infinite. There were many other sorts of Foules that our men knew not, which seemed by their beake and talents good to Hauke withall.

To the Snakes and other venemous Beasts they gave the bloud of men sacrificed, to feede them, and some say, they gave unto them mans flesh, which the great Lizarts doe eate very well. The Spaniards saw the floore covered with bloud like a jellie in a Slaughter-house, it stunke horribly. It was strange to see the Officers in this House, how every one was occupied. Our men tooke great pleasure in beholding such strange things, but they could not away with the roaring of the Lyons, the fearefull hissing of the Snakes and Adders, the dolefull howling and barking of the Wolves, the sorrowfull yelling of the Ownzes and Tigres, when they would have meate. Most certaine, in the night season it seemed *Devils den.* a Dungeon of Hell, and a dwelling place of the Devill, and even so it was indeede, for neere at hand was a Hall of a hundred and fiftie foote long, and thirty foote broad, where was a Chappell with the Roofe of Silver and Gold in leafe Wainescotted, and decked with great store of Pearle and Stone, as Agattes, Cornerines, Emeralds, Rubies, and divers other sorts, and this was the Oratory where Mutezuma prayed in the night season, and in that Chappell the Devill did appeare

unto him, and gave him answere according to his prayers.

He had other houses like unto Barnes, onely for the feathers of foules, and for mantels which proceeded of his rents and tributes, a thing much to be seene: upon the doores was set his armes, which was a Conie. Here dwelled the chiefe Officers of his house, as Treasurer, Controller, Receivers and other officers appertaining to the Kings revenews. Mutezuma had no house wherein was not an Oratorie for the Devill, whom they worshipped for the Jewels there. And therefore those houses were great and large.

Store-houses.

Officers.

Mutezuma had some houses of Armor, upon the doores wherof stood a Bowe and Arrows. In these houses was great store of all kinde of Munition which they use in their wars: as Bowes, Arrowes, Slings, Launces, Darts, Clubbes, Swords and Bucklers, and gallant Targets more trim then strong, Skuls and Splints, but not manie, and all made of wood, gilt or covered with leather. The wood whereof they make their Armour and Targets, is verie hard and strong, for they use to toast it at the fire, and at their Arrow ends they enclose a little peece of Flint stone, or a peece of a Fish bone called Libisa, and that is venemous, for if any be hurt therewith and the head remaine in the wound, it so festereth, that it is almost incurable.

The Armory of Mutezuma.

Wood for Armes.

Their Swords are of wood, and the edge thereof is of flint stone, enclosed or joyned into a staffe, with a certaine kinde of glew which is made of a roote called Zacolt, and Teuxalli, which is a kinde of strong sand, whereof they make a mixture, and after kneade it with bloud of Bats or Rearemice, and other Foule, which doth glew marvellous strong, and lightly never uncleaveth: of this stuffe, they make nailes, pearcers, and augers, wherewith they bore Timber and stone: with their Swords they cut Speares, yea and a Horse necke at a blow, and made dents into Iron, which seemed a thing unpossible and incredible. In the Citie no man

Wodden Swords with stone edges.

may weare weapon, but onely in warres, hunting, and among the Kings Guard.

The Gardens of Mutezuma.

Besides the foresaid houses, he had manie others for his onely recreation and pastime, with excellent faire Gardens of medicinall Hearbes, sweete Flowers, and Trees of delectable savour. In that Garden were a thousand personages, made and wrought artificially of leaves and flowers. Mutezuma would not permit that in this Garden should be any kinde of pot Hearbes, or things to be sold, saying, that it did not appertaine to Kings to have things of profit, among their delights and pleasures, for such things (said he) did appertaine to Merchants. Yet notwithstanding he had Orchards with manie and sundrie fruites, but they stood farre from the Citie, and whither seldome times he went: he had likewise out of Mexico pleasant houses in Woods and Forrests, of great compasse, environed with water, in the which he had Fountaines, Rivers, Ponds with fish, Warrens of Conies, Rockes and covert where were Harts, Bucks, Hares, Foxes, Wolves, and such like, with wildernesse for everie sort. To these places the Lords of Mexico used to goe and sport themselves, such and so many were the houses of Mutezuma, wherein few Kings were equall with him.

Note of a Magnificent minde.

Houses of pleasure.

He had daily attending upon him in his private Guard, sixe hundred Noblemen and Gentlemen, and each of them three or foure servants, and some had twentie servants or moe, according to his estate: and in this manner he had three thousand men attendant in his Court, and some affirme more, all the which were fed in his house of the meate that came from his table. The serving men alwaies abode below in the Court all the day, and went not from thence till after Supper.

[III. v. 1130.]

The Court and Guard of Mutezuma.

Great Vassals.

It is to be thought that his Guard was the greater, because the strangers were there, although in effect of truth it is most certaine, that all the Lords that are under the Mexicall Empire (as they say) are thirtie persons of high estate, who are able to make each of them a

hundred thousand men. There are three thousand Lords of Townes, who have many vassals. These Noblemen did abide in Mexico certaine times of the yeare, in the Court of Mutezuma, and could not depart from thence without especiall licence of the Emperour, leaving each of them a sonne or brother behinde them for securitie of rebellion, and for this cause they had generally houses in the Citie: such and so great was the Court of Mutezuma. *State-caution.*

There is not in all the Dominions of Mutezuma any subject that paieth not tribute unto him. The Noblemen pay their tribute in personall service. The Husbandmen called Macevaltin, with body and goods. In this sort they are either Tenants, or else heires to their possessions. Those which are heires, doe pay one third part of all their fruite and commoditie that they doe reape or bring up, as Dogges, Hennes, Foule, Conies, Gold, Silver, Stones, Salt, Waxe, Honie, Mantels, Feathers, Cotten, and a certaine fruite called Cacao, that serveth for money, and also to eate. Also all kinde of Graine, and Garden Hearbes, and Fruites, whereof they doe maintaine themselves. *Tributes and subjection of the Indians to their King.*

The Tenants doe pay monethly, or yearely, as they can agree, and because their tribute is great, they are called slaves, for when they may have licence to eate Egges, they thinke it a great favour. It was reported that they were taxed what they should eate, and all the residue was taken from them. They went verie poorely cloathed, yea and the most of their treasure was an earthen Pot, wherein they boiled their Hearbes, a couple of Milstones to grinde their Corne, and a Mat to lye upon. They did not onely paie this Rent, and Tribute, but also served with their bodies at all times when the great King should command. They were in such great subjection to their Prince, that they durst not speake one word although their daughters should be taken from them to be used at pleasure. All the aforesaid rents they brought to Mexico upon their backes, and in Boates, *Poverty of the Tenants.*

I meane so much as was necessarie for the provision of the House and Court of Mutezuma, all the rest was spent among Souldiers, and bartred for Gold, Plate, Precious stones, and other rich Jewels, esteemed of Princes, all the which was brought to the Treasurie. In Mexico was large and great Barnes and Houses to receive and keepe the Corne for provision of the Citie, with Officers, and underofficers, who did receive the same, and kept account thereof in Bookes of painted figures.

See our picture booke.

Receivers.

And in every Towne was a Receiver, who bare in his hand a rod or a bush of Feathers, and those gave up their accounts in Mexico. If any such had beene taken with deceit and falshood, death was his reward, yea and his kinred punished with penalties, as of a linage of a traitour to his Prince. The Husbandmen, if they paid not well their Tribute, were apprehended for the same, and if they were found to be poore through sicknesse and infirmitie, then they were borne withall, but if they were found to be lazie and sloathfull, they should be used accordingly: but in conclusion, if they paied it not at a day appointed, then they should be sold for slaves to pay their debt, or else be sacrificed.

There were many other Provinces, which paid a certaine portion, and reknowledged service, but this Tribute was more of honour then profit. In this sort Mutezuma had more then sufficient to provide his house and wars, and to heape up great store in his Treasury. Moreover he spent nothing in the building of his houses, for of long time he had certaine Townes that paid no other Tribute, but onely to worke and repaire continually his Houses at their owne proper cost, and paid all kinde of workemen carrying upon their backes, or drawing in sleds, Stone, Lime, Timber, Water, and all other necessaries for the worke. Likewise they were bound to provide all the firewood that should be spent in the Court, which was a great thing, and did amount to two hundred and thirty weight a day, which was five hundred mens burdens, and some dayes in the winter much more. And for the

Tribute of mens labours.

Kings Chimneys they brought the barke of Oake trees, which was best esteemed for the light thereof, for they were great Sorcerers. Mutezuma had one hundred Cities with their Provinces, of whom he received Rents, Tributes, and Vassalage, where he maintained Garrison of Souldiers, and had Treasurers in each of them.

His dominion did extend from the North sea to the South sea, and six hundred miles in longitude within the maine Land, although in very deede there were some Townes, as Tlaxcallon, Mechuacan, Panuco, and Teocantepec, which were his enemies, and paid him neither Tribute nor Service: but yet the Ransome was much, when any of them was taken. Also there were other Kings and Noblemen, as of Texcuto, and Tlacopan, which were not in subjection unto him, but onely in homage and obedience, for they were of his owne linage, unto whom Mutezuma married his Daughters. [III. v. 1131.]

Description of Mexico as it flourished in those times.

MExico at the time when Cortes entred, was a Citie of sixtie thousand houses. The Kings house, and other Noblemens houses were great, large, and beautifull, the other were small and meane, without either doores or windowes: and although they were small, yet there dwelleth in some of them, two, three, yea and ten persons, by reason whereof, the Citie was wonderfully replenished with people.

This Citie is built upon the water, even in the same order as Venice is. All the body of the Citie standeth in a great large Lake of water. There are three sorts of streetes very broad and faire, the one sort are onely water, with many Bridges: another sort of onely earth: and the third of earth and water: that is to say, the one halfe earth to walke upon, and the other halfe for Boates to bring provision of all sorts. These streetes are kept alwayes cleane, and the most part of the houses have two doores, the one towards the Cawsey, and

Three sorts of Streetes.

the other towards the water, at the which they take Boate to goe where they list. And although this Citie is founded upon water, yet the same water is not good to drinke, whereof there is brought by conduit water from a place called Capultepec, three miles distant from the Citie, which springeth out of a little hill, at the foote whereof standeth two Statues or covered Images wrought in stone, with their Targets and Lances, the one is of Mutezuma, and the other of Axaiaca his Father. The water is brought from thence in two Pipes or Canals in great quantity, and when the one is foule, then all the water is conveied into the other, till the first be made cleane. From this Fountaine all the whole Citie is provided, so that they goe selling the same water from streete to streete in little Boates, and doe pay a certaine tribute for the same.

This Citie is divided into two streetes, the one was called Tlatelulco, that is to say, a little Iland, and the other Mexico, where Mutezuma his dwelling and Court was, and is to be interpreted a Spring. This streete is the fairest and most principall, and because of the Kings Pallace there, the Citie was named Mexico, although the old and first name of the Citie was Tenuchtitlan, which doth signifie Fruite out of stone, for the name is compounded of Tetl, which is, Stone, and Nuchtli, which is a Fruite in Cuba and Hispaniola, called Tunas; the Tree (or to speake properly, the Thistle) that beareth this fruite, is named Nopal, and is nothing almost but leaves of a footebroad and round, and three inches thicke, some more, and some lesse, according to the growth, full of thornes which are venemous: the leafe is greene, and the thorne or pricke russet. After that is planted, it encreaseth, growing leafe unto leafe, and the foote thereof commeth to be as the body of a tree, and one leafe doth onely produce another at the point, but at the sides of the same leaves proceede other leaves. In some Provinces where water is scant, they use to drinke the juice of these leaves. The fruite thereof called

It groweth also in Bermuda.

Nuchtli, is like unto Figges, and even so hath his little kernels or graines within, but they are somewhat larger, and crowned like unto a Medler. There are of them of sundry colours, some are greene without, and Carnationlike within, which have a good taste. Others are yellow, and others white, and some speckled: the best sort are the white: it is a fruite that will last long. Some of them have the taste of Peares, and othersome of Grapes: it is a cold and a fresh fruite, and best esteemed in the heate of Summer. The Spaniards doe more esteeme them then the Indians. The more the ground is laboured where they grow, the fruite is so much the better. There is yet another kinde of this fruite red, and that is nothing esteemed, although his taste is not evill, but because it doth colour and dye the eaters mouth, lippes, and apparell, yea, and maketh his urine looke like pure bloud. Many Spaniards at their first comming into India, and eating this Fruite, were in a maze, and at their wits end, thinking that all the blood in their bodies came out in urine: yea and many Phisitions at their first comming were of the same beliefe: for it hath happened, when they have bin sent for unto such as have eaten this fruite, they not knowing the cause, and beholding the urine, by and by they ministred medicine to stanch the bloud: a thing ridiculous, to see the Phisitians so deceived. Of this fruite Nuchtli and Tetl, which is a Stone, is compounded Tenuchtlitan. When this City was begun to be founded, it was placed neere unto a great Stone that stood in the middest of the Lake, at the foote whereof grew one of these Nopal trees, and therefore Mexico giveth for armes and devise the foot of a Nopal tree springing from a stone, according to the Cities name.

The name of Mexico.

Mexico is as much to say, as a Spring or Fountaine, according to the property of the vowell and speech. Others doe affirme, that Mexico hath his name of a more ancient time, whose first Founders were called

Mexiti, for unto this day the Indian dwellers in one streete of this City are called of Mexico. The Mexiti tooke name of thir principallest Idoll called Mexitli, who was in as great veneration as Vitzilopuchtli, god of the warre. Mexico is environed with sweet water, and hath three wayes to come unto it by cawsie, the one is from the West, and that cawsie is a mile and a halfe long. Another from the North, and containeth three miles in length. Eastward the Citie hath no entrie. But Southward the Cawsey is sixe miles long, which was the way that Cortez entred into the Citie. The Lake that Mexico is planted in, although it seemeth one, yet it is two, for the one is of water saltish, bitter, and pestiferous, and no kinde of fish liveth in it. And the other water is wholesome, good, and sweet, and bringeth forth small fish. The salt water ebbeth and floweth, according to the winde that bloweth. The sweet water standeth higher, so that the good water falleth into the evill, and reverteth not backward, as some hold opinion. The salt Lake contayneth fifteene miles in breadth, and fifteene in length, and more then five and fortie in circuit; and the Lake of sweet water contayneth even as much, in such sort, that the whole Lake contayneth more then thirtie leagues, and hath about fiftie townes situated round about it, many of which townes doe contayne five thousand housholds, and some ten thousand, yea and one towne called Tezcuco, is as bigge as Mexico. All this Lake of water springeth out of a Mountaine that standeth within sight of Mexico. The cause that the one part of the Lake is brackish or saltish, is, that the bottome or ground is all salt, and of that water great quantitie of salt is daily made.

[III. v. 1132.]

Two Lakes, one salt the other fresh.

Ebbing and flowing by the winde. Some (as Patritius) hence moved, derive the cause of the Seas flowing from the saltnesse.

Cause of the saltnesse.

200000. *Canoas.*

In this great Lake are above two hundred thousand little boates, which the Indians call Acalles, and the Spaniards call them Canoas, according to the speech of Cuba and Santo Domingo, wrought like a kneading trough: some are bigger then other some, according to

the greatnesse of the body of the tree whereof they are made. And where I number two hundred thousand of these boats, I speake of the least, for Mexico alone hath above fiftie thousand ordinarily to carry and bring unto the Citie victuall, provision, and passengers, so that on the market day all the streets of water are full of them.

The Market place of Mexico.

The Market is called in the Indian tongue Tlanquiztli: every Parish hath his Market place to buy and sell in: but Mexico, and Tlatelulco onely, which are the chiefest Cities, have great Faires and places fit for the same, and especially Mexico hath one place where most dayes in the yeere is buying and selling, but every fourth day is the great Market ordinarily: and the like custome is used throughout the Dominions of Mutezuma. This place is wide and large, compassed round about with doores, and is so great, that a hundred thousand persons come thither to chop and change, as a Citie most principall in all that Region. Wherefore the resort is from farre parts unto that place. Every occupation and kinde of merchandise hath his proper place appointed, which no other may by any meanes occupy or disturbe. Likewise pesterous wares have their place accordingly (that is to say) stone, timber, lime, bricke, and all kinde of stuffe unwrought, being necessarie to build withall. Also Mats both fine and course of sundrie workmanship, also Coales, Wood, and all sorts of earthen vessell, glased and painted very curiously: Deere skinnes both raw and tanned in haire and without haire, of many colours, for Shoomakers, Bucklers, Targets, Jerkins, and lining of woodden Corselets: also skinnes of other beasts, and fowle in feathers readie dressed of all sorts, the colours and strangenesse thereof was a thing to behold. The richest merchandise was Salt, and Mantels of cotton wooll of divers colours, both great and smal, some for beds, others for garments and clothing, other for tapissarie to hang houses, other cotten cloth for lining breeches, shirts, table clothes, towels, napkins, and such like things.

Order of Sellers.

The divers wares.

There were also Mantels made of the leaves of the tree called Metl, and of Palme tree, and Cony haire, which are well esteemed, being very warme, but the Coverlets made of feathers are the best: they sell threed made of Cony haire, pieces of linnen cloth made of cotton wooll, also skaines of threed of all colours: also it is strange to see the great store of fowle, some wilde, some tame, some water fowle, and other some of rapine. All the braverie of the Market, is the place where gold and feathers joyntly wrought is sold, for any thing that is in request is there lively wrought in gold and feathers, and gallant colours. The Indians are so expert and perfect in this science, that they will worke or make a Butter-flie, any wild Beast, Trees, Roses, Flowers, Herbs, Rootes, or any other thing, so lively, that it is a thing marvellous to behold. It hapneth many times that one of these workmen in a whole day will eate nothing, onely to place one feather in his due perfection, turning and tossing the feather to the light of the Sunne, into the shade or darke place, to see where is his most naturall perfection, and till his worke be finished he will neither eate nor drinke. There are few Nations of so much patience. The Art or Science of Gold-smiths, among them is the most curious, and very good workmanship engraven with tooles made of flint, or in mold. They will cast a platter in mold with eight corners, and every corner of severall metall, that is to say, the one of gold, and the other of silver, without any kind of solder: they will also found or cast a little caldron with loose handles hanging thereat, as wee use to cast a bell: they will also cast in mold a fish of metall with one scale of silver on his backe, and another of gold: they will make a Parret or Popinjay of metall, that his tongue shall shake, and his head moove, and his wings flutter: they will cast an Ape in mold, that both hands and feet shall stirre, and hold a spindle in his hand seeming to spin, yea and an Apple in his hand, as though he

Indian workemanship.

Gold-smiths artifices.

would eate it. Our Spaniards were not a little amazed at the sight of these things. For our Gold-smiths are not to be compared unto them. They have skill also of Amell worke, and to set any precious stone. But now as touching the Market, there is to sell Gold, Silver, Copper, Leade, Latton, and Tin, although there is but little of the three last metals mentioned. There are pearles, precious stones, divers and sundrie sorts of shells, and bones, spunges and other Pedlers ware, which certainly are many and strange sorts, yea, and a thing to laugh at their Haberdash toyes and triffles. There are also many kinde of Hearbs, Roots, and Seedes, as well to bee eaten, as for medicine, for both men, women, and children, have great knowledge in hearbs, for through povertie and necessitie, they seeke them for their sustenance and helpe of their infirmities and diseases. They spend little among Physicians, although there are some of that Art, and many Apothecaries, who doe bring into the market Ointments, Sirrops, Waters, and other drugs, fit for sicke persons: they cure all diseases almost, with hearbs, yea, as much as for to kill Lice, they have a proper hearb for the purpose. [III. v. 1133.]

Victuall of divers sorts.

The severall kindes of meates to bee sold are without number, as Snakes without head and taile, little Dogs gelt, Molls, Rats, long Wormes, Lice, yea and a kinde of earth, for at one season in the yeere they have Nets of maile, with the which they rake up a certaine dust that is bred upon the water of the Lake of Mexico, and that is kneaded together like unto Oas of the Sea: they gather much of this victuall, and keepe it in heapes, and make thereof Cakes like unto brick-bats: they sell not onely this ware in the Market, but also send it abroad to other Faires and Markets afarre off: they eate this meate with as good stomacks as wee eate cheese, yea and they hold opinion that this skum or fatnesse of the water, is the cause that such great number of fowle commeth to the Lake, which in the winter season is infinite. All the Sellers pay a certaine summe for their shops or standings

to the King, as a custome, and they to bee preserved and defended from theeves: and for that cause there goe certaine Sergeants or Officers up and downe the Market to espie out malefactors. In the middest of the Market standeth a house which may bee seene throughout the Faire, and there sitteth twelve ancient men for Judges to dispatch Law matters: their buying and selling is to change one ware for another, as thus, one giveth a Hen for a bundell of Maiz, other give Mantels for Salt, or money which is Cacao, and this is their order to chop and change: they have measure and strike for all kinde of Corne, and other earthern measures for Hony and Wine, and if any Measure bee falsified, they punish the offenders, and breake their measures.

Bartering.

The great Temple of Mexico.

The Temple is called Teucalli, that is to say, Gods House; Teutl, signifieth God; and Calli is a House, a name very fit, if that house had beene of the true God. The Spaniards that understand not the language, doe pronounce and call those Temples Cues, and the God Vitzilopuchtli, Uchilobos. There are in Mexico many Churches with Towres for their Parishes and Streets, wherein are Chappels and Altars where the Images and Idols doe stand, and those Chappels doe serve for buriall places of their Founders; for others are buried in the ground about them or Churchyards. All their Temples are of one fashion, therefore it shall bee now sufficient to speake of the principall Church. This Temple is square, and doth contayne every way as much ground as a Crossebow can reach levell: it is made of stone, with foure doores that abutteth upon the three Cawseys, and upon another part of the Citie, that hath no Cawsey but a faire street. In the middest of this Quaderne standeth a mount of earth and stone, square likewise, and fiftie fathom long every way, built upward like unto a Pyramide of Egypt, saving the top is not sharpe, but plaine and flat, and ten fathom square: upon the West side, were steps up to the top, in number an hundreth and fourteene, which being so many, high, and made

Chiefe Temple described.

of good stone, did seeme a beautifull thing. It was a strange sight to behold the Priests, some going up, and some downe with ceremonies, or with men to be sacrificed. Upon the top of this Temple are two great Altars, a good space distant the one from the other, and so nigh the edge or brim of the wall, that scarsly a man may goe behinde them at pleasure. The one Altar standeth on the right hand, and the other on the left: they were but of five foot high, each of them had the backe part made of stone, painted with monstrous and foule figures, the Chappell was faire and well wrought of Masons worke and timber, every Chappell had three lofts, one above another, sustayned upon pillars, and with the height thereof it shewed like unto a faire Towre, and beautified the Citie afarre off: from thence a man may see all the Citie and Townes round about the Lake, which was undoubtedly a goodly prospect. And because Cortes and his companie should see the beaútie thereof; Mutezuma brought him thither, and shewed him all the order of the Temple, even from the foot to the top. There was a certaine plot or space for the Idoll Priests to celebrate their service without disturbance of any. Their generall prayers were made toward the rising of the Sunne. Upon each Altar standeth a great Idoll. Beside this Towre that standeth upon the Pyramide, there are fourtie Towres great and small belonging to other little Temples which stand in the same circuit, the which although they were of the same making, yet their prospect was not Westward, but other wayes, because there should be a difference betwixt the great Temple and them. Some of these Temples were bigger then others, and every one of a severall God, among the which there was one round Temple, dedicated to the God of the aire, called Quecalcovatl, for even as the aire goeth round about the Heavens, even for that consideration they made his Temple round. The entrance of that Temple had a doore, made like unto the mouth of a Serpent, and was painted with foule and devillish gestures, with great

Two Altars.

Fortie towres.

Severall Temples to severall gods.

A strange doore.

teeth and gums wrought, which was a thing to feare those that should enter in thereat, and especially the Christians unto whom it represented very Hell, with that ugly face and monstrous teeth. [III. v. 1134.]

There were other Teucalles in the Citie, that had the ascending up by steps in three places: all these Temples had houses by themselves with all service, and Priests and particular Gods. At every doore of the great Temple standeth a large Hall and goodly Lodgings, both high and low round about, which houses were common Armories for the Citie, for the force and strength of every Towne is the Temple, and therefore they have there placed their store-house of munition. They had other darke houses full of Idols, great and small, wrought of sundrie metals, they are all bathed and washed with bloud, and doe shew very blacke through their daily sprinkling and anointing them with the same, when any man is sacrificed: yea, and the walls are an inch thicke with bloud, and the ground is a foot thick of bloud, so that there is a devillish stinch. The Priests or Ministers goe daily into those Oratories, and suffer none others but great personages to enter in. Yea, and when any such goeth in, they are bound to offer some man to bee sacrificed, that those bloudie Hangmen and Ministers of the Devill may wash their hands in bloud of those so sacrificed, and to sprinkle their house therewith.

Temple-halls. *Idoll-holes.* *Bloudie walls.* *Devillish Priests.*

For their service in the Kitchin they have a Pond of water that is filled once a yeere, which is brought by conduit from the principall Fountaine. All the residue of the foresaid circuit serveth for places to breede fowle, with Gardens of herbs and sweet trees, with Roses and flowers for the Altars. Such, so great and strange was this Temple of Mexico, for the service of the Devill who had deceived those simple Indians. There doth reside in the same Temple continually five thousand persons, and all they are lodged and have their living there, for that Temple is marvellous rich, and hath divers Townes onely for their maintenance and reparation, and are bound to

5000. *residents.*

sustaine the same alwayes on foot. They doe sowe Corne, and maintayne all those five thousand persons with bread, fruit, flesh, fish, and fire-wood, as much as they neede, for they spend more fire-wood then is spent in the Kings Court: these persons doe live at their hearts ease, as servants and vassals unto the Gods.

The Idols of Mexico. 2000. gods.

The Gods of Mexico were two thousand in number, as the Indians reported, the chiefest were Vitzilopuchtli, and Tezcatlipuca, whose Images stood highest in the Temple upon the Altars: they were made of stone in full proportion as bigge as a Giant. They were covered with a lawne, called Nacar. These Images were beset with pearles, precious stones, and pieces of gold, wrought like birds, beasts, fishes, and flowres, adorned with Emeralds, Turquies, Calcedons, and other little fine stones, so that when the lawne Nacar was taken away, the Images seemed very beautifull to behold. The Image had for a girdle great Snakes of gold, and for Collars and Chaines about their necks, ten hearts of men made of gold, and each of those Idols had a counterfait visard with eyes of glasse, and in their necks death painted: each of these things had their considerations and meanings. These two Gods were brethren, for Tezcatlipuca was the God of Providence, and Vitzilopuchti God of the Warres, who was worshipped and feared more then all the rest.

A wicked attyre.

There was another God, who had a great Image placed upon the top of the Chappell of Idols, and he was esteemed for a speciall and singular God above all the rest. This God was made of all kinde of seedes that groweth in that Country, and being ground, they made a certaine paste, tempered with Childrens bloud, and Virgins sacrified, who were opened with their Rasors in the breasts, and their hearts taken out, to offer as first fruits unto the Idoll. The Priests and Ministers doe consecrate this Idoll with great pompe and many ceremonies. All the Comarcans and Citizens are present at the consecration, with great triumph and incredible devotion. After the

consecration, many devout persons came and sticked in the dowie Image precious stones, wedges of gold, and other jewels. After all this pompe ended, no secular man may touch that holy Image, no nor yet come into his Chappell, nay scarsly religious persons, except they were Tlamacaztli, who are Priests of order. They doe renew this Image many times with new dough, taking away the old, but then blessed is he that can get one piece of the old raggs for reliques, and chiefly for Souldiers, who thought themselves sure therewith in the warres. Also at the consecration of this Idoll, a certaine vessell of water was blessed with many wordes and ceremonies, and that water was preserved very religiously at the foot of the Altar, for to consecrate the King when he should be crowned, and also to blesse any Captaine generall, when he should be elected for the warres, with onely giving him a draught of that water.

A mad offering.

Without the Temple, and over against the principall doore thereof, a stones cast distant, standeth the Charnell house onely of dead mens heads, prisoners in warres, and sacrificed with the knife. This monument was made like unto a Theater, more larger than broad, wrought of lime and stone, with ascending steps, in the walls whereof was grafted betwixt stone and stone a Scull, with the teeth outwards. At the foot and head of this Theater, were two Towres, made onely of lime and sculls, the teeth outward, and this wall having no other stuffe, seemed a strange sight. At and upon the top of the Theater, were seventie Poles, standing the one from the other foure or five foot distant, and each of them was full of staves from the foot to the top. Each of these staves had others made fast unto them, so that every of them had five sculs broched through the Temple. Andrew de Tapia did certifie me, that he and Gonçalo de Umbria did reckon them in one day, and found a hundred thirtie and sixe thousand sculls on the poles, staves, and steps. The other Towres were replenished out of number, a most cruell custome, being onely mens heads slaine in sacrifice,

The Charnell house, or place of sacrificed mens Sculls.

Terrible spectacle.

[III. v. 1135.]

although it hath a shew of humanitie for the remembrance there placed of death. There are also men appointed, that when one scull falleth, to set up another in his place, so that the number may never want.

Other Mexican Antiquities, Letters, Numbers, Yeeres, Dayes, Weekes, &c.

THere hath not beene found Letters at any time in the West India, onely in new Spaine were used certaine figures which served for letters, with the which they kept in memorie and preserved their Antiquities. The figures that the Mexicans used for letters are great, by reason whereof they occupie great Volumes: they engrave them in stone or timber, and paint them upon walls, and also upon a paper made of cotton wooll, and leaves of the tree Metl. Their bookes are great and folded up like unto our broad cloathes, and written upon both sides. There are some bookes rolled up like a piece of flannell. They pronounce not v, g, r, s, y, therefore they use much p, c, l, x. This is the Mexican speech, and Nahual, which is the best, playnest, and the most eloquent, in all new Spaine. There are some in Mexico that doe understand each other by whistling, which is ordinarily used among Lovers, and Theeves, a speech truly to wonder at, and none of our men could come to the knowledge thereof.

Their reckoning by numbers was in this sort.

Ce,	One,	Matlactlioce,	Eleven,
Ome,	Two,	Matlactliome,	Twelve,
Ei,	Three	Matlactlomei,	Thirteene,
Naui,	Foure,	Matlactlinaui,	Fourteene,
Macuil,	Five,	Matlactlinacui,	Fifteene,
Chicoace,	Six,	Matlactlichicoace,	Sixteene,
Chicome,	Seven,	Matlactlichicome,	Seventeene,
Chicuei,	Eight,	Matlactlichicuei,	Eighteene,
Chiconaui,	Nine,	Matlactlichiconaui,	Nineteene,
Matlac,	Ten,	Cempoalli,	Twentie.

Every number is simple untill you come to sixe, and then they count, sixe and one, sixe and two, sixe and three. Ten is a number by himselfe, then you must count ten and one, ten and two, ten and three, ten and foure, ten and five. Then you count, ten, five, and one; ten, five, and two; ten, five, and three. Twentie goeth by himselfe, and all the greater numbers.

The Mexican yeere is three hundreth and sixtie dayes, for they have in their yeere eighteene moneths, and every moneth contayneth twentie dayes. They have other five odde dayes, which goeth by themselves, in the which they used to celebrate great feasts of cruell and bloudy sacrifice, with much devotion. And reckoning after this sort, they could not choose but erre, for they could not make equall the punctual course of the Sunne. Yea the Christian yeere is not perfect, although wee have learned Astronomers. But yet these simple Indians went neere the marke.

The names of the moneths. Tlacaxipeualiztli, Tozcutzli, Huei Tozeuztli, Toxcalt, Ecalcoaliztli, Tocuilhuicintli, Hueitecuilhuitl, Miccailhuicintli, Veymiccailhuitl, Uchpaniztli, Pachtli, Huei Pachtli, Quecholli, Panquecaliztli, Hatemuztli, Tititlh, Izcalli, Coa Vitleuac.

The names of Dayes, were Cipactli, A Spade; Hecatl, Aire or Winde; Calli, A House; Cuez Pali, A Lizzart; Coualt, A Snake; Mizquintli, Death; Macatl, A wilde Hart; Tochtli, A Cony; Atl, Water; Izcuyntli, A Dogge; Ocumatli, An Ape; Malinalli, A Broome; Acatlh, A Cave; Ocelotl, A Tigre; Coautli, An Eagle; Cozcaquahutl, A Buzzard; Olin, A Temple; Tepatlh, A Knife; Quiauitl, Raine; Xuchitl, A Rose.

Although these twentie names serve for the whole yeere, and are but the dayes of every moneth, yet therefore every moneth beginneth not with Cipactli, which is the first name, but as they follow in order, and the five odde dayes is the cause thereof. And also because their weeke is of thirteene dayes, which changeth the names, as by example, Cecipactli can goe no further then unto

Matlactlomeiacatl, which is thirteene, and then beginneth another weeke: and we doe not say Matlactlinaui Ocelotl, which is the fourteenth day, but wee say Ceocelotl, which is one, and then reckon the other sixe names unto twentie. And when all the twentie dayes are ended, begin againe to reckon from the first name of the twentie, but not from one, but from eight. And because yee may better understand the matter, here is the example.

Cecipactli, Omehecatl, Ei Calli, Naui Cuezpali, Macuilcouatl, Chicoacen Mizquinth, Chicome Macatl, Chicuei Tochtli, Chiconauiatl, Matlaciz Cuintli, Mailactlioce Ocumatli, Matlactliome Malinalli, Matlactlomei Acatlh. The next weeke following doth begin his dayes from one. And that one is the fourteenth name of the moneth and of the dayes, and saith: Ceotelotl, Omecoautli, Eicozcaquahutli, Naui Olui, Macuil Tecpatl, Chicoacen Quiauitl, Chicome Xuchitl, Chicoei Cipactli. In this second weeke, Cipactli came to fall on the eight day, being in the first weeke the first day. Cemacatl, Ometochtli, Eiatl, Naui Izcuintli, Macuil Ocumatli. And so proceede on to the third weeke, in the which this name Cipactli entreth not, but Macatl, which was the seventh day in the first weeke, and had no place in the second, and is the first in the third. The reckoning is no darker then ours, which we have in a, b, c, d, e, f, g. For they also change with time, and run in such sort, that a, which was the first letter of this moneth, commeth to be the fift day of the next moneth, and the third moneth he counteth to be the third day, and so orderly doth the other sixe letters. [III. v. 1136.]

The accounting of yeares.

These Mexicans had another order to reckon their yeeres, which exceeded not above foure in number, as one, two, three, foure, wherewith they account a hundred, five hundred, a thousand, and as many moe as they list. Those foure figures or names, are, Tochtli, Acatlh, Tecpatlh, Calli, and doe signifie a Cony, a Cave, a Knife, and a House, saying: Ce Totchtli, One yeere; Ome Acatlth, Two yeeres; Ei Tecpatlh, Three yeeres; Naui Calli, Foure yeeres; Macuil Tochtli, Five yeeres; Chioacen

Acatlh, Sixe yeeres; Cicome Tecpatlh, Seven yeeres; Chicuei Calh, Eight yeeres; Chiconaui Tochtli, Nine yeeres; Matlactli Acatlh, Ten yeeres; Matlactlioce Tecpatlh, Eleven yeeres; Matlactliome Calli, Twelve yeeres; Matlactliomei Tochtli, Thirteene yeeres. So that the reckoning passeth not above thirteene, which is one weeke of the yeere, and endeth where he began.

The second weeke. Ce Acatlh, one yeere; Ome Tlepatlh, two yeeres; Ei Calli, three yeeres; Naui Tochtli, foure yeeres; Macuil Acatlh, five yeeres; Chioacen Tecpatlh, sixe yeeres; Chicome Calli, seven yeeres; Chicuei Tochtli, eight yeeres; Chiconaui Acatlh, nine yeeres; Matlactli Tecpatlh, ten yeeres; Matlactlioce Calli, eleven yeeres; Matlactliome Tochtli, twelve yeeres; Matlactliomei Acatlh, thirteene yeeres. The third weeke of yeeres. Ce Tecpatlh, one yeere; Ome Calli, two yeeres; Ei Tochtli, three yeeres; Naui Acatlh, foure yeeres; Macuil Tecpatlh, five yeeres; Chioacan Calli, sixe yeeres; Chicome Tochtli, seven yeeres; Chicuei Acatlh, eight yeeres; Chiconaui Tecpatlh, nine yeeres; Matlactli Calli, ten yeeres; Matlactliome Tochtli, eleven yeeres; Matlactliome Acatlh, twelve yeeres; Matlactliomei Tecpatlh, thirteene yeeres.

The fourth weeke. Ce Calli, one yeere, Ome Tochtli, two yeares; Ei Acatlh, three yeares: Naui Tecpatlh, foure yeares; Macuil Calli, five yeares; Chioacen Tochtli, six yeares; Chicome Acatch, seven yeares; Chieuei Tecpatlh, eight yeares; Chiconaui Calli, nine yeares; Matlactli Tochtli, ten yeares; Matlactlioce Acatlh, eleven yeares; Matlactliome Tecpatlh, twelve yeares; Matlactliomei Calli, thirteene yeares. Each of these weekes, which our men call Indition, doth containe thirteene yeares, so that all the foure weekes make two and fiftie yeares, which is a perfect number in their reckoning, and is called the yeare of grace, for from fiftie two yeares, to fiftie two yeares, they used to make solemne feasts, with strange Ceremonies, as hereafter shall be declared. And when fiftie two yeares are ended, then they begin againe,

by the same order before declared, untill they come to as many moe, beginning at Ce Tochtli, and so forward. But alwayes they begin at the Conie figure. So that in the forme of reckoning they keepe and have in memory, things of eight hundred and fiftie yeares: and by this Chronicle they know in what yeare every thing hapned, and how long every King reigned: how many children they had, and all things else that importeth to the estate of the government of the Land.

The Indians beleeved that five ages were past, which they called Sunnes.

The Indians of Culhua did beleeve that the Gods had made the World, but they knew not how, yet they beleeved that since the creation of the world foure Sunnes were past, and that the fift and last is the Sunne that now giveth light to the World. They held opinion that the first Sunne perished by water, and at the same time all living creatures perished likewise. The second Sunne (say they) fell from the heavens, with whose fall all living creatures were slaine, and then (said they) were many Giants in that Countrey, and certaine monstrous Bones, which our men found in opening of graves, by proportion whereof some should seeme to be men of twenty spans high. The third Sunne was consumed by fire, which burned day and night, so that then all living creatures were burned. The fourth Sunne finished by tempest of Ayre or Winde, which blew downe Houses, Trees, yea and the Mountaines and Rockes were blowen a sunder, but the linage of Mankinde perished not, saving that they were converted into Apes. And touching the fift Sunne, which now raigneth, they know not how it shall consume. But they say, that when the fourth Sunne perished, all the world fell into darkenesse, and so remained for the space of five and twenty yeares continually, and at the fifteenth yeare of that fearefull darkenesse, the Gods did forme one man and woman, who brought forth children, and at the end of the other ten yeares, appeared the Sunne which was newly borne upon the figure of the Conie day, and therefore they begin their account of yeares at that day, and reckoning from the yeare of our Lord 1552,

their age or Sunne is 858. so that it appeareth that they have used many yeares their writing in figures: and they had not onely this use from Cetochli, which is the beginning of their yeare, moneth, and day, of their fifth Sunne, but also they had the same order and use in the other foure Sunnes which were past: but they let many things slip out of memory, saying, that with the new Sunne, all other things should be likewise new. They held also opinion, that three dayes after this last Sun appeared, all the gods did dye, and that in processe of time, the gods which now they have, and worship, were borne.

The Coronation of the Kings of Mexico.

Although one brother was heire to another among the Mexicans, and after their decease, did inherit the Sonne of the eldest Brother, yet they tooke no possession of the state or name of King, untill they were anointed and crowned openly.

As soone as any King of Mexico deceased, and his Funerals ended, then were called to Parliament the Lord of Tezcuco, and the Lord of Tlacopan, who were the chiefest estates, and then in order all other Noblemen, who owed any service to the Mexican Empire. And being come together; if any doubt of the inheritance [III. v. 1137.] of the Crowne happened, then the matter was decided with all haste: then the new King being knowne, he was stripped starke naked, except a cloath to cover his privie parts, and in this sort was carried among them, to the great Temple of Vitzilopuchtli with great silence, and without any joy or pleasure: Two Gentlemen of the Citie, whose office it was, led him up the staires of the Temple by the armes, and before him went the Princes of Tezcuco and Tlacopan, who that day did weare their roabes of Coronation, whereupon was painted their armes and title. Verie few of the Laitie went up into the Chappels, but onely those that were appointed to attire the new King and to serve in other Ceremonies, for all the residue stood upon the steps and below, to behold the Coronation. These Magistrates being above

in the Chappell, came with great humility and reverence, kneeling downe upon their knees before the Idoll of Vitzilopuchtli, and touched the earth with one finger, and then kissed the same. Then came the high Priest cloathed in his pontificall vestments, with many others in his company, who did weare Surplices: and without speaking any word, they painted or coloured the Kings person, with Inke made for the purpose, as blacke as any coale. After this Ceremonie done, they blessed the annointed King, and sprinkled him foure times with a certaine holy water, that was made at the time of consecration of the God, made of dowe or paste, with a sprinkle made of bowes of Cane leaves, Cedar, and Willow leaves. Then they put upon his head, cloth painted with the bones and sculs of dead men, and next they cloathed him with a blacke garment & upon that another blew, and both were painted with the figures of dead mens sculs and bones. Then they put about his necke certaine laces, whereat did hang the armes of the Crowne. And behinde his back they did hang certaine little bottels full of powders, by virtue wherof he was delivered from pestilence and diseases, according to their opinion: yea, and thereby Witches, nor Witchcrafts could not hurt him, nor yet evill men deceive him. In fine, with those relicks he was sure from all perill and danger. Upon his left arme they bound a little bagge of Incense, and then brought unto him a chaffing-dish of imbers made of the barke of an Oke tree. Then the King arose, and with his owne hand threw of the same Incense, into the chaffing-dish, and with great reverence brought the same to the god Vitzilopuchtli, and after he had smoaked him therewith, he sat him downe, then came the high Priest and tooke his oath to maintaine the religion of the gods, to keepe also all the lawes and customes of his predecessours, to maintaine justice, and not to aggravate any of his vassals or subjects, and that he should be valiant in the warres, that he should cause the Sunne to give his light, the clouds to yeelde

The ointment.

raine, the rivers to runne, and the earth to bring forth all kinde of graine, fruites, and other needefull hearbs and trees. These and many other impossible things the new King did sweare to performe: and then he gave thankes to the high Priest, and commended himselfe to the gods, and to the lookers on, and they who brought him up in the same order, carrieth him downe againe. Then all the people cried, the Gods preserve the new King, and that he may raigne many yeares in health with all his people. But then some began to dance, other to play on their instruments, shewing outwardly their inward joyes of heart. And before the King came to the foote of the steps, all the Noblemen came to yeelde their obedience, and in token of loving and faithfull subjects, they presented unto him Feathers, strings of Snaile-shels, Collers, and other Jewels of Gold and Silver, also Mantels painted with death, and bare him company unto a great hall within the compasse of the Temple, and there left him, The King sitteth downe under his cloath of estate, called Tlacatecco, and in foure dayes departeth not out of the circuit of the Temple, the which hee spends in prayers, sacrifice, and penance; he eates then but once a day, and every day he bathes himselfe, and againe in the night in a great pond of water, and then lets himselfe bloud in his eares, and senseth therewith the god of water, called Tlaloc: he likewise senseth the other Idols, unto whom he offereth Bread, Flowers, Papers, and little Canes, died in the bloud of his owne tongue, nose, hands, and other parts of his body. After the foure dayes expired, then come all the Noblemen to beare him company to his Palace, with great triumph and pleasure of all the Citie, but after his consecration few or none dare looke him in the face.

And now with the declaration of the Acts and Ceremonies that the Mexican Kings are crowned, I shall not neede to rehearse of other Kings, for generally they all doe use the same order, saving that other Princes goe not up to the top of the Temple, but abide at

the foote of the steps to be crowned, and after their Coronation they come to Mexico for their confirmation, and then at their returne to their Countrey, they made many drunken feasts and banquets.

The opinion of the Mexicans concerning the Soule.

The Mexicans did beleeve that the Soule was immortall, and that they received either joy or paine according to their deserts and living in this world, unto which opinion all their religion did attaine, and chiefly appeare at their burials. They held for an assured faith, that there were nine places appointed for soules, and the chiefest place of glory to be neere unto the Sunne, where the soules of those which were good men slaine in the warres, and those which were sacrificed were placed, and that all other sorts of evill persons their soules abode on the earth, and were devided after this sort, children that were dead borne went to one place, those which died of age or other disease went to another, those which died of sudden death to another, those which died of wounds or contagious diseases went to another place, those which were drowned went to another, those which were put to death for offence by order of Justice, as for robbery and adultery to another: Those which slew their Fathers, Mothers, Wives or Children, to another place by themselves; also those who slew their Masters or any religious person went to another place. The common sort of people were buried, but Lords and rich men had their bodies burned, and their ashes buried. In their shrowdes they had a great difference, for many dead bodies were buried better apparelled then when they were on live. Women were shrowded after another sort. And hee that suffered death for adultery, was shrowded like unto the God of lecherie, called Tlazoulteutl; he that was drowned like unto the god of water, named Tlacoc; and he that died with drunkenesse was shrowded like unto the god of wine, called Ometochtli. But the Souldier had an honorable shrowde like unto the attire of Vitzilopuchtli, and the like order in all other sorts of deaths.

Nine places for Soules.

[III. v. 1138.]

The buriall of Kings in Mexico.

When any King of Mexico happened to fall sicke,

they used forthwith to put a visor upon the face of Tezcatlipuca, or Vitzilopuchtli, or some other Idoll, which Visor was not taken away, untill they saw whether the King did amend, or else dye: But if he chanced to dye, then word was sent throughout all his Dominions to bewaile his death, and also other postes were sent to call the Noblemen that were his nighest kinsmen, and to warne them within foure daies to come unto his buriall.

The dead body was laid upon a faire Mat, and was watched foure nights, with great lamentation and mourning: then the body was washed, and a locke of haire cut from the crowne of his head, which was preserved as a great relicke, saying, that therein remained the remembrance of his soule. This done, a fine Emerald was put in his mouth, and his body shrowded in seventeene rich Mantels, of colours, both rich and costly wrought. Upon the upper Mantle was set the devise or armes of Vitzilopuchtli or Tezcalipuca, or some other Idoll, in whom the King had great confidence in his life time, and in his Temple should the body be buried. Upon his face they put a visor, painted with foule and Devillish jestures, beset with many Jewels, Precious stones, and Pearles, Then they killed his slave whose office was to light the lampes, and make fire unto the gods of his Pallace. These things done, they carried the dead body unto the Temple: some followed him with dolefull tune, others sung the death of the King by note, for so was the custome.

The Noblemen and Gentlemen of his houshold carried Targets, Arrowes, Mases, and Ensignes to throw into the fire where the body should be buried in the Temple. The high Priest and all the Clergie received him at the Temple gate, with a sorrowfull song, and after he had said certaine words, the body was throne into a great fire made for the purpose, with all the Jewels that he had about him, and all the other things which was brought to honour the buriall: also a Dogge newly strangled with an Arrow, which was to guide him his

way. In the meane while that the King and Dogge were burning, the Priests sacrificed two hundred persons, howbeit in his Ceremonie there was no ordinary taxe, for sometimes they sacrificed many moe: they were opened with a Rasor of flint in the breasts, and their hearts taken out and throwne into the fire where the Kings body was. These miserable persons being sacrificed, and their bodies throwne into a hole; they beleeved assuredly that those should serve for his slaves in another world: some of them were Dwarffes, monstrous and deformed persons, with some women. They placed about the dead body of the King before his buriall, Roses, Flowers, and sundrie dishes of meate and drinke, and no creature durst touch the same, but onely the Priests, for it seemed to be an offering.

The next day following, all the ashes were gathered together, and the teeth with the Emerald that was in his mouth, the which things were put into a Chest, painted on the inside with horrible figures of devils, and the locke of haire which was cut from his crowne, and another locke of haire which was preserved from the time of his birth. Then the Chest was lockt, and an Image of wood made and cloathed like unto the Kings person, which was set on the top of the Chest. The obsequies endured foure dayes, in the which the wives and daughters of the King offered great offerings at the place where his body was buried, and before the Chest and his Image.

On the fourth day after the buriall, fifteene slaves were sacrificed for his soule; and on the twentieth day, other five persons were also sacrificed; likewise on the sixtie three and fourescore, which was like unto the yeares minde.

The order of buriall of the Kings of Michuacan.

The Kingdome of Michuacan is almost as great as the Empire of Mexico, and when any King of that Countrey happened to be visited with sicknesse, and brought to such extremitie, that hope of life were past, according to the opinion of Phisitions, then would he

name and appoint which of his Sonnes should inherite the estate; and being knowne, the new King or heire, incontinent sent for all the Governours, Captaines, and valiant Souldiors, who had any office or charge to come unto the buriall of his Father, and he that came not, from thenceforth was held for a Traitour, and so punished. When the death of the old King was certaine, then came all degrees of Estates and brought presents to the new King, for the approbation of his Kingdome, but if the King were not throughly dead, but at the point of death, then the gates were shut in, and none permitted to enter; and when his life was departed, then began a generall cry and mourning, and they were permitted to come where their dead King lay, and to touch him with their hands: this being done, the carkasse was washed with sweete waters, and then a fine shirt put upon him, and a paire of shooes made of a Deere skinne put on his feete, and about his anckles were tied certaine Bels of Gold, about his wristes of his hands were put Manyllias of Turkies, and other Bracelets of Gold, likewise about his necke they hung other collers of precious stones, and gold, and rings in his eares, with a great Turkise in his neather lippe. Then his body was laid upon a large beere, whereon was placed a good bed under him: on his one side lay a Bowe with a quiver of Arrowes, and on his other side lay an Image made of fine Mantels of his owne stature or highnesse, with a great tuffe of fine feathers, shooes upon his feete, with Bracelets, and a coller of gold. While his worke was a doing, others were busied in washing the men and
[III. v. 1139.] women which should be slaine for to accompany him into Hell: these wretched folke that should be slaine were banqueted and filled with drinke, because they should receive their death with lesse paine. The new King did appoint those who should dye for to serve the King his Father, but yet many of them had rather have beene without his service, notwithstanding some simple soules esteemed that odious death for a thing

of immortall glory. First, seven Gentlewomen of noble parentage were appointed to dye, the one to have the office of keeper of his Jewels which he was wont to weare, another for the office of Cup-bearer, another to give him water with a Bason and Ewer, another to give him alwayes the Urinall, another to be his Cooke, and another to serve for Laundresse. They slew also many woman-slaves, and free maidens, for to attend upon the Gentlewomen, and moreover, one of every occupation within the Citie. When all these that were appointed to dye were washed, and their bellies full with meate and drinke, then they painted their faces yellow, and put garlands of sweete flowers upon each of their heads. Then they went in order of procession before the beere whereon the dead King was carried, some went playing on Instruments made of Snailes shels, others played upon bones and shels of Sea-turtils, others went whistling, and the most part weeping; the Sonnes of the dead King and other Noblemen carried upon their shoulders the Beere where the Course lay, and proceeded with an easie pace toward the Temple of the god Curicaueri: his kinsmen went round about the Beere, singing a sorrowfull song. The officers and houshold servants of the Court with other Magistrates and Rulers of justice bare the Standarts and divers other armes.

About midnight they departed in the order aforesaid, out of the Kings pallace, with great light of fire brands, and with a heavie noise of Trumpets and Drummes. The Citizens which dwelt where the Corse passed, attended to make cleane the streete. And when they were come to the Temple, they went foure times round about a great fire made of the wood of Pine tree, which was prepared to burne the dead body: then the Beere was laid upon the fire, and in the meane while that the body was burning, they mawled with a club those which had the Garlands, and afterward buried them by foure and foure, as they were apparelled behinde the Temple.

The next day in the morning, the ashes, bones and Jewels, was gathered and laid upon a rich Mantle, the which was carried to the Temple gate, where the Priests attended to blesse those devellish relickes, whereof they made a dough or paste, and thereof an Image which was apparelled like a man, with a visor on his face, and all other sorts of Jewels that the dead King was wont to weare, so that it seemed a gallant Idoll. At the foote of the Temple staires they opened a grave ready made, which was square, large, and two fadom deepe, it was also hanged with new Mats round about, and a faire bed therein, in the which a religious man placed the Idol made of ashes, with his eyes toward the East part, and hung round about the wals, Targets of Gold and Silver, with Bowe and Arrowes, and many gallant tuffes of Feathers, with earthen vessels, as Pots, Dishes, and Platters, so that the grave was filled up with houshold stuffe, Chests covered with Leather, Apparell, Jewels, Meate, Drinke, and Armor. This done, the grave was shut up, and made sure with beames, boords, and floored with earth on the top.

All those Gentlemen which had served or touched any thing in the buriall, washed themselves, and went to dinner in the Court or yard of the Kings house without any table, and having dined, they wiped their hands upon certaine locks of Cotten woll, hanging downe their heads, and not speaking any word, except it were to aske for drinke. This Ceremonie endured five dayes, and in all that time no fire was permitted to be kindled in the Citie, except in the Kings house and Temples, nor yet any Corne was ground, or Market kept, nor none durst goe out of their houses, shewing all the sorrow that might be possible for the death of their King.

Judges. In Mexico were twelve Judges, who were all Noblemen, grave, and well learned in the Mexican Lawes. These men lived onely by the rents that properly appertaine to the maintenance of Justice, and in any cause

judged by them, it was lawfull for the parties to appeale unto other twelve Judges, who were of the Princes bloud, and alwayes abode in the Court, and were maintained at the Kings owne cost and charges. The inferiour Judges came ordinarily once every moneth to consult with the higher. And in every fourescore dayes came the Judges of every Province within the Mexican Empire, to consult with the Judges of Mexico, but all doubtfull causes were reserved to the King, onely to passe by his order and determination. The Painters served for notaries, to paint all the cases which were to be resolved, but no suite passed above fourescore dayes without finall end and determination. There were in that Citie twelve Sergeants, whose office was to arrest, and to call parties before the Judges. Their garments were painted Mantels, whereby they were knowne a farre off. The Prisons were under ground, moist and darke, the cause whereof, was to put the people in feare to offend. If any witnesse were called to take an oath, the order was, that he should touch the ground with one of his fingers, and then to touch his tongue with the same, which signified that he had sworne and promised to speake the troth with his tongue, taking witnesse thereof, of the earth which did maintaine him. But some doe interprete the oath, that if the partie sware not true, that then he might come to such extremitie, as to eate earth. Sometime they name and call upon the God of the crime, whose cause the matter touched.

Painters.

Sergeants.

Prisons.

Witnesses and oathes.

The Judge that taketh bribes or gifts, is forthwith put out of his office, which was accounted a most vile and shamefull reproach. The Indians did affirme that Necaualpincinth did hang a Judge in Tezcuco, for giving an unjust sentence, he himselfe knowing the contrary. The Murtherer is executed without exception. The woman with childe that wilfully casteth her creature, suffereth death for the same. The Theefe for the first offence, was made a slave, and hanged for the second.

Bribery.

Murther. [III. v. 1140.]

Theft.

The Traitor to the King and Common-weale, was put to death with extreame torments. The Woman taken in Mans Apparell died for the same, and likewise the Man taken in Womans attire. Every one that challengeth another to fight, except in the warres, was condemned to dye. In Tezcuco the sinne of Sodomie was punished with death, and that Law was instituted by Necaualpincinth, and Necaualcoio, who were judges, which abhorred that filthy sinne, and therefore they deserved great praise, for in other Provinces that abhominable sinne was not punished, although they have in those places common Stewes, as in Panuco.

Disguise of sexe.

Duels capitall.

The end of the fift Booke.

END OF VOLUME XV.

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